

Are there any attractive names for elderly people in Polish?

Streszczenie

Mówiąc o osobach starszych, napotykamy trudności językowe, ponieważ tradycyjne nazewnictwo uwypukla cechy, które we współczesnym świecie nie budzą dobrych skojarzeń – starość, nieproduktywność. Nazwy te mają charakter eufemistyczny lub w swojej formie podkreślają wiek osób, przywołują kontekst finansowy (np. obciążenie budżetu), wykazują łączliwość z określonymi czasownikami czy przymiotnikami i są składnikami stereotypowych połączeń, niezbyt korzystnych dla osób starszych. Stąd poszukuje się słów, które w atrakcyjny sposób nazywają tę, coraz liczniejszą, grupę społeczeństwa. Jednym ze sposobów jest wykorzystywanie wyrazów *senior*, *nestor*, które w polszczyźnie istnieją i mają pozytywne konotacje, i nadanie im nowych znaczeń. Dzięki ich stosowaniu następuje przewartościowanie w postrzeganiu osób starszych, uwypukla się ich pozytywny wizerunek, pozbawiony stereotypowych skojarzeń.

Słowa kluczowe:

osoby starsze, wartościowanie, nazewnictwo, neosemantyzaacja

Abstract

While talking about elderly people we come across linguistic difficulties, because traditional nomenclature emphasizes those features which do not have positive associations in the contemporary world (e.g. old age and unproductiveness). These names are euphemistic or emphasize people's age; they bring to mind the financial aspect (e.g. budget strain), they collocate with particular verbs or adjectives and they are part of stereotypical collocations which are not very favourable towards elderly people. Thus we are looking for words which denote this increasingly large group of society in an attractive way. One way of doing this is by using the words *senior* and *nestor*, which are present in Polish and which have positive connotations, and by giving them new meanings. Thanks to their use we observe a redefinition in the perception of elderly people and we highlight their positive image, void of stereotypical associations.

Key words:

elderly people, judgment, nomenclature, neosemantization

While talking about elderly people, we often come across various linguistic difficulties because traditional nomenclature emphasizes those features which do not have pleasant associations in the contemporary world, i.e. old age and unproductiveness, e.g. *ludzie w wieku poprodukcyjnym*, *starzy ludzie*, *starczy*, *staruszkowie*, *ludzie w podeszłym wieku*, *ludzie w wieku sędziwym*, *ludzie* or *osoby w późnym etapie życia*, *osoby po sześćdziesiątce* or *po sześćdziesiątym roku życia*, *najstarsze pokolenie* (*people of post-productive age*, *elderly people*, *old people*, *old guys/oldies*, *people of*

advanced age, aged people, people or persons in the last stages of their of life, people over sixty, the oldest generation).

Thus we use euphemistic expressions, e.g. *older people (osoby starsze)*. But who are they older than? Us? We also grow old, which is why this expression is not precise, and why we use less conventional euphemisms, e.g. *człowiek w pełni sił, dojrzały, niemłody, nie pierwszej młodości, starszawy, w pewnym wieku (a person of sound body, mature, no longer young, no spring chicken, an oldish person, a person of a certain age)*. There are names whose very form emphasizes age, e.g. *ludzie w podeszłym wieku, osoby po sześćdziesiątce, osoby po pięćdziesiątce (people of advanced age, people over sixty, people over fifty)*. Numerous words with the root *star-* (*staruszek, staruszka, starzy, starzec, starowina/starowinka, staruch/starucha, ludzie starsi*), bring to mind old age which nowadays is not perceived as an asset. We live in the cult of youth, speed, physical fitness and the pursuit of outer beauty. In turn, the adjective *stary (old)* brings to mind, in contexts concerning lifespan, associations connected with invalidity, destruction and being *passé*. We less frequently use it in connection with the characteristics of somebody who is experienced, familiar and reliable [compare *stary przyjaciel (an old friend)*]. The opposition to youth is emphasized by the antonymity of the adjectives *stary – młody (old – young)* and the phrases *starość – młodość (old age – youth)*.

Some of the names are very long (multiword phrases), so they are not convenient to use, e.g. *ludzie w wieku poprodukcyjnym (people of post-productive age)*. The word *emeryt (retiree or pensioner)* does not refer to playing any positive role in society, and in the context of the discussion about changes in the pension system and demographic data (a low birth rate and the ageing of society) it nearly frightens us. It only brings to mind the financial factor of budget strain. It is worth adding that the word *emeryt (retiree/pensioner)* is often used in the expression *emeryci i renciści (retirees and pensioners)*, which emphasizes the unpleasant associations even more.

Some contemporary words are marked and they cannot be used in every context or every situation, e.g. the informal expressive words *staruszek* and *starowinka (old guy, old girl)*; officially they are people beyond retirement age. Other names are rare and literary, e.g. *matuzalem (of Methuselah)*, which comes in two forms: *matuzalem* and *matuzal*¹, and is used in the expressions *matuzalemowy/matuzalowy wiek, lata (Methuselah age or years)*. The fact that they are marked is connected with their biblical origin – Methuselah was the longest-lived of the biblical patriarchs.

¹ According to *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* it is an aged person or the oldest person in a given group of people.

The academic term “*people in late adulthood*”, i.e. people over 55 or 60² is not commonly known (outside of psychology) and it can be misleading. In non-specialist texts, adulthood rarely refers to old age.

The late stages of human life connected with the processes of ageing are also metaphorically called *trzecia dorosłość*, *trzeci wiek*, *jesień życia* (*third adulthood*, *third age*, *the autumn of one's life*)³ or the aforementioned *późna dorosłość* (*late adulthood*), and we say elderly people are *młodzi duchem* (*young at heart*) in order to come to terms with old age, of which we are so afraid. The most common term is ‘third age’ which is part of the term ‘third age university’, but other terms are quite common, for instance:

„Witamy na Kazimierzowskim Uniwersytecie **Trzeciego Wieku**. (...) Jego celem jest aktywizacja **osób w okresie późnej dorosłości**. (...) **Trzeci wiek**, inaczej **późna dorosłość** to wyzwanie nie tyle na dzisiaj, co na przyszłość. (...) Jest to więc światowe wyzwanie – jak żyć **w okresie późnej dorosłości**” (“Welcome to Universitas **Seniorum** Casimiri Magni in Bydgoscia (...). Its objective is to activate **people in late adulthood**. (...) **Third age**, also referred to as **late adulthood**, is a challenge more for the future than for the present. Life expectancy is getting longer and longer. So it is a global challenge – how to live **in late adulthood**”) (www.ukw.edu.pl – all bolded expressions – I.B.)

In the medical environment there is an expression *ludzie w wieku geriatrycznym* (*geriatrics*), e.g.

„Głównym celem personelu Oddziału Geriatrycznego jest zachowanie maksymalnej sprawności i samodzielności osób w wieku geriatrycznym” (“The main objective of the Geriatric Ward is to maintain the top fitness and independence of **geriatrics**”). (www.spzoz.jgora.pl, access 31st May 2013).

Outside of medical contexts this term can be perceived as negative, as it is connected with illnesses⁴, e.g.

„Upadki w **wiekui geriatrycznym** zaliczane są do tzw. wielkich problemów geriatrycznych. (...) Celem niniejszej pracy była analiza czynników zagrożenia upadkami i urazami **osób wieku geriatrycznego** w aspekcie wczesnej prewencji w środowisku zamieszkania seniora” (“**At a grand old age** falls are classified to be serious geriatric problems. (...) The objective of this study was to analyze the risk factors which can lead **the geriatrics** to fall and get injured in the aspect of early prevention in the dwelling environment of a senior citizen”). (*Upadki i urazy wieku geriatrycznego* „Studia Medyczne” 2008, 9, 77);

² There are differences in marking age limits: according to Z. Wiatrowski, late adulthood is 50–65, whereas old age is over 65. The WHO divides old age into 3 stages, called advanced age (60–75), senility (75–90) and ripe old age (90 and older) (Kettner 2013).

³ Daniel Levinson was the first person to use this metaphor; He described adulthood and its stages by means of the four seasons.

⁴ Since geriatrics is concerned with ‘the diseases of old people, their treatment and prevention’ (Dubisz 2003), and the adjective ‘geriatric’ is derived from the noun ‘geriatrics’, what does the expression ‘geriatric people’ mean? Is it people who are prone to the diseases of old age?

„Osoby w wieku geriatrycznym stanowią 16,5% polskiej populacji. Zmiany involucyjne towarzyszące starzeniu przekładają się na niewydolność wielu układów”. (“The geriatrics constitute 16.5% of Polish population. Involutional changes which are part of the process of ageing result in the insufficiency of numerous systems”). (dnl.gumed.edu.pl/20148.html, access 31st May, 2013);

or with the slang meaning of the lexeme *geriatria* which is pejorative, e.g. *sama geriatria w przychodni, nie można się dostać do lekarza (an overheard complaint) (The clinic is full of geriatrics, one can't even make an appointment!)*.

Unofficially, elderly people are also called *babcie*, *dziadkowie* (especially in the medical environment, e.g. in hospitals and clinics (*babcia z piątki, dziadek pod oknem, a babci co dolega?*). Those terms are considered by many elderly people as a form of discrimination, downgrading their value and depriving them of the fullness of humanity. I am ignoring here expressive terms (e.g. *ramol, piernik, próchno, grzyb, sklerotyk, zgred, stare pułdo, moher, wapniak, antyk, dziadyga* and numerous vulgarisms), as I concentrate on communication in the public sphere, in which, according to etiquette (linguistic politeness) and political correctness (which often replaces linguistic politeness) it is not acceptable to use the language which insults the interlocutor or the listener. It is also worth mentioning that in the 20th century some cultural changes took place. It is not the grandparent who passes on the skills and knowledge to their grandchild, but the other way round – it is the grandchild who passes on the knowledge to their grandparent or teaches them a skill⁵.

Such experiences are a source of frustration for the older generation accustomed to a different style of functioning in familial, social and professional relations (e.g. the relationship between a student and his/her instructor). Stereotypically, we attribute computer illiteracy to elderly people. We also assume they do not understand computer terminology, which is to a great degree the result of neosemantization, i.e. giving a new meaning⁶ to words which are already in use – as illustrated in the following cartoon:



I grabbed the mouse and closed the window. What am I supposed to do now? (Google Images: elderly people, found 11th May, 2013)

⁵ See A. Grybosiowa 2008, Skudrzyk 2007.

⁶ Neosemantization can take place because of foreign languages, and our mother tongue (see Markowski 2005: 165, 215–231). The two examples window and mouse are interesting, because their new meanings developed in English, and later they were transferred to Polish, but their metaphorical meaning can also be justified in Polish. One needs to add the new meanings differ significantly from the old ones, that is why the youngest generation may find it difficult to understand the mechanism for the change in meaning.

In view of the presented imperfections of current nomenclature, we are looking for words which can denote this increasingly large social group in an attractive way. One way of doing this is to use words which already exist in Polish and have positive connotations, e.g. the words *senior* and *nestor*. Thanks to their use we observe a redefinition in the perception of elderly people, and a positive image, void of stereotypical associations, is highlighted.

It is connected with the basic meanings of the words *senior* and *nestor*. Let us have a look at their dictionary entries:

senior 1. literary a) the oldest member of a family (a father, a brother), b) the oldest or the most senior member of a team or a community, 2. sport a 19-year-old competitor, 3. history a) in Poland divided into several duchies: the oldest of the Piast dynasty to whom the local princes were subordinate, b) in feudal law: a feudal lord providing care for his subordinate vassal (Dubisz 2003);

nestor 1. literary the oldest, the most experienced, distinguished representative of a group or community who enjoys widespread respect (Dubisz 2003; entry translated by Anna Borówka).

We cannot forget that Nestor is also the name of a mythical king, the oldest and the most experienced Greek leader from Troy, the hero of the *Iliad*.

Thus by using the nouns *senior*, *seniorka* and *nestor* especially in plural (*seniorzy*, *nestorzy*), one evokes the positive associations connected with the meanings of the words *senior* (providing care, experienced) and *nestor* (the most experienced, distinguished, enjoying widespread respect), the literary and/or lofty markedness of these lexemes and their cultural aspect and collocation, especially the respectability of certain collocations⁷: *senior rodu*, *rodziny*, *senior polskich literatów*, *seniorka rodu*, *zasłużona seniorka polskiego pielęgniarstwa*, *nestorka polskiej sceny*, *nestorka polskiego aktorstwa*, *nestorka rodu architektów*, *nestorka podlaskiej farmacji* (*family patriarch*, *the doyen of Polish writers*, *family doyenne*, *distinguished doyenne of the Polish nursing*, *the doyenne of Polish actors*, *a doyenne/veteran of the Polish theatre*, *the matriarch of a family of architects*, *the doyenne of the Podlesie pharmacy*).

So we can read and hear about *kluby seniora*⁸ (*clubs for senior citizens*), *akademie dla seniora* (*academies for senior citizens*, e.g. *Nowohucka Akademia Seniora*), *dni seniora*⁹ (*senior citizens' days*), *portal seniorów* (*a social platform for senior citizens*, e.g. StarszakiPlus.pl), forums and websites for senior citizens (*forum50+seniorzy XXI wieku*, bycSeniorem.pl), *stowarzyszenia dla seniorów* (*senior citizens' associations*) and *problemy seniorów* (*the problems of senior citizens*), we come across newspaper

⁷ The examples of the collocations on the basis of dictionary and corpus data (Dubisz 2003, NKJP, search engine PELCRA, access 16th April, 2013).

⁸ The collocation registered in *Praktyczny słownik współczesnego języka polskiego* (Zgółkowska 1994-2005).

⁹ In two meanings: 1. a celebration held in honour of the oldest inhabitants of a place, 2. a discount for elderly people on a given day of the week (e.g. in shops and hairdressing salons).

supplements entitled ‘senior’ (www.dziennik.krakow.pl/magazyny/senior), we watch commercials of loans (Bank Pocztowy), there are post office accounts called *Nestor* (for senior citizens – compare www.pocztowy.pl). The market offers products, services and goods for this age group: *educational programs for seniors, holidays for seniors, counselling for seniors and education for seniors*. There are also books and articles about the policy of the state towards seniors, the forms of spending free time and about the activity of seniors. These books and articles describe the needs of senior citizens. In these books and articles the word ‘senior’ is also used e.g. *Encyklopedia seniora (A senior citizen’s encyclopaedia)* (Borsowa et al. 1986), *Seniorzy w rodzinie, instytucji i społeczeństwie (Senior citizens in the family, institution and society)* (Fabiś 2005), *Polski senior a społeczeństwo informacyjne (Polish senior citizens and the information society)* [Tomczyk 2008].

There are numerous computer and internet manuals for senior citizens which have the word ‘senior’ in their titles, e.g. Gunter Born’s set of manuals, published in Poznań (NAKOM Publishing House) in 2008: *Internet. Łatwy start dla seniorów, Komputer. Łatwy start dla seniorów, Komputer – notebook (laptop) – netbook. Poradnik dla seniorów młodych duchem* and *Komputer dla seniora: dla nieinformatyków* (2009, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN) and many others¹⁰.

In the mean time, most Polish language dictionaries do not register the new meanings of the words *senior* and *nestor*. It is only Halina Zgólkowa in *Praktyczny słownik współczesnego języka polskiego* who provides the expression *klub seniora* and the adjective *senioralny (senior)* in the new meaning along with the example *senioralny wiek*. The English word *senior* could have influenced the formation and the consolidation of the new meaning.

The words *senior* and *seniorzy* have been in use in sociology for years and they are also used by some state institutions, e.g. it appears as frequently as the expression *ludzie starsi* (older people) on the website of Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej (The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy). The word *senior*, usually in plural, appears in 113 documents, and the phrase *osoby starsze* (older persons) in 37 documents, but with a higher frequency within one text¹¹. On the website of The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy other terms for older people can be found: *trzeci wiek, osoby powyżej 50 roku życia, osoby 50+, osoby w wieku 65+, osoby dorosłe z najstarszej kategorii wieku, osoby w starszym wieku, osoby starsze, osoby najstarsze (the third age, people over fifty, people aged 50+, people aged 65+, adults from the oldest age category, old people, elderly people, the oldest people)*.

On that website the adjective *senioralny (senior)* can be found. It appears in a new meaning that Polish language dictionaries do not provide, namely ‘concerning elderly

¹⁰ See Burkacka 2011.

¹¹ The data based on the excerpt carried out on the 12th May, 2013.

people', e.g. Departament Polityki Senioralnej (Department of Senior Policy) or Centrum Inicjatyw Senioralnych (Centre of Senior Initiatives), see:

- „Na podstawie Zarządzenia nr 68 Prezesa Rady Ministrów z dnia 16 sierpnia 2012r. utworzono – Departament Polityki **Senioralnej** w Ministerstwie Pracy i Polityki Społecznej” (“On the basis of the directive number 68 of the Prime Minister issued on the 16th August, 2012, the Department of **Senior** Policy was formed in the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy”).
- „Departament Polityki Senioralnej odpowiada za tworzenie i rozwój kierunków działań skierowanych do **seniorów**, warunków dla poprawy systemu wsparcia **seniorów**, realizację zadań w obszarze aktywnego starzenia się i innych form współpracy wewnątrz- i międzypokoleniowej z udziałem **seniorów** oraz monitorowanie wdrażanych rozwiązań” (“The Department of Senior Policy is responsible for creating and developing the directions of activity aimed at **seniors**, the conditions of improving the system of support for **seniors**, the accomplishment of assignments in the area of active ageing, and other forms of cooperation within the generation and between the generations, with the participation of **seniors**, and also monitoring the implemented solutions”) (www.mpips.gov.pl, access 12th May, 1013).

A different practice can be observed on the website of Ministerstwo Zdrowia (The Ministry of Health). Here the words *senior* and *seniorka* appear in the traditional meaning, namely ‘a distinguished person’, and the term *ludzie starsi* (*elderly people*) prevails. The medical term *ludzie w wieku geriatrycznym* (*geriatric people*) is also used. The fact that words have a great power and can have positive or negative associations is supported by comparing two expressions: *Dom Seniora* (*Seniorów*)¹² (*nursing home*) and *Dom Starców* (*old people's home*). The first one has a neutral or even positive connotation, whereas the latter does not evoke any positive associations, both because of the use of the word *starzec* (*old man*), which will be discussed later, and because of some cultural notions connected with old people's homes – all the more so because residents being beaten or psychologically abused are frequent topics of intervention television programs.

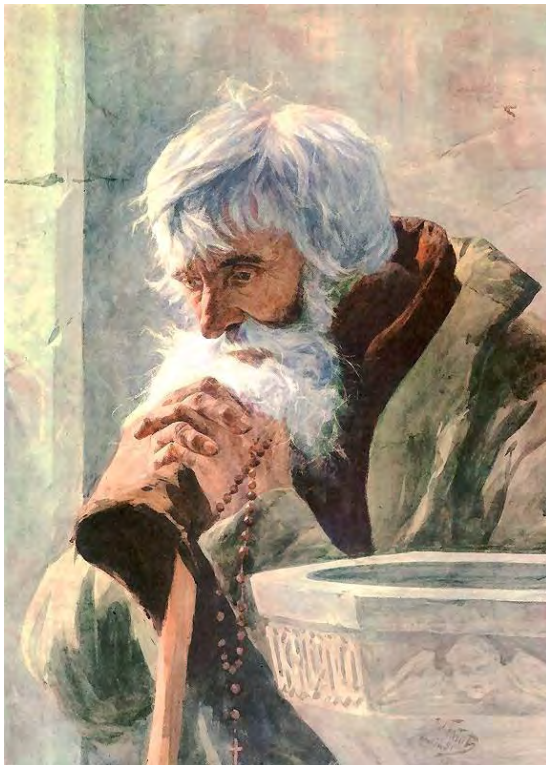
The existence of similar associations can be seen in other examples. The collocation *aktywni seniorzy* (*active senior citizens*) does not surprise us, whereas the collocation *aktywni starcy* (*active old people*) is surprising, as a *starzec* (*an old man*) is aged and long-lived. Let us have a look at some established features of an old man, collected on the basis of corpus data from a balanced stylistic subcorpus, and taking into account a source of statistical validity, the NKJP (National Corpus of Polish Language).

¹² A nursing home is not only a place where elderly people meet, but it is also a place where they live, so it is (probably) the former old people's home.

And so an old man is:

- *zgrzybiały, zgarbiony* (*decrepit, stooped*)
- *siwobrody, białobrody, siwowłosy, białowłosy* (*grey-bearded, white-bearded, grey-haired, white-haired*)
- *osiemdziesięcioletni, siedemdziesięcioletni, stuletni, sędziwy, wiekowy* (*octogenarian, septuagenarian, centenarian, aged, long-lived*)
- *wysuszony, kościsty, pomarszczony, chudy* (*dried-up, bony, wrinkled, thin*)
- *niedołężny, zniedołężniały, kaleki, schorowany, chory, ślepy* (*infirm, clumsy, invalid, ailing, blind*)
- *lubieżny, obłeśny* (*lecherous, repulsive*)
- *zgorzkniały, ponury* (*embittered, gloomy*)
- *biedny, samotny* (*poor, lonely*)
- *dostojny, czcigodny, świętobliwy* (*dignified, venerable, pious*)
- *święty, mądry* (*saintly, wise*)

so it corresponds to the image which appeared on the first page of Google Grafika (Google Images) for the entry *ludzie starsi* (*older people*), which can prove the compatibility of iconographic images and stereotypical language collocations, compare:



[Google Images: older people, found 11th May, 2013]

It is hard to consider the word *starzec* (*an old man*) as neutral and suitable for talking about contemporary elderly people, who are not always decrepit and grey-haired.

Searching for collocations of the word *starzec* (an old man) with verbs did not bring unexpected results. Normally, old people *siedzą, uśmiechają się, szepczą, wzdychają, wstają, przerywają, milczą* (sit, smile, whisper, sigh, stand up, interrupt and remain silent). A lot of verbs refer to the activity of speaking: *odeprzeć, rzec, spytać, odpowiedzieć, powiedzieć, opowiadać* (refute, ask, reply, say, tell, talk). The verbs *leżeć, iść, brać, mieszkać, wyglądać, widzieć, dać* (lie, go, take, live, look, see, give) form collocations with the noun in question less frequently.

These contexts point to quite a static presentation of old people's activity. Let us have a look at some collocations of verbs with a different phrase, namely *ludzie starsi* (elderly people).

According to the corpus data, elderly people

- they go to the café, they come to meetings, they go to the pharmacy, they buy dog food,
- they show a certain characteristic e.g. they are helpless, lonely, hurt, happy, demanding, they are like children,
- they have problems, something more to say, connections,
- they say,
- they can spend time in an active way, exercise, have problems, fall ill, enjoy their free time, meet other people, can be robbed, etc.

It is worth mentioning that there are a variety of collocations and verbs which refer to movement (come, exercise, meet, spend time in an active way). Simultaneously, according to the data from the same source, they say, remember, talk, have (various habits, the right, problems). By choosing a name we instantly tag, we limit some spheres of activity; it does not only concern the activity of speaking, which both old men and elderly people are entitled to. A great deal of certain notions and linguistic and cultural connotations have arisen around old phrases. They can make it difficult to change the existing stereotype (or rather two stereotypes: an energetic old man and a venerable old man).

In an MA seminar I asked my seminar students what image of an old person emerged from commercials. The seminar students pointed to different illnesses (urinary incontinence, problems with the prostate and potency, flatulence, indigestion, migraines), problems with joints (limited mobility, getting tired quickly) and memory. It can be said that the commercials of products for elderly people emphasize stereotypical images of elderly people and they concentrate on their health, the necessity of taking care of the oldest generation, and sometimes they even distort the traditional image of an elderly person (an armchair, a book, a walking stick, fairy tales, grandchildren). Seldom, in order to surprise the viewers, very fit elderly people appear in commercials (e.g. a commercial for Mrągowska™ buttermilk). Here both the selected music and the acrobatics seem highly inappropriate.

In another, more recent group of commercials¹³ elderly people are shown in the context of poverty, insufficient livelihood, or realizing their dreams (e.g. dreams about cooking or travelling), death and funerals (death insurance, funeral benefits, reverse mortgage and so on). Here the main objective of old people's activity is to gain financial security and to make sure their children will receive financial help after their death; the wish to not burden their children with funeral expenses. In these commercials we do not hear any words denoting old people (there are words such as *husband* and *mum* and the expression *at any age*) so we get the message by means of the image.

An equally negative, though varied, image of elderly people emerges from the research of Małgorzata Potent-Ambroziewicz, who did research on how high school students view old age. It is worth adding that the researcher herself, in a two-page introduction to her work, calls older people *seniors, a generation of old people, grandparents* (while talking about the contact between teenagers and their grandparents) and she calls old age *a ripe old age* and *a late stage of life*.

It should be emphasized that words describing elderly people attractively and positively do exist and they are really necessary. These are metaphoric expressions (conventionalized metaphors): *third youth, third age, the autumn of one's life, late adulthood*. There are also euphemistic expressions such as *elderly people*, and the new meanings of the words *senior* and *seniorka*. Polish language dictionaries should take note of the new meaning of the word *senior*. It is very common, it is necessary, and it is used in academic writing, e.g. sociology, medicine and in a lot of official documents. It has no negative associations. A great advantage of the word *senior* is its economy of style: it is a two-syllable word. This word is also the root word of the adjective *senioralny* (*senior*) (also in its new meaning), which makes it easier to form terms of which a great number are actually noun-adjective expressions.

On the other hand, the word *nestor* in its new meaning and its feminine form *nestorka* are compliments in character (that is why they can be found in advertisements, marketing, etc). Elderly people are a growing social group, and the fact that they have financial means (they receive their pensions regularly) makes them appear attractive as potential customers.

It is worth making sure that while noticing the problems of the oldest generation and writing about them, we do not stigmatize elderly people. We all should be allowed to choose the name which will be appropriate for a given situation and person.

References

Burkacka, Iwona. 2011. „Dlaczego spopieliarnia, a nie krematorium. O innowacjach alternatywnych inaczej”. *Linguistica Copernicana* 2 (6): 179–194.

¹³ In commercials of digital television, the inability of old people to deal with modern technology is emphasized.

- Borsowa, Irena et al. (eds). 1986. *Encyklopedia seniora*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
- Dubisz, Stanisław. 2003. *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Fabiś, Artur (ed.). 2005. *Seniorzy w rodzinie, instytucji i społeczeństwie. Wybrane zagadnienia współczesnej gerontologii*. Sosnowiec: Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania i Marketingu w Sosnowcu.
- Grybosiowa, Antonina. 2008. „Dylematy współczesnej kompetencji komunikacyjnej Polaków”. *LingVaria* 1: 43–48.
- Kettner, Anna. 2013. „Okresy i fazy rozwoju oraz życia ludzi dorosłych”, www.edukacja.edu.pl/p-6722-okresy-i-fazy-rozwoju-oraz-zycia-ludzi-doroslych.php.
- Markowski Andrzej. 2005. *Kultura Języka Polskiego. Teoria. Zagadnienia leksykalne*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- NKJP – Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego, www.nkjp.pl.
- Potent-Ambroziewicz, Małgorzata. 2013. *Starość w języku młodzieży współczesnej*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.
- Tomczyk, Łukasz. 2008. „Polski senior a społeczeństwo informacyjne”. *Poradnik Bibliotekarza* 1: 14–15.
- Skudrzyk, Aldona. 2007. „Zerwany kontakt? Rozumienie wyrazów i tzw. luka pokoleniowa w kontekście współczesnych przemian kulturowych”. *Prace Filologiczne* LIII: 535–541.
- Zgólkowa, Halina. 1994–2005. *Praktyczny słownik współczesnego języka polskiego*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Kurpisz.

