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Patriotyzm genetyczny, półka kulturowa and Palikotyzacja X-a: blends as catchwords in Polish political discourse

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1 Introduction

Polish political discourse in the noughties (2000–2009) is characterized by the rise of the national conservative party PiS (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość ‘Law and Justice’) with their most prominent representatives, the Kaczyński twins, serving as prime

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Summary: Catchwords and catchphrases denoting crucial ideological concepts or disqualifying an opponent serve as indices pointing to the line of demarcation between political camps. Using the example of three catchwords (Patriotyzm genetyczny ‘genetic patriotism’, półka kulturowa ‘cultural shelf’, Palikotyzacja X-a ‘Palikotization of X’) emerging in the aggravated political debate in Poland between 2000 and 2009, and mainly signaling affiliation with the national conservative PiS-party, a twofold approach combining methods from discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics is proposed. On the one hand, the lexical items are analyzed as keywords in statu nascendi which are disputed, quoted or ridiculed and serve as intertextual hinges which still have the potential to evoke the communicative situation in which they have been created. On the other hand, the selected newly created lexical items are analyzed as conceptual integration networks within the framework of blending theory. The blending analysis reveals the underlying logic of the novel conceptual structure and displays the explanative and argumentative pattern suggested by the blend and condensed in the catchword. By tracing the disputes elicited by these catchwords and analyzing sequences in which these newly created concepts are contested or maintained from a cognitive perspective, we can see how the logic suggested by the blend is either perpetuated or perverted in the process of the ongoing dissemination of the catchword.

Keywords: keyword, political discourse, blending theory, metaphor, PiSomowa
minister (Jarosław Kaczyński 2006–2007) and president (Lech Kaczyński 2005–2010). Due to the national-conservative turn in politics and the forcefully induced change in the political culture which also aimed at marking a moral change, this period is sometimes referred to as the ‘IV Republic’ (*IV Rzeczpospolita*). Concerning linguistic aspects of political discourse, a return of newspeak patterns has been observed in texts and speech of representatives of PiS and other closely affiliated national-conservative parties (e.g., LPR, Ruch Patriotyczny) (e.g., Czerwiński, Nowak and Przybylska (eds.) 2010; Głowiński 2009; Guttke 2010). Yet it is disputable whether the so-called *PiSomowa* (‘PiS-speak’) indeed parallels the phenomenon of communist newspeak (Weiss 1986), since politicians belonging to centrist, moderate and liberal parties (e.g. PO, Ruch Palikota/Twój Ruch, SLD) exhibit distinct linguistic strategies at the same time. Nonetheless, there is an observable aggravation of the political debate due to the strong antagonism between representatives of both political camps regarding political issues as well as communicative style.

Catchwords and catchphrases denoting crucial ideological concepts or used in order to disqualify political opponents, their positions or behavior play an important role in this context. This paper focuses on three lexical items which came up during this period serving as catchwords strongly associated with the PiS-camp – ‘genetic patriotism’ (*patriotyzm genetyczny*), the ‘upper cultural shelf’ (*wyższa półka kulturowa*) and ‘Palikotization of X’ (*Palikotyzacja X-a*). Especially the first two are clear markers of PiS-affiliation, whilst the latter is popular in Polish political discourse in general. We pursue a twofold strategy in the analysis of these lexical items arguing in favor of a combination of discourse-analytic and cognitive approaches in the analysis of political discourse. On the one hand, these catchwords can be analyzed as keywords with a specific semantic as well as evaluative load eliciting disputes about their meaning. On the other hand, they represent creative conceptual structures which can be analyzed as *blends* or *conceptual integration networks* (Fauconnier and Turner 2003) revealing the implicitly suggested way of thinking condensed in the catchwords. The showcase analyses of these three catchwords provided in the main section of this paper combine both perspectives: For each item the conceptual integration network comprising the argument represented by the catchword is reconstructed. This reveals the respective catchwords’ potential to suggest more or less implicitly a specific perspective on the issue at hand and thus to influence the way people think about this issue. Subsequently, their use within the PiS-camp and beyond, i.e. by the opposition, in the media and in the blogosphere is traced in a more general way in order to show that and how the units spread to political discourse. The ways in which these catchwords are used or contested beyond PiS-discourse allow us to draw further conclusions about the entrenchment of the suggested way of conceptualizing, and thus about how political issues are thought of. Our analysis of the showcase also
serves to foster our argument for an extension and application of methods and models from cognitive linguistics to discourse analysis, since these help us to gain a deeper understanding of the conceptualization suggested by means of political communication and of their persuasive power (cf. Hart and Lukes (eds.) 2007; Cap 2013; Hart (ed.) 2008). At the same time, they offer insight into the fervent character of the political debate, the aggravation of antagonism and the polarization of communicative behavior in the political arena of the IV Republic.

The structure of the paper reflects both methodological and practical aims: Section 1 focuses on the discourse-analytic perspective on catchwords in political discourse, mainly aiming at tracing the dispute surrounding them and testifying to the rise of a new and yet crucial concept. Subsequently, blending theory as a cognitive semantic approach in order to analyze creative conceptual structures is introduced as a tool for the re-analysis of the selected catchwords (see Section 2). In section 3 the conceptual structures underlying the selected lexical innovations are reconstructed and their discursive “fate” in Polish political discourse is traced. Particularly the latter allows us to check whether the logic suggested by the blend is elaborated on and whether it has the potential to spread and shape the way of thinking in a more sustainable fashion. Section 4 summarizes the results of the analyses, offers a snapshot of the life cycle of the selected catchwords and indicates the benefits of applying approaches from cognitive semantics to the analysis of political discourse.

2 Catchwords in political discourse

Deliberate lexical choices feature prominently in political communication, alongside other aspects such as metaphors and argumentative patterns which are all in the focus of political discourse analyses (cf. Čudinov 2012; Spieß 2011). Yet, there is no clear-cut terminological distinction and there exists a variety of terms in the analysis of political lexis (cf. Liebert 2003: 58; Girmth 2002: 47–71). In this paper, the terms keyword and catchword are preferred. The former points to their discursively entrenched character, the latter stresses their pragmatic function in discourse. In this section crucial features of keywords in political discourse are discussed and the discourse analytic approach to them is introduced in order to subsequently amend this perspective through a cognitive view.

Keywords in political discourse always do more than simply denote a concept. According to Bellmann (1996), they also convey a specific ‘evaluative stance’ (Bewertungspragmatik). Girmth (1993: 95) points to their potential to ‘modify, affirm or polarize the recipients’ attitude’ (Einstellungsmodifikation, -affirmation, -polarisierung). In doing so, they are closely connected to the ideology of a
specific group or camp and reflect the topology of the political arena: they serve as labels for crucial ideological concepts, projects, political protagonists etc., simultaneously conveying a specific evaluative stance (e.g. Girnth 2002: 47–71). This lends them the potential to signal affiliation or disaffiliation with a political position, idea or party.

Keywords, especially in political discourse, emerge in the context of a specific debate and mostly remain closely associated with it (cf. Nothdurft 1996: 380). Sometimes even the moment of their creation or introduction can be identified. In order to acquire the status of a keyword, a lexical unit passes several stages during which it becomes semantically and pragmatically charged. The analytical procedure suggested by Nothdurft (1996: 386–390) or Liebert (2004: 63–66) aims at revealing the process in which a keyword emerges and, at the same time, explains how it acquires its typical features. Their methodological approach essentially capitalizes on tracing the stages of the life cycle of a keyword: The birth of a potential keyword is marked by its introduction as a label for a crucial concept in a specific context. Liebert (1994: 64) stresses that potential keywords start as answers to crucial social questions. With political discourse in mind, they frequently begin as catchwords aiming at promoting or disqualifying a political position, idea, project or protagonist in a specific context. Quite often such newly introduced catchwords are especially created and figuratively or metaphorically motivated, which in turn strengthens their persuasive power (Girnth 2002: 55–62). This particularly applies to the catchwords under consideration here. Typically, at this stage there are overt signals of introduction, such as attempts to define the catchwords. Also, they may be accompanied by hedges or put in quotation marks (Nothdurft 1996: 386).

Subsequently, they elicit a debate in which their meaning and use are disputed (Nothdurft 1996; Liebert 2003). At this stage there are also attempts to elaborate on and redefine their meaning. What started as a catchy label now initiates a controversy and spreads in political discourse. As a consequence, there is an observable rise in frequency, especially in headlines (Šmeleva 2009: 65; Liebert 2003: 68). As for ‘current keywords’ (klučevye slova tekuščego momenta) in Russian discourse, Šmeleva further mentions a rise of lexical items derived from the keyword and of instances including wordplay based on the keyword (cf. Il’jasova and Amiri 2013: 168–184).

As a result, a now fully-fledged keyword becomes a label for the concept emerged and modified in the context of this debate.¹ According to Liebert (2003,

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¹ Generally speaking, keywords label concepts which emerge either on small or large scale, i.e. in everyday discourse (e.g. Nothdurft 1996), in a specific debate within political discourse (e.g.
the keyword finally represents a dominant and pervasive argumentative and explanatory pattern (*hegemoniales kollektives Denkmuster*). This strongly applies to keywords such as Liebert’s example of “globalization” which on a large scale wins recognition in discourse. Also however, this applies to keywords on a smaller scale emerging in a specific political or social debate which also can spread in political discourse. These accordingly condense a group-specific interpretation and explanation of an issue (cf. Nothdurft 1996: 381).

In summary, keywords in political discourse convey explanatory patterns in a very condensed way and suggest a specific evaluative perspective. They signal affiliation with a specific group and/or position which again turns them into controversial lexical markers. The debate elicited by them is carried out in the political arena, the media and the blogosphere. In the course of their further dissemination, keywords initially function as hinges or points of access to the debate or discursive episode during which they came up. The above sketched episodes mark crucial stages in the emergence of a keyword. An analysis of the debate surrounding keywords allows for checking how prevalent the suggested explanatory pattern actually is in the ongoing discourse: Is it still tightly connected with the authoring political camp and quoted rather than used, or is it already utilized and adopted for other purposes and further topics as well? Whereas a lexically oriented discourse analysis traces the discursive evolution of a keyword in order to reveal its conceptual and associative meaning, a cognitive approach to the analysis of keywords focuses on the reconstruction of the conceptual structure triggered by the lexical item itself.

### 3 Blending Theory

The selected lexical items – genetic patriotism, the upper cultural shelf, Palikotization of X – represent creative novel conceptual structures relying on the fusion of elements from at least two disparate conceptual domains. Blending theory
(Fauconnier and Turner 2003; Coulson and Oakley 2000) is a cognitive semantic framework for the analysis of creative meaning construction based on the combination of concepts in various ways (e.g. metaphor, analogy, counterfactuals). In this section, we will introduce blending theory as a tool for the re-analysis of the selected catchwords which will subsequently also be extended in the showcase analyses and applied to the analysis of online meaning construction in discourse.

Creative conceptual structures drawing on elements and structure from at least two discrete conceptual domains are in blending theory represented by a conceptual integration network (see Figure 1). The schema minimally consists of two mental spaces serving as input spaces, a blended space (blend) displaying the emergent conceptual structure and an optional generic space comprising abstract structures and elements shared by the input spaces. The conceptual integration network accordingly displays how conceptual structures are reassembled in the process of blending. The two input spaces are online constructed mental representations triggered by linguistic (and possibly other) cues and enriched by encyclopedic knowledge organized and provided in frames. They represent small scenes added by co-activated knowledge of a given issue from our long-term memory. In the process of blending elements as well as structure from the disparate input spaces involved are selectively projected to the blended space (as marked by the dashed lines). Elements as well as relationships from both concepts are newly combined. At the same time, the blend establishes mapping relationships between at least some elements from the fused input spaces suggesting a specific correspondence between them (marked by the continuous lines). In metaphoric blends, for example, the mapping suggests an analogy between elements of the input spaces. Nevertheless, blending theory allows for a multitude of mapping relations. The novel conceptual structure emerging in the blended space can be completed by additional elements if it matches and activates information stored in long-term memory (as marked by the white loops). The fused conceptual structure in the blended space develops a logic of its own, which may be further elaborated on in discourse, if the blend is adopted. Blending theory refers to this elaboration and spread of the emergent logic of the blend as running the blend.

In order to illustrate how blending works we will shortly sketch Rutkowski’s (2010) analysis of a conceptual blend created by Jarosław Kaczyński during a meeting with students in Bydgoszcz in 2008. Kaczyński addressed attempts or plans to reorganize and establish larger self-administrated regional districts as ‘landization of Poland through the backdoor’ (landyzacja Polski tylnimi drzwiami), arguing against a reform of the regional administrative division of Poland. Rutkowski reconstructs the conceptual integration network of this blend as basically recruiting elements from two input spaces comprising knowledge of the regional
administrative division of Germany (federal state, ‘lands’ as larger self-governing regional units) and Poland (centralized state, ‘voivodships’ as smaller administrative districts). The blend establishes mappings between ‘lands’ and ‘voivodships’ and suggests understanding such a reform as an attempt to reorganize Poland according to the German federal model, which was actually not the driving force. Rutkowski stresses that the persuasive power of this blend essentially relies on its appeal to anti-German resentments popular within the PiS camp, since in the process of blending other knowledge about the history of Poland and Germany and their neighborhood is also evoked. The emergent logic of the blend, for example, turns advocates of the reform into promoters of German influence (ibid. 303–305).

In summary, the reconstruction of the conceptual integration network underlying a catchword gives immediate access to its conceptual structure and reveals how evoked background knowledge feeds the blend and has an impact on its persuasive power. The emerging innovative conceptual structure suggests a specific understanding of the issue addressed by the catchword. Blending theory has been designed as an analytic tool for linguistic (and other) creativity which is
inter alia apt for researching lexical innovations. The lexical items under consideration have all started their movement as novel creations constructed ad hoc in a specific context, very much like the above-mentioned ‘landization’. Yet, if such a catchword spreads in political discourse, there is the chance that the suggested argumentative logic of the blend is elaborated on and further promoted in discourse. The ways in which such catchwords are used and re-used in discourse shed light on the pervasiveness of the suggested logic. If the logic of the blend is perpetuated in the controversy surrounding a catchword, this testifies to the ongoing entrenchment and serves at least as an indicator that the suggested way of thinking is becoming pervasive in political debate. The showcase analyses in the main section, therefore, not only reconstruct the blended conceptual structure of the catchwords but also indicate whether the emergent concept is elaborated on when used by other politicians, journalists or bloggers.

4 Showcase analyses of three catchwords – how blending works in political discourse

Analyses of conceptual integration networks displaying creative concept fusions, on the one hand, and of the keywords labeling a concept emerging in discourse, on the other hand, provide two methodological perspectives on lexically innovative catchwords in political discourse. The showcase analyses in this section aim at demonstrating how both approaches can be fruitfully combined: The reconstruction of the conceptual integration network reveals the explanation and the logic suggested by the catchword. Yet, this is just a first step in the analysis. For each catchword we will sketch how they are employed in political discourse beyond the PiS camp: The ways in which they are used or embedded in political discourse give us a deeper understanding of how pervasive the logic promoted by the blend actually is. By tracing the discursive evolution of the given catchwords and the pervasiveness of the suggested understanding of the thus-labeled issue, we can assume a parallel continuum (see Figure 2): On a scale determining the degree of “keywordness”, a catchword actually starting as an ad hoc created lexical innovation moves on to the pole of fully-fledged keyword if it is quoted, contested, re-defined and finally used as a label of a discursively consolidated concept. On a scale determining the degree of entrenchment of the suggested emergent logic of the blend, the catchword starts as a condensed explanatory pattern designed for a particular context and moves on to the pole of full entrenchment if its logic is continued and elaborated on in political discourse.
Except for ‘palikotization’, all selected catchwords can be traced back to the moment of their creation which turns them into apt candidates for showcase analyses. Each subsection provides a first attempt to position the given catchword on this twofold scale in analyzing its conceptual structure and tracing its career in the media and the blogosphere in order to check how vital the logic promoted by the catchword actually is. Needless to say, the showcase analyses merely offer snapshots from the discursive evolution of the catchwords and concepts, respectively, and in no way claim to represent a comprehensive analysis.

4.1 ‘Genetic patriotism’

The catchword ‘genetic patriotism’ (*patriotyzm genetyczny*) was created by the until then little-known PiS-deputy Marek Suski. Commenting on the criteria according to which potential PiS-candidates running for seats in parliament or council should be selected, he explained that persons are preferred whose ancestors have been involved in the fight for Poland’s independence, since this would testify to their *genetic patriotism*.

(1) Bo jeśli rodzina kandydata walczyła o Polskę, o niepodległość, dziadek był w AK, a pradziad uczestniczył w powstaniu styczniowym, to taki ktoś daje nam gwarancję genetycznego patriotyzmu. (Gazeta Wyborcza 22/3/2006)

[Because if the family of a candidate fought for Poland, for independence, the grandfather was in the Home Army, and the great-grandfather took part in the January Uprising, then such a person gives us the guarantee of genetic patriotism.] (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

The blend conveys a well-known ideological tenet of totalitarian thinking especially common in the *LTI* in suggesting that character traits, especially socially
acquired traits manifested in a person’s deliberate deeds, are inherited in the same way as biologic features. The conceptual integration network combines an input space representing knowledge about genetics explaining how genetic features (fixed on the DNA) are transmitted from parent to offspring with an input space supplying historic events (see Figure 3). The logic of the former input space is projected to the blend and basically structures the novel concept. The other input space is enriched by a frame providing knowledge about Polish history and evoking actions displaying patriotic behavior in different times (among them the explicitly mentioned participation in the January Uprising 1863/1864 and service in the Home Army). The blend receives the element of patriotism from this second input space and establishes a role-value mapping between biological traits (role) and patriotism (value).

The logic suggested by this blend, namely the biological inheritance of affinities, character traits or political convictions seem to match other activities and strategies pursued by PiS. It is, for example, consistent with Jacek Kurski’s (PiS) attempt to disqualify Donald Tusk (PO) during his campaign 2005 by spreading the rumor that Tusk’s grandfather volunteered for the Wehrmacht (dziadek z Wehrmachtu) shortly after which the public learned about the forceful recruitment. The argumentative pattern condensed in the blend also underlies the strategy to decry politicians and journalists by checking whether their parents or other relatives were engaged in institutions of the communist PRL. This line of argumentation is
also promoted by a book series entitled *Resortowe dzieci* (‘Children from the resort’). Examples (2) stem from an article in the liberal weekly journal *Polityka* reviewing the first volume of this series (Kania et al. 2003. *Resortowe dzieci. Media*, ‘Children from the resort. Media’). They illustrate how the logic of the blend is verbally perpetuated and how the inheritance model is conferred upon negative traits. Thus, ‘genes of betrayal, of lack of identity, of roots’ can be ‘inherited’ (*dziedziczyć geny zdrady, braku tożsamości, wykorzenienia*). The revelation of such a ‘genetic liability’ aims at ‘attacking the genetic heirs of communism’ (*Ma to uderzyć w genetycznych spadkobierców komunizmu*).

(2) Zasadniczym celem jest przekonanie opinii publicznej, że nie można zrozumieć rzeczywistości bez odsłonięcia sieci powiązań rodzinnych i towarzyskich. Dlatego trzeba wykazać „biologiczne” powiązanie z dawnym reżimem, PZPR, służbami, co ma dowodzić, że zachowana jest „genetyczna” ciągłość między PRL a III RP. (Polityka 29/1/2013)

*The basic aim is to convince the public opinion that one cannot understand the present without a disclosure of the net of family and social ties. For this reason one has to show the “biological” connections with the past regime, the PZPR, the intelligence services which has to prove that the “genetic” continuity between PRL and III RP is maintained.*

(Emphasis mine, N.Th.)

‘Genetic patriotism’ itself occurs in a subheading of the text. Placing at least some of the lexical items which testify to the further elaboration of the blend (e.g., “biological” connections with the past regime, “genetic” continuity between PRL and III RP) in quotation marks, together with the journalist’s general detachment from the ideological position, testifies to the controversial character of the catchword and its underlying explanatory pattern.2

The next example provides another instance in which the blend is adopted in media discourse. This time a public appearance of Bronisław Komorowski (PO) running for president accompanied by his father, the son of the supreme commander of the Home Army during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, is interpreted against the background of this blend in the headline of the liberal newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* (17/5/2010): ‘PiS being hoist by one’s own petard’ (*PiS bity jego własną bronią*). A blogger commenting on the article refers to this interpretation

2 The example on the one hand shows that the catchword and its concept are deployed in discourse. On the other hand it immediately evokes the evaluative stance and attitude of its authoring camp. In (2) both aspects (concept and attitude) are referred to. Yet the author deploying them disengages from both. According to Girnth (1993: 103f) such uses in which catchwords and their attitudinal stance are rendered in a dissociating context classify as ‘metapragmatic rendition of attitude’ (*metapragmatische Einstellungswiedergabe*).
as ‘Genetic patriotism of Gazeta Wyborcza’ (“Patriotyzm genetyczny ‘Gazety Wyborcze’, italics added, N. Th.). This use of the catchword continues the logic initially suggested by the blend.

Whereas the above-mentioned examples document the dispute elicited by the catchword and indicate maintaining the logic suggested by the blend (running the blend), the expression is still strongly linked with the moment of its creation and its author or authoring camp. In the next extract, the catchword is quoted rather than used, and the journalist essentially relies on their recipients’ identifying and evoking the source from which the quoted catchword stems.

(3) Normalny człowiek jak widzi kamerę, zachowuje się lepiej; posłowie przeciwnie. Tak naród dostaje lekcję dobrych manier w wykonaniu tych, którzy – jak to się powiada na salonach PiS-owskich – pochodzą z „lepszych sfer”, bawili się w dzieciństwie na „lepszych podwórkach”, a z mlekiem matki wyssali „patriotyzm genetyczny”. (Gazeta Krakowska 28/7/2008)

[If a normal person sees a camera, he behaves better; unlike deputies. So the people get a lecture of good manners by those who – as promoted in the parlors of PiS – descend from “better spheres”, played “on better backyards” during their childhood, and imbibed “genetic patriotism” from their infancy.] (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

The use in (3) can be regarded an ironic echo-mention (Wilson and Sperber 1992) of the catchword. According to Wilson/Sperber, in ironic utterances “the speaker echoes an implicitly attributed opinion, while simultaneously dissociating herself from it” (1992: 60): The author quotes the catchword which is clearly attributed to PiS origin and simultaneously disaffiliates him/herself from the suggested ideological concept. Nevertheless, this extract also maintains the logic of the blend to a certain degree, since ‘imbibe from one’s infancy’ (wyssać z mlekiem matki) is consistent with and draws upon the input space of genetic inheritance alluding to the parent-offspring relationship.

Further evidence for the contested character of the catchword is provided by texts ridiculing the concept. Example 4 quotes the beginning of the entry for ‘genetic patriotism’ in the satiric website ‘Museum of the IV Republic’ (Muzeum IV RP) which copies the layout of Wikipedia. The text humorously maintains the logic of the blend in giving an encyclopedic explication of ‘genetic patriotism’, which extensively elaborates on the input space of genetics. In this extract the logic of the blend becomes perverted step by step: ‘genetic patriotism’ is turned into a ‘genetic mutation’ found with PiS supporters. Subsequently, negative

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qualities such as greed for money and offices occurring with these ‘mutants’ are listed as symptoms of the newly developed genetic pattern.4

(4) Patriotyzm genetyczny – termin określający charakterystyczny typ mutacji genetycznej, która wystąpiła w bliżej nieokreślonej przeszłości u przodków członków PiS oraz partii koalicyjnych. Wynik tej mutacji, a więc zestaw genów odpowiedzialnych za P. g., jest przekazywany potomstwu zgodnie z prawnami ogłoszonymi w 1865 r. przez czeskiego mnicha, Gregora Johanna Mendla, na podstawie badań nad krzyżowaniem grochu siewnego (łac.: Pisum sativum). Długoterminowe obserwacje pozwalają na stwierdzenie w trybie aksjomatycznym, że wszyscy mutanci P. g. (a więc członkowie Przewodniej Siły Narodu oraz formacji koalicyjnych) są w pełni przydatni do pełnienia najwyższych funkcji we wszelkich organach władzy ustawodawczej, sądowniczej, rządowej, samorządowej, jak również w dowolnych gremiach, instytucjach i/lub podmiotach z nimi związanych, w których zarobki odpowiadają ich unikatowemu genotypowi (co najmniej trzy średnie pensje krajowe + premia od 30% wzwyż). (...) (<http://spieprzajdziadu.com/muzeum/index.php?title=Patriotyzm_genetyczny> (latest access 12/12/2013))

[Genetic patriotism – expression denoting a characteristic type of genetic mutation which occurred in the vaguely determinable past with ancestors of members of PiS and parties in coalition. The result of this mutation, and, hence, the combination of genes responsible for g. p. is transmitted to offspring according to the rules announced in 1865 by the Czech monk Gregor Johann Mendel, based on investigations into the crossing of pea seeds (lat. Pisum sativum).

Long-term observations allow for the axiomatic claim that all mutants g. p. (...) generally qualify for the highest offices in any institution of the executive, judiciary, administration or in council as well as in any committee, institution and/or in business related with these, in which the income conforms with their unique genotype (at least three average salaries + a bonus of at least 30% and more). (...) (Emphasis mine; N. Th.)]

In this example Suski’s creation serves as a precedent text (Karaulov 1986) which can be alluded to and which becomes humorously distorted by perpetuating the logic of the blend.5

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4 Later in the text the phrase launched in order to compromise Tusk alluding to his ‘grandfather from the Wehrmacht’ (dziadek z Wehrmachtu) is mentioned as a ‘negative mutation’ (mutacja negatywna) (see example 4).

5 There is a similar example in the presentation/paper by Natalija Žuravleva in which a simile (‘Belarus is our home’) by a famous Belorussian writer (Uładzimir Karatkevič) was alluded to in a statement by the president in order to back his argument that Belarus should more closely cooperate with Russia (‘build a common house with Russia’) is extended and finally perverted (‘live in a residential home’) in order to turn it into an argument against this position:

Караткевіч дадагожсказаў, што Беларусь – гэта наш дом. Беларусь – наш дом-храм. А ў сярэдзіне лета наш прэзідзят заяўіў, што будзе будаваць агульны дом з Расеяй – это значыць, общежитие. Хапіць жыць у общежитиях!
All these examples show that the catchword as well as the concept of ‘genetic patriotism’ has spread to Polish political discourse. The adduced texts referring to the catchword contain additional lexical items from the field of the input space of genetics continuing the mapping and testifying to the perpetuation of the emergent logic (running the blend). The concept is conferred upon negative traits as well. Yet, the catchword still evokes its origin and is thus strongly connected to PiS (e.g., use in quotation marks, ironic echo-mention). Judging from this preliminary analysis, ‘genetic patriotism’ can be positioned somewhere in the middle on the scale given above.

4.2 The ‘upper cultural shelf’

The next blend was created by Jarosław Kaczyński (JK) during a TV interview with Bogdan Rymanowski (BR) in order to stress that PiS sets themselves apart due to higher cultural and moral standards. In extract 5 Kaczyński positions PiS on the ‘upper cultural shelf’ (wyższa półka kulturowa) which consequently places his political opponents on a ‘lower shelf’. As an aftermath of this interview the ‘upper cultural shelf’ became a winged word.

(5) JK: Jesteśmy jednak z troszeczkę innej półki
BR: A z jakiej półki jesteście?
JK: No, z tej wyższej trochę.
BR: A oni są z tej niższej?
JK: No, w sensie kulturowym najwyraźniej.
BR: A co to znaczy?
JK: No, gdyby byli z tej co my, to by nie tolerowali Palikota, to by nie tolerowali Niesiołowskiego.
(Interview on TVP 24 1/6/2009)

[JK: ‘However, we are from a slightly different shelf.’
BR: ‘And what shelf you are from?’
JK: ‘Well, from that slightly upper one.’
BR: ‘And they are from that lower one?’
K: ‘Well, in a cultural sense they evidently are.’
BR: ‘And what does that mean?’
JK: ‘Well, if they were from the same like we, then they would not tolerate Palikot, then they would not tolerate Niesiołowski.’] (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

[Karatkevič once said, that Belarus is our home. Belarus is our home-cathedral. And in mid-summer our president announced that he will build a common house with Russia – that is, a residential home. Enough already living in residential homes!] (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)
The ‘upper cultural shelf’ can be analyzed as a metaphoric blend. Blending theory encompasses conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) as a specifically configured conceptual integration network (Fauconnier and Turner 2003: 126–135; 154–160). Moreover, Kaczyński’s novel metaphor represents an instantiation of the basic orientational metaphor MORE IS UP – LESS IS DOWN which suggests a spatial organization of values such as STATUS IS UP – LOW STATUS IS DOWN, GOOD IS UP – BAD IS DOWN OR VIRTUE IS UP – DEPRAVITY IS DOWN (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 16–20). Figure 4 reconstructs the underlying conceptual integration network suggesting a spatial distribution of refinement and virtue among Polish politicians.

The emergent logic of this blend is also consistent with other attempts of spatially modeling the socially and culturally different qualities of Polish politicians. There are two famous, almost proverbial, expressions in Polish political discourse also suggesting a spatial distribution of values and habits which originate from utterances by Tusk and Kaczyński in which they comment on their social descent (cf. Kampka 2011). Kaczyński appeals to both in another TV interview in deriving Tusk’s behavior from the fact of him being raised ‘in a backyard’ (na podwórku), whereas Kaczyński himself points to his childhood spent ‘at better places’ (w lepszych miejscach).6

This catchphrase (‘upper cultural shelf’) elicited an immediate reaction of the thus-disqualified Donald Tusk (see example 7) which likewise relies on this metaphor. Kampka adduces another response cited in (8) with a similar reaction in which Tusk admits that both are indeed ‘from different shelves’.

6 Cf. Kampka (2011) for further instances in which references to Tusk’s backyard serve for disqualifying him. Example (3) illustrates how better places and backyards function as quotable precedent texts from which the blogger can also ironically detach themselves.
Fig. 4: Conceptual integration network – the ‘upper cultural shelf’

(8)  
**Journalist:** Tak się pan czuje, że jest pan z niższej półki? Tak?  
**Tusk:** No tak.  
**Journalist:** Na czym polega ta niższa, wyższa półka?  
**Tusk:** Nie wiem, ale chyba jesteśmy rzeczywiście z różnych półek. (...) Niech tak będzie.  
(Cited and slightly adapted from Kampka 2011: 66 f.)  
**Journalist:** ‘You feel like from the lower shelf, do you?’  
**Tusk:** ‘Well, yes.’  
**Journalist:** ‘On what does it depend – this lower, upper shelf?’  
**Tusk:** ‘I don’t know, but we are probably indeed from different shelves. (...) Let it be.’ (Emphasis mine; N. Th.)

Although these examples extend the metaphoric blend suggested in the catchphrase they simultaneously very much function like quotes, i.e. intertextual references to Kaczyński’s interview. In comparison to the above-mentioned catchword ‘genetic patriotism’, the concept of spatial distribution of moral qualities suggested by the ‘shelf’-blend is rarely elaborated on. In (9) a blogger supporting PiS perpetuates the emergent logic of this blend in localizing PO’s shelves in the basement transferring the idea of vertical distribution from shelves to the floors (incl. basement) of a house in order to express his defiance of PO – they act so inappropriately that ‘their shelves’ have to be looked for ‘in the basement’. In doing so, the blogger relies on yet another instantiation of the basic orientation metaphor MORE IS UP – LESS IS DOWN.
(9) Needless to mention the other shelves of PO, because in search of a comparison, one surely has to look for them in the basement! Isn’t it true? What else do I have to say? What the Platforma Obywatelska [PO; N.Th.] is like, how strongly they deviated from their election promises, how terribly they frustrated voters, is what everybody can convince themselves of. Or not? (Emphasis mine; N. Th.)

Other examples suggest that there is no similar trend towards further elaboration or entrenchment of the logic of the blend. Nonetheless, it is frequently referred to in the blogosphere. In examples 10 and 11 the ‘upper cultural shelf’ is utilized as a precedent text with the potential to evoke the moment of its creation including its evaluative dimension. Both cases represent instances of ironic echo-mention since the bloggers dissociate themselves from the evaluative stance attached to this catchphrase by Kaczyński (cf. Girth 1993: 104). At the same time they rely on their recipients to recover it. The ‘upper cultural shelf’, usually a clear indicator of PiS-affiliation and referring to decent behavior and morals, occurs here within blogs critical of PiS which aim at revealing PiS’ true moral position. In (10) it is used as an ironic epithet by a blogger commenting on a critical incident with PiS-deputy Marek Suski (supra, on ‘genetic patriotism’) who behaved inappropriately during an appearance at Radio Zet, snubbing the well-known presenter Monika Olejnik. Suski is ironically referred to as “‘upper cultural shelf’ gentleman’.

(10) I remember how Suski once came to Olejnik’s program on Radio ZET. She gave him some shirt with the logo of the broadcast station printed on it, to what the gentleman “upper cultural shelf” retorted, that he “loves to take it because one is always short of cleaning cloths.” (Emphasis mine; N. Th.)

In (11) another instance of ironic echo-mention of this catchphrase is adduced. The blogger lists several affairs in which PiS politicians have been involved as ‘achievements’ (osiągnięcia) of the PiS government which ‘evidently’ (jak państwo widzisz) reveal their position on the ‘upper cultural shelf’. The blogger here as well relies on their recipients’ ability to recover the initial evaluative charge of the catchphrase from which s/he detaches him- or herself.

(11) Wyższa półka kulturowa

Osiągnięcia rządu PiS
afera taśmowa
afera w ministerstwie sportu
afera gruntowa
afera billboardowa
seksafera
afera związana z zatrzymaniem Barbary Blidy
(...)
Wyższa półka kulturowa jak państwo widzą.
(<http://disease.pardon.pl/dyskusja/1893390/wyssza_p_zka_kulturowa> (latest access 12/12/2013))

The examples reviewed show that this catchphrase is provocative and spreads beyond the PiS camp. It enjoys popularity especially in the blogosphere. Yet this popularity seemingly does not concern the underlying conceptual structure. The catchphrase merely serves as a precedent text which is quoted, ironically echo-mentioned or used as an epithet immediately evoking PiS’ evaluative perspective on the political landscape. The conceptual model suggested by the metaphoric blend is rarely continued in discourse. The preliminary survey therefore suggests that this catchphrase remains a creative blend, positioned farther from the pole of keyword.
4.3 ‘Palikotization of X’

The last catchword represents an eponym. After 1989 there is an observable rise of eponyms in Polish, mostly created as labels for political projects, developments and events closely linked with a particular politician (Warchol-Schlottmann 2009: 321–323). ‘Palikotization’ (Palotyzacja) is an eponym derived from the name of Janusz Palikot, a former member of PO who subsequently founded his own party ‘Palikot’s Movement’ (Ruch Palikota) (from October 2013 renamed ‘Your Movement’ (Twój Ruch)) and who is famous for his provocative appearances and positions which tend to be liberal-leaning. His ambivalent reputation clearly turns him into an *enfant terrible* of Polish politics, especially for supporters of PiS and other national conservative parties. Although the concise origin of the catchword can hardly be identified, it probably emerged in PiS discourse as the examples suggest. In general, ‘Palikotization’ is used in order to disqualify a political opponent, a particular behavior or position by suggesting they resemble Palikot, his manner or views. Examples 12 and 13 reveal the negative evaluative stance conveyed by this catchword since Jarosław Kaczyński relies on this label in complaints about the decline of culture in Polish politics:

(12) Śmieję się z rzeczy, które mówi Palikot. Nieustannie go w Sejmie spotykam i jakoś go nie biję. Ale proces palikotyzacji chciałbym zatrzymać, bo to szkodzi polskiej polityce. (Interview on TVN 24 11/02/2009)

*I laugh about the things Palikot says. I constantly meet him in the Sejm and I somehow manage not to beat him. But I would like to stop the process of Palikotization, because it harms Polish politics.* (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

(13) Ale pewnych słów w życiu politycznym nie należy używać. A przyznać trzeba, że nigdy w sejmie nie było tak źle, jak teraz. To, co się dzieje, określamy jako palikotyzację polityki. Moje słowa są wezwaniem, aby z taką palikotyzacją skończyć. (Interview with Super Express 12/2/2009)

*But particular words should not be used in political life. And one has to confess that it never has been that bad in Sejm as it is now. We define what is going on as Palikotization of politics. My words are a call to stop with this Palikotization.* (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

Interestingly, Palikot himself joins the debate as his eponym turns into a catchword stigmatizing a specific style of public performances on the political stage and in the media by comparing them to his own. In his personal blog he gives a (re-)definition of ‘Palikotization’ depriving it of a negative flavor:

(14) Czym zatem jest palikotyzacja? Mnie, jako ojcu duchowemu tego pojęcia, wypadałoby precyzyjnie je zdefiniować... I tak też czynię: palikotyzacja to multimedialna forma przekazu używana do prezentacji ważnych spraw społecznych. Jej istotą jest używanie...
‘Palikotization’ in these examples mainly refers to the quality of a public performance alluding to Palikot’s preference for harsh statements and flashy appearances. The example adduced by himself in (14) stems from a critical incidence when Palikot ventured the guess that president Lech Kaczyński’s health issues assumedly served as a pretense in order to conceal a drinking problem. His direct inquiry (Czy Lech Kaczyński nadużywa alkoholu?, ‘Does Lech Kaczyński abuse alcohol?’) and going further into possible motives of the drinking problem accordingly created a scandal.8 There is even another eponym derived from the name Palikot, which denotes such scandalizing appearances. In Example 15 ‘palikotek’ is classified as PiS vocabulary.

(15) Palikotkami posłowie PiS nazywają przesadzone oskarżenia, prowokacyjne pytania i niepotwierdzone informacje stosowane zwłaszcza przez posła Palikota w celu pogłębiania przeciwnika.

(Polityka 25/2009 quoted according to Warchol-Schlottmann 2009: 322)

[Exaggerated incriminations, provoking questions and unconfirmed information used by deputy Palikot in order to oppress an opponent are called palikotki by PiS deputies.]

(Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

‘Palikotization’ is derived according to a regular and productive pattern for the formation of new nouns especially from foreign roots in Polish (cf. Jadacka 2001: 81–82). Many eponyms entering Polish since 1989 match this pattern. Warchol-Schlottmann (2009: 322), for example, adduces among others Falandyzacja (‘Falandization’) which is derived from the name of former president Walesa’s counselor Lech Falandysz. It also occurs in the collocation falandyzacja prawa (‘falan-

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8 See <http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,4832313.html> (latest access 12/12/2013).
‘Falandization’ is thus used as a creative label for perversion of justice. This corresponds to the analysis of the meaning of derived eponyms proposed by Anstatt (1997). She suggests that in the process of derivation a particular semantic component associated with the person and their name, respectively, acquires the status of a central semantic component within the eponym. ‘Palikotization’, however, occurs in manifold contexts and various collocations. This turns it into a particularly apt candidate for an analysis within blending theory. As the following examples will show, several aspects associated with Palikot can come to the fore with ‘Palikotization of X’ (Palikotyzacja X-a) depending on the slot filler. Instead of assuming a polysemous lexeme ‘Palikotization’, we suggest that each time another knowledge item about Palikot is projected to the blend.

‘Palikotization of X’ essentially relies on two input spaces: one providing knowledge about Palikot, his typical way of performing especially in the media and his political positions and views, and another representing knowledge activated by the slot filler. In the process of blending, a specific knowledge item from the former input space (either concerning Palikot’s views or his way of publicly communicating) is projected to the blended space. The blend itself, accordingly, suggests understanding a specific way of acting or a specific political position in terms of acting and thinking like Palikot which at the same times lends it a negative flavor. The fact that ‘Palikotization’ occurs in various collocations further testifies to the spread of the emergent logic of this blend. In the remainder of this section the pervasiveness of this logic will be traced in analyzing various collocations of ‘Palikotization’. Basically, three patterns can be identified for ‘Palikotization of X’ (Palikotyzacja X-a).

4.3.1 ‘Palikotization’ of [a social sphere]

With slot fillers such as ‘politics’, ‘media’, ‘public sphere’ or ‘customs’, knowledge about Palikot’s rhetoric is projected to the blend and conferred upon the given social sphere.9 ‘Palikotization’ in these collocations refers to a negatively evaluated and extremely provocative way of performing in the media as well as in the parliament and conveys that the speaker interprets them as symptoms of a

9 E.g., palikotyzacja obyczajów (‘Palikotization of customs’), palikotyzacja mediów (‘Palikotization of the media’), palikotyzacja przestrzeni publicznej (‘Palikotization of the public sphere’) (<http://nkjp.pl/poliqarp/nkjp-full/query/0/> (latest access 9/10/2013)).
general cultural demise. In addition to the example given by Palikot himself in his re-definition of ‘palikotization’ (see Example 14), there is a marvelous illustration of what can be referred to as ‘palikotization’ provided by Joanna Senyszyn (SLD). Similar to Palikot’s above-mentioned provocative inquiry concerning the president’s alleged drinking problems Senyszyn’s statement concerning the constitutional court as well elicited demands to take legal actions.10 During an interview with Monika Olejnik she referred to the constitutional court (trybunał konstytucyjny) as ‘prostitutional court’ (trybunał prostytucyjny),11 which was immediately classified as an instance of ‘palikotization of politics’ (palikotyzacja polityki) by Mariusz Błaszczak (PiS).12 Yet, it is not only employed in PiS politicians’ complaints about a decline of culture (see also Examples 12 and 13) but in the same vein occurs in mainstream media. In (16) ‘palikotization’ is used in order to bemoan that the public sphere is caught up in a general trend of demise.

(16) Tabloidyzacja myślenia, palikotyzacja przestrzeni publicznej, zidiocenie dyskursu obywatelskiego. (Gazeta Krakowska 19/5/2008)

[Tabloidization of thinking, palikotization of the public sphere, idiotization of civic society.] (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

4.3.2 ‘Palikotization’ of [a politician]

The second pattern in which the name of a politician serves as a slot filler can actually be regarded a subtype of the first one. ‘Palikotization’ then is employed in order to disqualify a particular politician for a specific critical incident or utterance by suggesting their appearance resembles Palikot’s. In (17) Leszek Miller (SLD) refers to a public affront committed by his fellow party member and former president Aleksandr Kwaśniewski as to an indicator of his ‘accelerated Palikotization’.

(17) Ja mam dewizę - i myślę, że tu różnico się od Leszka (Millera - red.): trzeba mieć pamięć, ale nie można być pamiętniwy. A mam wrażenie, że on jest pamiętniwy, ale słabo u niego z pamięcią - mówił Kwaśniewski.

11 Interestingly, ‘prostitutional court’ itself is a blend which establishes an analogy between prostitutes and the judges of the constitutional court and suggests that the latter offer judgments (just as the former offer sex) for sale.
Leszek Miller in “Kontrwywiad” RMF FM referred to these words of the former president in claiming that an “accelerated palikotization of Kwaśniewski” appears. (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

Example 18 provides another creative blend elaborating on and evolving from the logic suggested by the blend ‘Palikotization of [a politician]’. In reaction to Lech Wałęsa’s appearance at a convention of Declan Ganley’s eurosceptic party Libertas in Rome Tadeusz Cymański (PiS) diagnoses Wałęsa with ‘palikotoliosis’ (palikotolioza).

(18) Lecha Wałęsa opanowała palikotolioza. To taka choroba w polskiej polityce, która powoduje małe wariatkowo. Już nie wiadomo, czy się śmiać, czy płakać.

(TVN 24/03/05/2009)

[Lecha Wałęsa is infested by palikotoliosis. This is such a disease in Polish politics which causes almost a madhouse. One doesn’t know whether to laugh or to cry.] (Emphasis mine, N. Th.)

‘Palikotoliosis’ (palikotolioza) is yet another blend achieved by means of word formation. The suffix ‘-oliosis’ (-olioza) denotes illnesses or changes of state due to wearing out and not to inflammation. The blend in (17) consequently suggests understanding appearances resembling those of Palikot in terms of symptoms of a degenerative disease. This is in a sense compatible with the logic suggested by ‘palikotization’, which refers to the process of becoming and acting more and more like Palikot. As implicitly suggested in (17), such a process results in the acquisition of ‘palikotoliosis’. In addition, Cymański’s ad hoc created blend framing Palikot-like behavior in terms of illness connects back to metaphors of illness common in the language and discourse of newspeak (Weiss 2000). A recurrence of metaphors conceiving of opposite ideologies or views, as well as of political opponents as diseases or manifestations of diseases, also has been observed in other texts of PiSomowa (Guttke 2010: 234–235; Kampka 2011: 61–62).

4.3.3 ‘Palikotization’ of [an issue, institution]

Last but not least, ‘Palikotization’ occurs in collocation with specific issues, fields or institutions. Here, the position or view concerning the respective issue and held
by Palikot is projected to the blend. Accordingly, the blend establishes a negative evaluative perspective on the thus-labeled position or project. As indicated at the beginning of this section, Palikot is not only provocative because of his appearances, but also because of his political views, which are particularly challenging for supporters of PiS. Not surprisingly, the examples adduced in the remaining section and illustrating this collocational pattern stem from utterances or texts of PiS politicians.

In (19), for example, a local PiS politician refers to planned reimbursement for in vitro-therapy in terms of ‘palikotization of life’ (*palikotyzacja życia*). Palikot advocates in vitro-fertilization which is a highly controversial issue especially with supporters of national conservative parties mainly following the line of argumentation endorsed by the Catholic Church.

Likewise Palikot’s promotion of a further separation of state and church provokes objections within the national conservative camp with its strong Catholic affiliation. It is not surprising that ‘palikotization’ occurs in utterances critical of projects fostering this separation. PiS deputy Marzena Machałek, for example, addresses the government’s planned cuts of financial support for religion lessons in school in an article written for the conservative newspaper *Nasz Dziennik* (10/3/2012) as ‘palikotization of school’ (*palikotyzacja szkół*). Similarly, in an article in the Catholic weekly *Niedziela Ogólnopolska* (33/2013) a quote from the blog of senator Wojciech Surkiewicz (PiS) is included in which he refers to the initiative of a local police commissioner to take crucifixes off the walls of police departments in the city of Radom as ‘palikotization of the Radom police’ (*palikotyzacja radomskiej Policji*).

In comparison to the other catchwords reviewed, ‘Palikotization’ is probably closest to the pole of keyword. There are attempts of defining and re-defining its meaning, which accounts for the controversial character of this catchword and its discursively shaped concept. Moreover, it is not merely quoted or referred to, but

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13 The article is also published on her website: <http://www.marzenamachalek.pl/aktualnosci/palikotyzacja-szkol-marzena-machalek-dla-naszego-dziennika-872/> (latest access 12/12/2013)
productively employed in political discourse and adapted to the speakers’ needs. At the same time there is a spread in political discourse of the emergent logic of understanding and disqualifying specific forms of appearing on the political stage and of particular views by suggesting that they correspond to the way Palikot performs and thinks. Indicators of the pervasiveness of this logic are various collocations in which ‘palikotization’ occurs, as well as further derived lexical items elaborating on the logic of the blend such as ‘palikotek’ or ‘palikoto-lioza’. As a result, ‘palikotization’ functions as a productive blending pattern. Yet, it still very often signals PiS-affiliation which is partially due to the fact that Palikot’s behavior and his liberal views are especially provocative for his conservative opponents.

5 Conclusion – Cognition meets Discourse

Combining discourse-analytic and cognitive perspectives on catchwords which began as ad hoc creations (blends) often tightly connected with a particular discursive episode and ideological position, allows for considering two crucial aspects in the analysis: on the one hand catchwords serve as highly evaluative labels for concepts contested in and shaped by political discourse. On the other hand, they condense a particular explanatory pattern which is later on promoted by this label. A discourse analysis of catchwords tracing their potential development into a fully-fledged keyword in political discourse reveals that at the beginning they still function as intertextual hinges or points of access to the discursive episode in which they emerged. With their discursive dissemination they become increasingly detached from the initial moment. A cognitive analysis on the other hand allows for a reconstruction of the explanatory pattern comprised in the catchword. The conceptual integration network displays the creative conceptual structure of the blend and reveals the implicitly suggested argumentative logic of the catchword and the evaluative perspective on the thus-labeled issue. Starting from the assumption that with the ongoing dissemination of a catchword in political discourse the suggested argumentative logic and evaluative pattern also spreads, preliminary analyses of three catchwords starting as creative blends in PiS discourse (‘genetic patriotism’, ‘upper cultural shelf’, ‘palikotization of X’) have been conducted. The showcase analyses tracking their discursive dissemination in political discourse testify to a correspondence between the ways in which

14 This also may be facilitated by the fact that the moment of its origin cannot be traced back and accordingly evoked unlike the catchwords ‘the upper cultural shelf’ or ‘genetic patriotism’.
a lexical unit is used and employed in political discourse and the entrenchment of the promoted logic suggested by the underlying conceptual integration network. The three items under consideration, nevertheless, differ in their entrenchment.

![Diagram of entrenchment and keywordness](image)

**Fig. 5:** Status of the analyzed blends concerning entrenchment and “keywordness”

The ‘upper cultural shelf’ and ‘genetic patriotism’ are still strongly linked with the situation in which they have been created and with their authors. They remain strong signals of PiS-affiliation, promoting ideological and evaluative positions of PiS. They function as precedent texts evoking the moment of their introduction. In political discourse beyond PiS (e.g., media, blogosphere) they are quoted, ironically echo-mentioned, ridiculed and disputed. As for ‘genetic patriotism’, instances which continue and elaborate on the logic suggested by the blend could be observed, which testifies to the beginning spread of the underlying explanatory pattern. ‘Palikotization’, in contrast, is close to become a keyword serving as a readily available label for a general decline of culture mainly deplored by PiS supporters. The underlying logic of this eponym is based on disqualifying a behavior by suggesting it resembles Palikot’s provoking appearances. According to this logic politicians and political positions or projects can as well be talked down by suggesting they resemble Palikot and his views. The fact that it is productively employed in different contexts points to the wide scope of this blend and thus to the pervasiveness of its logic.

Concerning Polish political discourse, these preliminary results suggest that the linguistic impact of ‘PiSspeak’ (PiSomowa) on the language of politics in
general is rather limited. Particularly, creative lexical innovations conveying highly controversial ideological concepts do not seem to spread in use but tend to remain flashy labels willingly referred to, disputed and ridiculed in political discourse. At the same time, this prevents the explanatory pattern they promote from becoming pervasive in discourse.

References


