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EXPRESSIVE USES OF PROPER NAMES AS UNITS OF MEASURE IN THE CURRENT INFORMAL ONLINE DISCUSSION ABOUT POLITICS IN POLAND

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Abstract: This study offers a cognitive linguistic account of a few remarkably innovative uses of proper names to denote *units of measure* in utterances related to current political issues in Poland, which are delivered with ironic, sarcastic or humorous intent (such as *jachiry* and *ziemce*). The novel words, which are all nonce-formations, are minor conversions. They occur preceded by numerals and are pluralised. The coinages creatively elaborate on the morphological and semantic pattern utilised in scientific terminological eponyms (such as *niutony* and *bubnoffy*). The focus of this contribution is placed on metonymies and metaphors that motivate the form and content of the coinages.

1. Introduction

The present analysis is focused on a few remarkably innovative uses of surnames of politicians and other well-known figures as *units of measure* in utterances related to current public issues in Poland, which are delivered with ironic, sarcastic or humorous intent. A small selection of such recent creative coinages have been picked up from written texts posted in user comments in a few internet blogs, forums, on Twitter, in newspaper columns, on press websites, mostly in informal and semi-formal communication.

The examined word-coining pattern creatively elaborates on a fully conventional and internationally widespread, non-evaluative use of names

as measurement units in scientific discourse. Consider, for example, a few employed in physics such as *amper*, *herc*, *om*, *rentgen*, *niuton*, *dzul*, etc. (in English: *ampere*, *hertz*, *ohm*, *roentgen*, *newton*, *joule*).¹ Such name-based lexemes are instances of eponymy, whereby “names are used to stand for non-personal categories” and each lexical item denotes “a perfectly replicable unit or a category” [Bierwiazzonek 2013, 198]. Both the well-established eponyms utilised in discourse of science and their creative analogues in the current political discourse in Poland, which are examined in this study, involve re-categorisation from proper to common nouns.

Eponyms, which abound in specialized terminologies of many scientific fields, may be derived from proper names due to a variety of word-formation processes (e.g. conversion, suffixation, composition, clipping, blending, acronymy and backformation in English [Lalić 2004, 64]). Measurement units which are in focus in the present analysis are single-word lexemes produced by (intra-categorical, or minor) conversion [Szymanek 1989, 89; Bierwiazzonek 2013, 117].²

In the analysis, scientific terminological eponyms such as exemplified above will be the springboard for further examination of the collected coinages in the ensuing sections. The goal of the study is primarily to explore the semantic/pragmatic content and the communicative function of the examined novel words.

The analysis is premised upon the methodological assumptions of cognitive linguistics, the most relevant of which include the following:

- a) Linguistic meaning is viewed as associated with the conceptualization evoked by a linguistic expression in speakers’ minds and not the linguistic expression itself [Langacker 2013, 27]. It is not fixed or static but it emerges and develops in discourse, shaped in active negotiations between interlocutors through communicative interaction [ibid., 30]. Dynamic in nature, such conceptualizations encompass both established conceptions and novel ones, in “apprehension of the physical, linguistic, social, and cultural context” [ibid.].
- b) A traditionalist, *dictionary* or “purely linguistic” view of a lexical item’s meaning is rejected, instead, an *encyclopaedic* model of semantics is adopted [ibid., 38-39]. A lexical item’s semantic value may thus be contributed by an array of rich, encyclopaedic and cultural knowledge, which is structured by multiple cognitive models, domains and frames [ibid., 43-47].

¹ In internationalisms such as listed above, names may undergo phonetic assimilation to Polish and typically their spelling is assimilated (e.g. diacritics are lost).

² There is rich morphological research on the special nature of conversion in inflectional languages like Polish [Szymanek 1989, 81-87]. An in-depth discussion of the process, and especially the terminological clarifications provided in the literature [Chruścińska-Waszkowa 1981], go beyond the scope of the paper. In this analysis, the term will be adopted in a fairly broad sense, encompassing the morphological changes involved in the process in inflectional languages as well.

c) Cognitive linguists advocate the usage-based model of language, whereby linguistic meaning emerges from use, so in context, discourse and interaction. Thus, no strict divide is postulated between semantic and pragmatic information [Dancygier 2017, 3]. More precisely, cognitive linguistic and pragmatic research prove to converge in many areas of study and they can “profitably complement” each other [Fischer 2017, 331]. Put into contrast, the focus of cognitive linguistics is on “the relation between language and cognition”, while pragmatics “takes a socially situated perspective” (ibid.) In the present analysis, both perspectives will aid in understanding fully how the examined words are used.

An “increasingly popular” strand within the paradigm of cognitive linguistics is a construction-based approach to linguistic analysis, including such “traditionally central areas” as morphology or phonology, for example [Goldberg 2017, 2,5]. The assumptions that directly pertain to word-formation include the following:

d) Complex words are constructions, that is “pairings of forms and meanings” that “may have holistic properties that cannot be derived from properties of their constituents” [Booij 2017, 229, 232]. In line with c), the semantic interpretation of a construction (which is part of the constructional schema licensing this construction) is sensitive to contextual pragmatic properties of the construction in an instance of its use. It may include evaluative or expressive meaning, e.g. contempt, affection, trivialization, endearment or euphemism, etc. Also, it may specifically include a property of a given construction in a given discourse genre [ibid., 232].

One of the key tenets of cognitive linguistics is its “cognitive commitment” [Langacker 2013], which makes mechanisms of human cognition central to linguistic explanations. Relevant for the present analysis are the following assumptions:

e) A linguistic unit (as a whole or its form or content [Radden & Panther 2004, 23]) is believed to be motivated to the extent that some of its properties are shaped, or guided, by a variety of factors, including a variety of language-independent factors (experiential, genetic, ecological, perceptual, cognitive, communicative, cultural, biological, neurological [Radden & Panther 2004, 24-31]).

f) Cognitive motivational factors encompass inference, metonymy and metaphor [Radden & Panther 2004, 24; Panther & Radden 2011, 10].

g) Specifically, metaphor and metonymy, in addition to non-metonymic and non-metaphorical inferential operations, serve as inferential pathways that guide and regulate “much of our inferential activity, including pragmatic implications” [Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal Usón 2007, 33; Radden & Panther 2004, 24].

h) Conceptual metaphor and metonymy are defined respectively as a cognitive mapping (or a set of correspondences) across discrete conceptual domains

and a domain-internal mapping, whereby one domain serves as a point of access to the other within a domain complex [Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal Usón 2007, *ibid.*].

In light of the above claims, particular attention will be paid in this analysis to cognitive motivation and the key role in meaning construction and comprehension in the studied novel formations that is played by metonymy and metaphor.

In the ensuing sections, a semanto-pragmatic account of the examined words is first offered (Section 3), followed by a description of the metonymic and metaphorical motivation which partially licenses the use of proper names in discursive contexts, in which they denote (units of) entities that are replicable and that can be counted (Section 4). The conclusions to the present study are presented in Section 5.

As a point of departure, we shall focus on the properties of lexical items denoting units of measure in scientific discourse, as outlined in the section below.

2. Eponyms in scientific discourse

In the traditional morphological research on eponyms such as listed in the Introduction, the shift from a proper name has been claimed to underlyingly involve the relation of *association*³ [Skudrzyk & Urban 2002, 259]. For example, the newton (N) – the international measure unit of force – is in close association with Isaac Newton, who discovered the second law of motion describing force exerted by an object [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newton_unit]. To take another example, the Bubnoff unit (B), employed in geology, is in association with the Russian scientist Serge von Bubnoff, who measured the speed with which earth surfaces are lowering due to erosion (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bubnoff_unit). In scientific discourse, units of measure are “tribute paying eponyms” [Lalić 2004, 67] – they are commonly named after scientists, inventors and discoverers in recognition of their contribution to scientific progress, their inventions and discoveries [Sadowski 2013, 291].

In cognitive linguistic accounts of eponymy, the relation of eponymous lexemes and their proper name bases is re-cast as a conceptual metonymic relation. According to Bierwiazzonek [2013, 198], name-based units of measure in science are derived specifically by the metonymy NAME OF RESEARCHER/INVENTOR FOR A UNIT OF ENTITY. Metonymies of this kind, which exploit “established conceptual links between human agents and various aspects of their activities”, can be dubbed as instances of eponymous metonymy (e-metonymy) [*ibid.*]. Particularly relevant to discourse of science, e-metonymies

³This relations is described in the original as “przeniesienie (...) na tle styczności (*ma związek z ...*)” [p. 260].

extend the existing categories and, in creating lexical polysemy, fill lexical gaps in the (specialised) vocabulary of a language. Thus, they perform a catachretic function [ibid., 56].

In summary, the main properties of eponymous nouns denoting units of measure which have been identified in the research can be stated as follows: (i) they belong to specialised terminology (scientific discourse, formal register); (ii) they are well-established and fully conventional lexemes (listed as separate dictionary entries); (iii) the relation between the source lexeme (proper name) and the target eponym belongs under the rubric ‘semantic polysemy’; (iv) eponymous senses are extended from proper names by means of metonymy; (v) the eponymous nouns are internationalisms (culture-non-specific); (vi) they perform a catachretic (lexical gap-filling) function; (vii) the semantic relation between the eponym and its proper name source is based on the intent of honouring the proper name’s referent.

In the sections to follow, the neologisms culled from informal and semi-formal online written texts about political issues will be individually characterised in terms of their semantic content in the context of their use, and further, they will be viewed collectively against the background of the characterisations of scientific units of measure overviewed above.

3. A semanto-pragmatic account of creative surname-based coinages denoting measurement units

The collected coinages are used in interactive circumstances whereby an individuated (often anonymous) speaker is engaged in communication with an audience of (anonymous) readers/commentators. Part of the mutually shared context is provided by immediate and less immediate (e.g. the divide among Polish citizens) circumstances of the communicative event in which the novel word is used.

The neologisms are all nonce-formations. They have very low token frequency, a few are isolated instances. They are typically preceded by numerals and pluralized. A more detailed elucidation of the words’ content below often requires situating them in a specific socio-political context, in addition to the sentential linguistic context.

Karpiniuki

The coinage *karpiniuki*_{N(COM.)PL}⁴ employs the surname of the late Polish MP Sebastian Karpiniuk, who sadly passed away, killed in the Smoleńsk

⁴The coinage is decomposable into the morphemes [karpiniuk] and [i]. The plural affix in Polish has a few phonological representations, which are morphologically or grammatically conditioned. They will be treated as allomorphs [Szymanek 1989, 18-19].

plane crash in 2010, and whose fear of flying had been anecdotal among his colleagues and friends. In a rather idiolectal use by his parliamentary group, in affectionate and gentle teasing by the politician's friends and supporters, the word denoted a unit measuring *flight phobia*. This fact was referred to in press articles written in memoriam of Sebastian Karpiniuk following the air disaster [www.fakt.pl; 15.04.2010, www.wprost.pl; 21.04.2010]. The word, which is now long forgotten, epitomizes some essential properties of the examined coinages: ephemeral nature, local community-bound use and evaluative meaning component, whereby the speaker takes up the attitudinal alignment with respect to the name's referent.

Kudryki [kudryczki]⁵; *gowinki*⁶

In informal use on a few specialised forums for academics in Poland such as [www.forum.gazeta.pl.DNU] and [habilitant2012.blox]; [habilitant2012.pl], the surnames of two former Ministers of Higher Education – respectively, Barbara Kudrycka and Jarosław Gowin – are employed to refer to *metrics for research evaluation*, typically, to journal level indicators of such evaluation on the successive lists of journals with the Ministry's recommendation. Part of the meaning of the coinages is contributed by the context of the publish-or-perish policy on academic research and its consequences to scholars.

- (1) Z wielką przykrością stwierdzam, że nie naprawiono karygodnych błędów z poprzedniej punktacji. Ziemiak Polski ma tylko 5 *kudryków*, a Bydło dalej zero. [www.gazeta/forum; 10.12.2016]
 'I am extremely sorry to say that shameful mistakes in the previous evaluation scores have not been corrected. *Polish Potato* is worth only 5 *Kudryks*_{N(COM.)PL GEN.} and *Cattle* is still zero points.'
- (2) (...) patrzyło się, *ile* przynosi *kudryków/gowinków* i to decydowało o tym (...) [http://habilitant2012.blox.pl; 25.01.2019]
 '(...) one would look at how many *Kudryks*_{N(COM.)PL GEN.} /*Gowins*_{N(COM.)PL GEN. DIMIN.} [the publication] brings and this fact would decide (...)'

Even if used by a local community of forum participants only, the coinages have a relatively high token frequency within the forums. As illustrated in (1-2), they tend to convey an air of dismissiveness, or mildly ironic detachment. The expressive meaning of the novel words is partly contributed by the diminutive suffix [Grzegorzczkova et. al. 1999, 425-426].

⁵ The surname Kudrycka is a base for two coinages. In *kudryki*, the plural morpheme (allomorph) [i] is attached to a truncated form of the name (kudry[c]k[a]); in hypocoristic *kudryczki*, the final velar consonant /k/ in the same base [kudryk] alternates with, or, historically, is palatalised to /č/, following the attachment of the diminutive affix /-ik/ [Grzegorzczkova et al. 1999, 426], and finally, the morpheme marking plurality (the allomorph [i]) is added.

⁶ In the singular form, the word is derived by suffixation with the diminutive affix [ek] of the surname in the base [gowin←Gowin], further the inflectional morpheme (allomorph) marking plurality [-i] is attached.

*Ziemce*⁷

An isolated use of the word was picked up from a column by the journalist Marcin Meller in the weekly *Newsweek* (paper edition no.26, 2018). The novel creation employs the surname of Krzysztof Ziemiec, who is one of the leading journalists at the state broadcaster TVP. It was used in a heavily ironic comment about the sports commentator Maciej Iwański's shamelessly overflattering and servile way of greeting the Prime Minister, Mateusz Morawiecki, in the stands of the national football stadium, in a running commentary during a football match. In Meller's article, Iwański's words are quoted, followed by the punchline.

- (3) "(...). Na trybunach jest premier Mateusz Morawiecki z rodziną. Reprezentacja Polski przyciąga wszystko co najlepsze". Wzruszające. W skali od 0 do 10 – solidne 7 ziemców.
 "(...) In the stands we can see the Prime Minister, Mateusz Morawiecki, with family. Poland's national football team attracts everything that is the best." Touching. On the scale from zero to 10, solid 7 Ziemiecs_{N(COM.)PL GEN.}'.

In (3), a relation of similarity is set up between the attitude of extreme loyalty to the government allegedly displayed by the journalist Krzysztof Ziemiec and Iwański's choice of words in the commentary. By the same token, as part of its meaning, the coinage evokes a relation of dissimilarity between professional journalistic rigour – as exhibited in impartial, detached and informative reports of facts – and pro-government journalism, as allegedly represented by both reporters. The meaning of the coinage can be rendered as a measuring unit on the scale of *bias in non-professional pro-government journalism*.

*Sorosy*⁸

The name of George Soros – one of the world's foremost philanthropists – is used as a unit of currency purportedly paid to anti-government opposition in Poland by 'enemies of the state', as exemplified in (4). In (5), the word is intentionally used in the phrase associated with the Bible story of betraying Jesus, framing beneficiaries of the scholarships, grants and other types of funding offered by Soros as Judas himself, receiving his thirty pieces of silver.

- (4) Ja poproszę trzy #sorosy, gdyż byłem na trzech demonstracjach, spaliłem trzy świece. Nie krzychałem, bo trochę się obawiam @mblaszczak [https://twitter.com/lyudakozlovska; 29.07.2017]
 'Could I please get three Soros_{N(COM.)PL ACC.} as I attended three demonstrations and lit three candles. I did not chant [any slogans] as I am a little bit afraid of M. Błaszczak'

⁷ The plural affix (allomorph) [-e] triggers syncopation of the vowel /e/ and modification (consonantal softening) of /m/ in the stem, the word is decomposable into the morphemes [ziemc] [e].

⁸ The word is decomposable into the stem [soros ← Soros] and the inflectional allomorph marking plurality [-y].

- (5) (...) garść *sorosów* ‘a handful of Soros _{N(COM.)PL.GEN.}’ [<https://kodmalopolska.pl/26.10.2016>; <https://fabrykamemow.pl/memy/441665>].

In using the coinage, the speakers are intending to be sarcastic. They are adopting the viewpoint of their adversaries who condemn their civic activity and them personally as paid agents of foreign powers. Quite a few instances of the novel formation have been found mostly in comments posted on websites of civic organisations and on Twitter⁹.

Units measuring *public figures’ alleged stupidity*

By far the most popular entity which is measured in units conforming to the examined morphological pattern is public figures’ alleged stupidity. Language users’ creativity is flourishing, sometimes triggered by specific events, sometimes by observations that are of more general nature. Proper names used in this capacity that are attested in our collection include *spurki* _{N(COM.)PL} (← Sylwia Spurek), *Jachiry* _{N(COM.)PL}, *jachirki* _{N(COM.)PL DIMIN.}, *jachirki* _{N(COM.)PL} *kwadratowe* ‘square’ (← Klaudia Jachirek); *schetyny* _{N(COM.)PL} (← Grzegorz Schetyna); *sasiny* _{N(COM.)PL} (← Jacek Sasin); *blaszczaki* _{N(COM.)PL} (← Mariusz Błaszczak), etc. Sometimes fanciful systems are created. For illustration, consider the examples in (6-7) below.

- (6) (...) Jednostką głupoty i kłamliwej manipulacji w PiSie jest *sasin*, który dzieli się na 100 *blaszczaków*. Np., “obatel” jest równy w tym wymiarze 1,30 *sasinów*, czyli jest o 30 *blaszczaków* głupszy od Sasina, Karczewski zaś jest równy 2 *sasinom*, czyli jest dwa razy większym manipulatorem i kłamcą. Brudzińskiego można ocenić na 0,7 *sasina* (...) [<https://dzienniklodzki.pl/>; 02.03.2018]

‘The unit measuring stupidity, lies and manipulation in PiS [Law and Justice party] is *Sasin* _{N(COM.)SG.}, which is divisible into 100 *Błaszczaks* _{N(COM.)PL.GEN.}. For example, “obatel” [Ryszard Czarnecki] in that system equals 1,30 of *Sasins* _{N(COM.)PL.GEN.}, which makes him more stupid than Sasin by 30 *Błaszczaks* _{N(COM.)PL.GEN.}. Karczewski equals 2 *Sasins* _{N(COM.)PL.DAT.}, which means that he is twice as big a manipulator and liar. Brudziński can be measured as 0,7 *Sasin* _{N(COM.)SG.GEN.} (...).’

- (7) *Spurek* to zakończenie skali a nie jednostka. To coś jak temperatura wrzenia, więcej się nie da. Jednostką może być *Nurowska*, albo *Jachira*, a *Petru* (← Ryszard Petru) dziesiątymi (...). [Twitter.com; 28.08.2019]

‘*Spurek* _{N(COM.)SG.} is the upper end of scale and not a measurement unit. It is like a boiling point, you cannot go higher. The unit can be a *Nurowska* _{N(COM.)SG.} (← Maria Nurowska), or a *Jachira* _{N(COM.)SG.}, and a *Petru* can be a decimal number.’

The listed collection are all single instances which were picked up from exchanges on Twitter and from user comments. Some of the uses came in comments to an interview with Sylwia Spurek, in which she complained

⁹ This includes the website of Fundacja Otwarty Dialog ‘Open Dialogue Foundation’ [<https://odfoundation.eu/>], and on the foundation’s President Lyudmyla Kozlovska’s Twitter account.

of the fate of dairy cows, allegedly linking it to the fact that they are female and not male cattle. It thus appears to be an essential property of the novel creations like the above that they are created as a response to a specific, immediate and passing linguistic need, fostered by a specific event which sparks controversy among the public.

If, admittedly, some may consider the coinages witty, they are also sneeringly ironic, and for many – outright rude and insulting.

In the following section, the scope of the analysis is extended by focusing on cognitive motivation behind meaning construction in the eponymous nouns discussed above.

4. Cognitive motivation for form/content in the creative neologisms

The communicative potential of the examined coinages crucially relies on the nature of their bases – the surnames of public figures who have gained considerable recognition in the public sphere. In cognitive linguistics, proper names evoke an idealised cognitive model whereby each human has a unique name, so the name is the unique instance [Langacker 1991]. Multiple less central domains, frames, or cognitive models, which the proper name may also evoke in dynamically shaped communicative interactions, contribute an array of rich socio-political and cultural knowledge, which may emerge as relevant in a given context of the name's use in unfolding discourse.

The composite lexical meaning in the examined word-forms is contributed by the component morphemes, yet the construction has holistic properties that cannot be derived from properties of the components: the unique sense of a proper name and countability sense of a plurality-marking morpheme (in a few instances, meaning is also contributed by the diminutive suffix). We shall assume that in meaning construction, the extension of a proper name to denote the non-unique sense of a *unit of measure* involves complex inferential activity and is partly licensed by metonymy and metaphor. Put differently, the use of proper names in the examined common nouns is partly cognitively motivated.

It will be noted that underlying the relation between the proper name's referent and the entity which can be *measured* is one between BEARER OF ATTRIBUTE and ATTRIBUTE. The association between X 'public person' and their attribute such as 'fear of flying', 'stupidity' or 'unprofessionalism' is framed as a contiguous relation within "the same single integrated conceptualization" [Bierwiazzonek 2013, 15], which can thus be exploited metonymically. Specifically, the conceptual path in the meaning construction in most examined eponyms is carved by the metonymy BEARER OF ATTRIBUTE

FOR ATTRIBUTE, or WHOLE FOR PART. It deserves noting that the selection of the attribute which is singled out for the association relation reveals a partly subjective construal of that relation.

Let us further note that human understanding and reasoning about ATTRIBUTE as measurable in terms of countable object-like ‘perfectly replicable’ units is facilitated or shaped by human experience with MATERIAL SUBSTANCE and CONTAINER. What appears to be of relevance is the property that a smaller quantity of a given substance has exactly the same properties as the whole substance, and that measuring the quantity of the substance requires a container of a fixed size. It will thus be claimed that meaning construction in the examined eponyms involves analogising [Panther & Radden 2011, 2], or putting in correspondence two discreet domains, so that the entailments holding for substances and containers also hold for the abstract entity of ATTRIBUTE and UNIT OF MEASURE.

As a final step in inferential activity, another metonymic shift reduces the conceptual material accessed in the first tier. The target concept is thus ultimately derived due to the chained metonymy BEARER OF ATTRIBUTE FOR ATTRIBUTE FOR UNIT (OF ATTRIBUTE).

A slightly different conceptual relation is involved in meaning construction underlying the neologisms *kudry(cz)ki*, *gowinki* and *sorosy*, whereby the referent is an AGENT remaining in contiguous association with a very complex conception of their political or public ACTIVITY and, further, with a salient ENTITY related to that activity. They are thus derived due to the metonymy AGENT FOR ACTIVITY FOR ENTITY (IN THAT ACTIVITY). The proper names are ultimately mapped upon the existing *units*, respectively points measuring scientific merit, and large sums of money transferred in support of beneficiaries.

Cognitive processing (metaphorical and metonymic mapping) underlies the shift of the proper names to common nouns and it motivates the distribution of the newly coined common nouns with the plural inflection and numerals.¹⁰

The examined eponyms remain in stark contrast with the scientific units of measure in a number of respects. The main points of contrast can be stated as follows: (i) unlike eponymous scientific terms in formal register, the newly formed lexemes are used in informal, or semi-formal communication in general Polish, in exchanges about political issues; (ii) they are nonce-words – ephemeral in nature, and unlikely ever to become better-entrenched, let

¹⁰ The word-forms of the eponymous nouns which are actually attested in the corpus provide only very limited ‘hard’ evidence for the proper names’ shift into the inflectional (declensional) paradigm of common (inanimate) nouns. The subcategories are formally distinguishable due to some distinct inflectional markers of case for NOM. and ACC., separate for masculine personal nouns (including masculine proper names) and all other nouns (including inanimate masculine common nouns) in the plural, respectively as in *trzech Soros-ów*_{ACC.PL} ≠ *trzy soros-y*_{ACC.PL} in (4). All the remaining case-forms (for the singular, masculine, feminine and neuter alike) are indistinctive for proper names and common nouns in the paradigm. In most uses, the examined eponyms occurred in GEN. and LOC.

alone institutionalised; (iii) the relation between the source lexeme (proper name) and the target concept (common noun) couldn't be thought of as one of polysemy. The semantic extensions exhibited in the short-lived coinages are rather unlikely even to mark a first step that could lead to true polysemy [Bierwiazzonek 2013, 118]; (iv) they evoke conceptualisations which are imbued with rich culture-specific encyclopaedic knowledge; (v) they have a quasi-catachretic function, filling lexical gaps which are often only created by the speaker (such as the intensity scale of bias in pro-government journalism); (vi) the semantic relation between the eponym and its proper name source is based on the intent of the speaker to express their mostly negative emotive or evaluative attitude towards the name's referent.

5. Conclusions

This analysis focused on a few nominal derivatives out of a plethora of miscellaneous proper name-based coinages that abound in the studied text genre, particularly in communication delivered on the Internet [Góralczyk, Paszenda 2020a; 2020b]. Even if the examined coinages are most probably short-lived ephemerides, they prove to be very potent tools of communicating rich cultural content in an extremely efficient manner. Infused with irony and sarcasm, leavened with humour, they are employed in order to usually convey a negative attitude of the speaker and, especially, their negative emotions. The expressivity of the coinages enhances their persuasiveness and rhetorical value – intentionally provocative, the use of such words appears to entice the reader into interaction with the speaker.

Used in communication in a conflict-affected society, the neo-formations perform a range of social functions. These include revealing the speaker's political identity and their loyalty to a political option. Their employment marks out social proximity and consolidates the social group's unity and solidarity among the like-minded readers, at the same time marking out the psychological distance from the political 'enemy camp'.

Some of the lexemes have been created for the purpose of local communication in the limited context of a specific text and, consequently, have a rather limited circulation, confined, for example, to a couple of forums only. In such a case, the coinages are addressed to and identify an audience who will be able to decode their meanings. Presumably, they function more to boost the sense of belonging to a given community than to mark its dissociation from other members of the public.

Also, by singling out a particular individual by name, the speaker ties their name with a range of (mildly or strongly) negatively assessed events and/or attributes that are ascribed to that referent. In this way, the speaker

may emphasise the referent's personal responsibility for a given political or public outcome and frame that person as *the Other*. Part of such a grave message comes as a result of a metonymic and metaphorical shift in the construction of meaning underlying the examined coinages.

Finally, I hope to have shown that, even if the novel words exploit the same morphological and semantic pattern as terminological eponyms in science – they are derived from proper names due to conversion and denote units of measure – they are used pragmatically to express a very different kind of conceptualisation.

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