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Name-based derivatives suffixed with *-izm/-yzm* the current political discourse in Poland

Derywaty z przyrostkiem *-izm/-yzm* motywowane osobową nazwą własną w najnowszym dyskursie politycznym w Polsce

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest analiza w świetle językoznawstwa kognitywnego derywatów z przyrostkiem *-izm/-yzm* motywowanych nazwiskami polityków i osób publicznych, używanych obecnie w dyskursie politycznym w Polsce (np. *jakizm*, *cejrowskizm*, *erdoganizm*, *petruizmy*). Badanie opatrzone jest przykładami użycia takich derywatów w oparciu o korpus ponad stu leksemów – w większości okazjonalizmów – poświadczonych w tekstach internetowych o charakterze nieformalnym i półformalnym. W artykule przedstawiono cechy morfologiczno-składniowe takich derywatów, a także ich opis semantyczno-pragmatyczny. W zasadniczej części analizy wskazano metonimie i metafory, które stanowią motywację dla badanych leksemów oraz mają wpływ na rozkładalność ich znaczeń.

Słowa kluczowe: dyskurs polityczny, przyrostek *-izm/-yzm* w języku polskim, osobowe nazwy własne, okazjonalizm, rozkładalność znaczeń, motywacja kognitywna

Abstract

The present study offers a cognitive linguistic account of selected recent derivatives in *-izm/-yzm*, such as *jakizm*, *cejrowskizm*, *erdoganizm* and *petruizm(y)*_{PL}. Over a hundred complex nouns of this type, employing a politician's or a public figure's name as the derivational base, have been culled from online written sources. The coinages under analysis are mostly occasionalisms that are currently used in informal and semi-formal political discourse in Poland. Both their morpho-syntactic and semanto-pragmatic properties are examined. The focus is placed on metonymies and metaphors that motivate the construction of their meaning and enhance their semantic analysability.

Key words: political discourse, the Polish suffix *-izm/-yzm*, proper names, occasionalism, analysability, cognitive motivation

1. Introduction

The present analysis endeavours to provide a cognitive linguistic account of recent innovative derivatives with the suffix *-izm/-yzm*¹, such as *jakizm* (← Jak[i]), *erdoganizm* (← Erdoğan), *cejrowskizm* (← Cejrowsk[i]) or *szyszkowizm* (← Szyszk[o])², which employ as their bases names of politicians and other public figures. The corpus of data culled for this study contains well over a hundred derivatives attested in the current political discourse in Poland³. They were collected from Internet sources, mainly from short written texts on Twitter, Facebook and other social media, from online blogs, discussion forums, and user comments on news websites, in informal and semi-formal communication.

Some of the examined coinages appear to have acquired the status of a neologism⁴, becoming entrenched as part of the accepted vocabulary of the community of Polish speakers (e.g. *kaczyzm* [← Kacz[yłński]], recorded in the Polish version of Wiktionary⁵). A more established status of some less recent instances, and their (relatively) frequent use in the previous years, is attested in the National Corpus of Polish (*NKJP*) (cf. *lepperyzm* [← Lepper], *korwinizm* [← Korwin [-Mikke]] or *tuskizm* [← Tusk]). The vast majority are not recorded either in dictionaries or in corpora of Polish. They are nonce-words, or occasionalisms⁶, which have been created as a response to a specific, immediate linguistic need, often in circumstances that aroused considerable controversy among the public (e.g. *kałużyzm* [← Kałuż[a]]).

The aim of the analysis is two-fold. First, drawing on the previous accounts of *-izm/-yzm* derivatives in the Polish morphological research, in which multiple specific uses have been distinguished (e.g. Waszakowa

¹ All instances provided in the paper will uniformly be written with their first letters in lowercase.

² We are unable to include information about most of the names' referents for lack of space.

³ We have adopted the year 2000 as an arbitrary temporal boundary for the earliest attestations of coinages selected for the present analysis (mostly based on attestations retrieved from the Google search engine and, for a smaller set of better entrenched derivatives, on the records in the National Corpus of Polish). A good part of the collection comprises formations not attested before the year 2015.

⁴ In the paper, *neologisms* will be defined in broad terms as novel creations which are both *rule-governed* and *non-rule-governed* (Bauer 1983: 63; Szymanek 1989: 23–24). They may also be regarded as occasionalisms which are gradually becoming more and more entrenched (Nagórko 2007: 175).

⁵ However, the lexeme is not included in professional (online) dictionaries of Polish (e.g. *SJP PWN* 'PWN Dictionary of the Polish Language').

⁶ In this paper, *nonce words* or *occasionalism* will be defined in broad terms as words that have been used but have not become established (Huddleston & Pullum [eds.] 2002: 1624). They are often unpredictable and expressive creations, which are coined on the spur of the moment (Nagórko 2007: 175).

1994: 128–135; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006), we aim to establish which of them are currently attested in the political discourse- and informal register-bound context. Second, incorporating insights from the previous investigations of the semantics of *-izm/-yzm* derivatives (e.g. Waszakowa 1994; Grzegorzczkowska & Puzyńska 1998), we attempt to broaden the scope of analysis by identifying metonymies and metaphors that motivate meaning construction in the attested uses.

Our study adopts the methodology of Cognitive Linguistics, with its focus on contextually construed meaning and the importance of seeking motivation behind linguistic structure. Specifically, we draw on Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2013; Radden & Dirven 2007) and Booij's (2017) model of Construction Morphology. The model proposes a re-defined take on morphology in terms of constructional schemas. It implements 'the constructionist approach' to language, which is advocated in a variety of cognitive linguistic frameworks⁷.

Recent cognitive linguistic research recognizes the relevance of *motivation*, or factors which "provide a plausible explanation for linguistic structure" (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa 2014: 20). Language-independent factors that may have an impact on a linguistic unit include *cognitive* motivational factors, which involve *cognitive operations* such as drawing inferences, relating and blending concepts and processing conceptual mappings within a domain and across domains (Radden & Panther 2004: 1–46). Thus, of crucial importance to this analysis are studies of the motivational role of metaphoric and metonymic mappings in derivation (Bierwiaczonek 2013; Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2013; Panther & Thornburg 2003, 2005; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal Usón 2007).

This paper is part of a wider project devoted to expressive, often remarkably creative coinages based on proper names, which are currently used in informal and semi-formal discourse about politics in Poland. Its overarching aim is to determine the metonymic and metaphorical motivations, as well as other factors that license the creation and interpretation of such neo-formations.

The theoretical foundations for the present contribution have been laid out in Góralczyk & Paszenda (2020). For ease of exposition, the most relevant assumptions about meaning construction in derivation, including the motivational role of metonymy and metaphor, are briefly restated in Section 4.

⁷ Booij's model should thus be viewed as part of a wider approach within Cognitive Linguistics, termed Construction Grammar, according to which the notion of *construction* is central to linguistic analyses (Hoffmann & Trousdale [eds.] 2013). It will be noted that Booij's model has been selected as representative of cognitive linguistic research in morphology in Dancygier's (ed.) 2017 book *The Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*.

2. Previous research on derivatives in *-izml/-yzm*

Derivatives in *-izml/-yzm*⁸, including the constructional pattern with *nomen proprium* in the base, have been analysed in a considerable number of (mostly structuralist) Polish studies (e.g. Jadacka 2001; Waszakowa 1994, 2001, 2005; Grzegorzczkowska & Puzynina 1998; Wanot-Miśtura 2013; Grabias 1981; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006). In light of this research, non-name-based and foreign name-based complex nouns with the Latinate formative *-izml/-yzm* have become part of the lexicon of Polish as a result of internationalisation of the Polish language and globalisation of Polish culture. The first borrowings were drawn from scientific language (Waszakowa 2005; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006: 205). In recent publications, the suffix *-izml/-yzm* has been shown to be among the most productive international formatives.

As pointed out in a number of studies, in recent decades there has been a boost in the productivity of derivational patterns in which a native name is combined with non-native affixes. The proliferation of such name-based neologisms has been partly attributed to a growing acceptance of foreign formatives (Jadacka 2001: 133; Waszakowa 2005: 94, 179, 204; Piela 2001: 29, 32–36).

In traditional derivational morphology, the suffix determines the category of a derivative and its meaning. The formative *-izml/-yzm* derives common abstract mass and count nouns. Its categorial semantic interpretation has been defined in research in terms of a small set of core, schematic meanings associated with *nomen essendi*: abstract QUALITY, ACTIVITY, and STATE (Kamińska-Szmaj 2006: 205)⁹. This schematic description is typically augmented with a range of more specific uses of *-izml/-yzm* derivatives. Kamińska-Szmaj (*ibid.*), for instance, provides the following extensive list of meanings: (i) political, economic, social, philosophical or religious doctrines; (ii) political, economic or social systems; (iii) political, social or religious movements; (iv) tendencies and methods in literature, art, and science; (v) a unified complex of qualities or traits of a person or thing; (vi) the mode of conduct (concerning morality, social and political stands); (vii) attitude, mode of behaviour, thinking, verbal behaviour typical of a person;

⁸ Variants of the suffix other than *-izml/-yzm*, such as: *-onizm*, *-alizm*, *-onalizm*, *-ianizm*, *-azm*, *-aizm*, *-atyzm*, *-aryzm*, *-icyzm* have not been attested in our corpus (examples of such derivatives with both common nouns and proper names in the base can be found in Waszakowa 1994: 137–141, 2005: 68). We have recorded a single instance of *-oizm*, namely [*szyszk*]-*oizm* (see also Note 19).

⁹ Waszakowa (1994: 129, 133) distinguishes the following semantic types: abstract qualities ('nazwy abstrakcyjnych cech'), activities, processes and states ('nazwy czynności, procesów i stanów'), and attributes ('nazwy atrybutywne o znaczeniu nieprzedmiotowym').

(viii) commitment to a goal; (ix) special linguistic usage characteristic for a person. In most studies, prominence is accorded to the ‘doctrine/ideology’ meaning (Jadacka: 2001: 133; Waszakowa 2005: 109; Grzegorzczkova & Puzynina 1998: 439).

It has further been noted that derivation of *nomina essendi* by means of *-izm/-yzm* is particularly highly productive with names of politicians functioning as bases (Waszakowa 2005: 108–109, Jadacka 2001: 134; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006: 206). Waszakowa (ibid.) distinguishes two more uses in the context of politics: (x) governance of a politician, and (xi) the policy adopted by a politician in office.

In other than political discourse genres, the name in the base may belong to a different semantic type (e.g. *tokarczukizm* derived from the name of Olga Tokarczuk – a famous Polish novelist, and Nobel Prize winner in literature).

Apart from proper names, the range of lexical categories that may serve as bases encompasses: common nouns and adjectives (they are often internationalisms, cf. *atomizm* ‘atomism’, and *sentymentalizm* ‘sentimentalism’ but let us also note the coinage *wszystkoizm* lit. ‘all-ism’ or *lepszyszizm* lit. ‘better-izm’), verbs (*niwel[ować]-izm* ‘an abstracted quality/state of being level’), pronouns (*onizm* ‘they-ism’ and *nasizm* ‘us-ism’), as well as phrasal or clausal categories (e.g. *donikądyszizm* lit. ‘to-nowhere-ism’, and *tumiwiszizm* lit. ‘here-[it]-is hanging-me-ism’, denoting an indifferent attitude) (cf. Waszakowa 2005: 106–107).

Viewed through the prism of their semantic analysability, name-based *-izm/-yzm* formations are characteristically “semantically opaque”, “semantically extremely complex”, “considerably *condensed* in meaning” (Grzegorzczkova & Puzynina 1998: 450; Waszakowa 1994: 127, 2005: 110; Grabias 1981: 161–162; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006: 209).

They prove to be potent tools for effective communication, performing a variety of socio-political and pragmatic functions. As will be demonstrated in the subsequent analysis, the expressive (negative) potential associated with the suffix *-izm/-yzm* (Grabias 1981; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006) becomes actualized by the context in the vast majority of instances.

The negative attitudinal meaning appears to be exhibited by cognate coinages in other languages as well, cf.: the English *Corbynism*, *Goivism*, *Farageism*¹⁰, the German *Merkelismus*, *Weidelismus*, *Gauland*¹¹; the Russian *Путинизм* ‘Putinism’, *Никитинизм* ‘Nikityn-ism’, *Зюгановизм*

¹⁰ Cf. “Mayism and Sturgeonism are the same opportunistic mish-mash of left and right, whatever-works, give-the-people-what-they-want.” [08.05.2017, *The Herald*].

¹¹ Cf. “Ist der Gaulandismus eine pathologische Spätfolge von Nationalismus und Rassismus?” [07.06.2016, <https://www.weltexpresso.de>].

‘Ziuganow-ism’, *лавровизм Ławrow-ism*¹²; the Slovak *Mečiarism, Ficoism*; or the Croatian one *Tuđmanizm*.

In Polish, this derivational pattern is regular and highly productive. It seems to be restricted only by the pragmatic constraint of the word’s communicative usefulness. As argued by Waszakowa (2017: 122), the high productivity of the schema, giving rise to series of occasionalisms (cf. *ogórkizm(y)* [← Ogór(e)k], *legutkizm* [← Legutk(o)], *giertychizm* [← Giertych], *bodnaryzm(y)* [← Bodnar], *hołownizm* [← Hołowni(a)], etc.), enhances the semantic analysability of the novel formations.

3. Morphological and syntactic properties of name-based derivatives in *-izm/-yzm*

In contrast to some other coinages in *-izm/-yzm* (e.g. the internationalism *hedonism*, Bauer 1983: 120), the instances examined here are morphologically fully analysable and transparent, each being exhaustively decomposable into component morphemes with clear-cut boundaries (e.g. *chazan*_{BASE} + *izm*_{SUFFIX} [← Chazan], *piątk*_{BASE} + *izm*_{SUFFIX} [← Piąt(e)k], *bosak*_{BASE} + *izm*_{SUFFIX} [← Bosak])¹³.

The derivational bases are mostly surnames of politicians and public figures who are currently active in Polish and international politics and public sphere. Several instances are motivated by a first name (e.g. *adrianizm* [← Adrian Zandberg], *mateuszyszczm* [← Mateusz Morawiecki]) or a name of a political party, social organization or public institution, typically in the form of initialism or acronym (cf. *PSL-izm* [← PSL], *pisizm* [← PIS], *poizsm* [← PO], *TVPizm*, *TVNizm* or *tefauenizm* [← TVN], *kodzizm* [← KOD], etc.). It will be argued here that such coinages involve additional (chains of) metonymic mappings that provide mental access to the names’ referents (Bierwiczek 2013: 66–70).

Name-based derivatives in *-izm/-yzm* may further be fed into the process of prefixation by such international formatives as *anty-*, *super-*, *hiper-*, *ultra-*, and *ekstra-*, cf. *antypisizm*, *superkaczym*, *hiperkaczym*, *ultrakaczym* and

¹² Cf. *классический лавровизм* ‘a classic Ławrow-ism’.

¹³ The affix *-izm/-yzm* may trigger consonantal and vocalic modifications of the base (e.g. consonant softening, including palatalization), such as /k/→/kʲ/, /s/→/sʲ/ (*lisizm* ← Tomasz Lis), /n/→/nʲ/; syncope of the vowel /e/ or /a/ (*witkizm* ← Wit[e]k), or the elision of the final vowel, as in *legutkizm* (← Legutk[o]). The proper names used as base words can be subject to truncation as in *kaczym*, *trzaskizm* [← Trzask(owski)] or *macierewizm* [← Macierew(icz)], etc., foreign names may undergo phonetic assimilation to Polish and spelling adjustment (e.g. diacritics are lost), as in *taczeryzm* [← Thatcher] or *erdoganizm* [← Erdoğan].

ekstrakacyzm (see Waszakowa [2005: 49–52] on the status of such foreign affixes). However, prefixation by means of those formatives appears to be restricted to a small number of well entrenched neologisms only.

The coinages under analysis exhibit a marked tendency to appear in juxtapositions that show some degree of lexical integrity, cf. *ziobryzm-jakizm* (← Ziobr[o], ← Jak[i])¹⁴, *dudyzm-szydlizm* (← Dud[a], ← Szydł[o]), and *kiszczakizm-michnikizm* (← Kiszczak, ← Michnik)¹⁵.

Novel *-izm/-yzm* derivatives appear to display defective or marked grammatical behaviour as compared to other common nouns. Most of them tend to take a limited range of premodifiers and are hardly ever post-modified. The instances which can be pluralized typically do not take a numeral or a quantifier. Moreover, a considerable number of attested instances are used in isolation, particularly as hashtags on Twitter or other social networks. In another pattern that can be identified in the data, they co-occur with the paraphrases of their meanings, which is evidenced in (1):

- (1) *Andruszkiewiczyzm* – postawa osoby, która dla korzyści przesadnie pochlebia i usługuje aktualnie rządzącej partii politycznej. [Twitter.com; 30.12.2018]
 ‘Andruszkiewicz _{N(PROP)}-izm _{N(COM)} – the attitude of a person who, seeking profits, is overflattering and servile towards the party which is in government at that time.’

It will be shown in the ensuing sections that the distribution of newly coined words in such patterns as (1) is a direct consequence of the core property of less entrenched occasionalisms with low token frequency, namely that their interpretation is heavily dependent on the communicative context created locally between the speaker and hearer.

4. Lexical meaning from the cognitive linguistic perspective

According to cognitive linguists, linguistic meaning resides not in the linguistic expression itself but in the conceptualisation associated with this expression. It is not fixed or pre-determined but *potential*, *dynamic* and *interactive* – it is discursively, dynamically and intersubjectively negotiated by the interlocutors in a social interaction on the basis of a broadly understood context (S ↔ H) (Langacker 2013: 28, 43).

¹⁴ Throughout this paper, the full form of a name employed as the base is provided in brackets only once; it is not repeated when a given derivative is mentioned again.

¹⁵ Apparently, the pattern has not been observed in the study of Polish compound formations by Cetnarowska (2019), perhaps because it seems to be a discourse- and register-bound phenomenon. Nevertheless, its emergence is fully confirmed in our corpus.

Specifically, lexical meaning is viewed as a point of access to *conceptual content* provided by an open-ended body of knowledge which is relevant to the lexical item's semantic value (ibid.: 39). In the neo-formations under scrutiny, the conceptual content is contributed by an array of rich, encyclopaedic and cultural knowledge, which is structured by multiple cognitive models, domains and frames (ibid.: 43–47; Waszakowa 2017). In addition to rich and specific knowledge, part of the conceptual content evoked by a linguistic unit may also be contributed by more schematic models underlying human understanding of “the manifold situations encountered in the world” (Radden & Dirven 2007: 267). For example, schemas pertaining to the way people understand action or communication will prove relevant to the analysis of some *-izml/-yzm* neologisms. Finally, as has been mentioned before, it is essential for examining the meanings of name-based derivational neologisms that part of the conceptual content which they evoke may be supplied in a local communicative context. The intended meaning is then often made precise further in the discourse.

Moreover, part of the semantic value of a linguistic unit resides in the way the lexical item *construes* the evoked conceptual content (Langacker 2013: 43–44, 55). The construal of the conceptual content in derivation is determined by the affix. The suffix *-izml/-yzm* construes the conceptual content as a THING. More specifically, it involves viewing a non-thing-like concept in a thing-like fashion due to the reification metaphor (Radden & Dirven: 2007: 78–80). For illustration, consider the *-izml/-yzm* derivative in (2).

- (2) Oho, pojechałeś *sasinizmem* i odpowiedziałeś na pytanie nie odpowiadając na pytanie. [www.wykop.pl; 14.11.2019]
 ‘Oh, you used a Sasin _{N(PROP)}-ism _{N(COM)} and answered the question by not answering the question.’

In (2), Jacek Sasin's alleged inclination to avoid straightforward answers is conceptualized as a THING, which may then be used as an INSTRUMENT participant in the communicative event expressed by the sentence. It will be assumed here that the ontological metaphor of *reification* operates as an inherent part of the construal imposed by the suffix *-izml/-yzm* upon the conceptual content evoked in each examined derivative.

In Construction Morphology, 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). Exposed to a sufficient number of instances of *-izml/-yzm* derivatives in actual experience, speakers of Polish generalize constructional schemas, which underlie the interpretation of their meanings and guide the ongoing

creation of new coinages (cf. Booij 2017: 230). In Booij's model, the lexicon is seen as comprising a hierarchy of schemas of varying degrees of abstractness, or micro-, meso- and macro- constructions (ibid.: 233, 235). At one level of abstractness, *-izml/-yzm* derivatives can be characterized as pairings of form and the schematic, abstract meanings of QUALITY, ACTIVITY, or STATE. At a lower level, some of them are pairings of form and the interpretation 'doctrine created by X', or any other more specific semantic values of the category (as listed in Section 2). Finally, at the lowest level of abstractness, each *-izml/-yzm* derivative is best viewed as a micro-construction with its specific interpretation (cf. *marksizm* as a pairing of form and the meaning 'a unified complex of political beliefs created by Karl Marx').

On Booij's (2017: 233) account, morphological constructions may be powerful enough to trigger *semantic overrides*. For example, in the coinage *Britishness*, the affix *coerces* a change from a relational adjective *British* to a qualitative adjective denoting prototypical or characteristic property of the British people (ibid.). Adopting this perspective, it is plausible to claim that in *-izml/-yzm* derivatives, the suffix triggers a shift, coercing the meanings contributed by the base to become compatible with the meaning of the affix.

As noted in Section 2, name-based derivatives in *-izml/-yzm* display low semantic analysability, their meanings are extremely complex and *condensed*. Their interpretation, guided by the aforementioned schemas, requires conceptual augmentation or inferential activity in meaning construction.

It is a foundational assumption of Cognitive Linguistics that inferential processes involved in meaning construction are shaped by conceptual metaphor and metonymy, alongside other cognitive operations which guide human inferential activities (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal Usón 2007: 33). In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is defined as a cognitive mapping (or a set of correspondences) across discrete conceptual domains. Metonymy, in turn, is characterised as a domain-internal mapping, whereby one domain serves as a point of access to the other within a domain complex (ibid.: 33).

The motivational role of metonymy and metaphor in meaning construction in derivation has been recognized by such leading cognitive linguistic researchers as Janda (2011, 2014), Panther & Thornburgh (2003), Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2013), and Bierwiazzonek (2013), among others. However, most cognitive linguists defy the idea that metonymy and metaphor are inherently or automatically involved in this word-formation process. According to Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2013: 42), metonymy is mostly lexical in nature and as such it needs to be carefully distinguished from word-formation. Specifically, they claim that metonymic shifts either precede suffixation (operating on the base and/or the affix) or follow it, but do not operate simultaneously with it.

In the ensuing sections, we provide an account of the motivational role of metonymic and metaphorical mappings that license the interpretation of a range of recent *-izm/-yzm* derivatives in informal and semi-formal discourse about politics in Poland. In Section 5, the focus is on figurative (metonymic and metaphorical) extensions that operate on the base name, occurring *prior to* derivation. The goal of Section 6, in turn, is to explore the figurative (metaphorical) communicative potential of *-izm/-yzm* derivatives. In other words, the focus of that section is on conceptual mappings that extend meanings *following* the derivation.

5. Recent coinages in *-izm/-yzm*: metonymic (and metaphorical) extensions of the base

The cognitive linguistic approach to the study of language builds on the assumption that language emerges in use and context and that linguistic semantics and pragmatics should not be regarded as separate fields. As argued by Booij (2017: 232), morphological constructional schemas include complex interpretation rules, which are sensitive to contextual pragmatic properties of a given construction in an instance of its use. They may include evaluative or expressive meaning, e.g. contempt, affection, trivialization, endearment or euphemism, etc. Such schemas may specifically include a property of a given construction in a given discourse genre.

In the present analysis, we draw on the previous, traditional morphological research into *-izm/-yzm* derivatives in Polish, and treat the semantic classifications that have been overviewed in Section 2 as a departure point for our own investigations. In the course of the analysis, we provide contextually inferred (pragmatic) meanings for each construction attested in the corpus. Additionally, (negative) pragmatic effects of some selected instances are studied in their rich socio-political settings. Finally, discourse- and register-bound interpretation becomes specified in the constructional schema formulated for each examined construction.

In the corpus of coinages under analysis, four recurrent semantic patterns have been identified. Specifically, the derivatives have been classified into categories with the following interpretations: (i) ‘doctrine/ideology’, (ii) ‘policy’, (iii) ‘mode of behaviour’, and (iv) ‘special linguistic usage’. The examined novel words are thus seen as instantiations of constructional schemas at a medium level of abstractness, or as instances of meso-constructions. In each such construction, the suffix coerces the conceptual content evoked by the name in the base to become compatible with the respective meaning of *-izm/-yzm*.

In the ensuing subsections, each of the four constructions will be characterised individually with respect to the metonymies and metaphors that motivate the use of a politician's name in the base to the effect that the semantic contribution of the base is rendered compatible with the semantics of the suffix. In other words, in the subsections to follow the focus of the analysis is placed on meaning extensions operating on the base.

One major methodological challenge that we faced was the breadth of the preceding context needed in order to establish the semantic value of a given coinage. In practice, the immediately preceding sentential context often proved insufficient to accurately determine the word's interpretation, and sometimes even a full-text context did not allow its unequivocal identification. Finally, for a few coinages we noted more than one semantic value. In the subsequent analysis, the distinct meanings are marked with subscripts, cf. *kaczyzm*₁ and *kaczyzm*₂.

In the analysis below, the categories attested in our data are arranged according to their productivity (from the least to most heavily represented ones). For each category, its constructional schema is provided, in the format proposed by Booij (2017).

5.1. Derivatives in *-izm/-yzm* with the semantic value 'doctrine'

The novel formations with the interpretation 'doctrine' – glossed more precisely as 'a doctrine, ideology, political idea(s), set of beliefs, together with associated values, norms and social practices, which is created or propagated by X' – appear to be relatively infrequent in the targeted text types. A couple of instances which have been adduced are mostly lexemes with a foreign thinker's or political leader's name in the base, cf. *salvinizm* (← Salvin[i]), *havlizm* (← Hav[e]), *corbynizm* (← Corbyn)¹⁶. A few with a native name in the base include *rydzykizm* (← Rydzyk), *biedronizm* (← Biedroń) *jędraszewskizm* (← Jedraszewsk[i]), *kempizm*₁ (← Kemp[a]), *adrianizm-zandbergizm* (← Adrian Zandberg), *gowinizm*₁ (← Gowin), *czarnkizm* (← Czarn[e]k), *ziobryzm*₁ and *kaczyzm*₁, among others. The semantic classification of the derivatives has been based on their syntagmatic context, cf. (i) *wyznawcy rydzykizmu* 'followers of Rydzyk-ism'; (ii) *w miejsce katolicyzmu, biedronizm* 'Biedron'-ism in place of Catholicism'; (iii) *o zakłamaniu ideologii jędraszew-*

¹⁶ The infrequent uses of these items in informal and semi-formal political discourse need to be distinguished from numerous instances of this class found in the formal journalistic and academic discourse genres.

skizmu ‘on the mendacity of the ideology of Jędraszewsk-ism’; (iv) *Kempizm: ideologia “zakrzyczyć rzeczywistość”* ‘Kemp-ism: the ideology of shouting the reality down’; (v) *adrianizm-zandbergizm* as today’s Marxism-Leninism; (vi) a quasi-compound *gowinizm moralny* ‘moral Gowin-ism’, bringing to mind an association with the philosophical stance of moral relativism (*relatywizm moralny*), (vii) *czarnkizm jest fałszywą ideologią* ‘Czarn[e]k-ism as a false ideology’ and (viii) *ideologia kaczyzmu₁* ‘ideology of Kacz[yński]-ism’, *prawna doktryna kaczyzmu-ziobryzmu* ‘a legal doctrine of Kacz[yński]-ism-Ziobr[o]-ism’, etc.

It will be noted that while non-native name-based representatives of the category tend to occur in neutral and non-evaluative contexts, the novel native name-based formations exemplified above are most likely to convey the speaker’s negative attitude. In this capacity, irony turns out to be a useful tool, as in the coinage *kempizm* that frames very simplistic ideas as “an ideology”. Likewise, the use of *rydzykizm* and *jędraszewskizm* in the context created by the preceding words *wyznawcy* ‘followers’ and *ideologia* ‘ideology’ can only be treated as a manifestation of irony or hostility on the part of the speaker.

The ironic effect may partly be derived from the pragmatic meaning of the affix, which is conventionally associated with formal academic or journalistic discourse contexts (Grabias 1981: 172; Kamińska-Szmaj 2006: 206). Its use is thus stylistically unmarked with the names of politicians who have attained a wider recognition (e.g. Marx and Lenin), or ideas with major and/or lasting impact that reach a broader audience. When the affix is attached to the base word which is the name of a politician who, from the speaker’s viewpoint, is a local figure of minor importance, the outcome of derivation is a stylistically deviant hybrid, and thus a source of ironic effects.

It appears that the compatibility between the meaning ‘doctrine’, which is contributed by the affix, and the proper name in the base hinges on conceptual contiguity (or closeness) between a politician (AUTHOR) and a complex of his/her ideas (CREATION) (i.e. a generic, metonymy-producing relationship that holds between a frame or conceptualization as a whole and its parts and between parts of a whole [Bierwiaczonek 2013: 11–16]). It will be assumed that the affix coerces a metonymic reinterpretation of the name in the base. Put differently, the base word functions as a metonymic trigger providing mental access to an abstract, complex and multifaceted cultural construct of a political doctrine (in ironic usage: a quasi-doctrine) by virtue of the metonymy AUTHOR FOR THEIR CREATION (Kövecses 2002: 155). The target concept is viewed as a THING and expressed as a mass noun.

The constructional schema underlying the instances discussed above will be formulated as:

$\langle [X]_{N(\text{PROP})_i} -i(y)zm \rangle_{N(\text{COM}; \text{NONCOUNT}; \text{ABSTR})} \leftrightarrow \text{SEM}_i \langle \text{doctrine created by X; discourse and register-bound negative valuation} \rangle_j$

In line with the format proposed by Booij (2017), the schema is divided into two parts: on the left of the double arrow the constructional form is specified, and on the right – the constructional meaning, or (semantic and pragmatic) interpretation. The arrow indicates correspondence between them. The description of the constructional form conflates two tiers: the phonological string, in which the affix is specified and the base has an abstract phonological form represented as X, and the morphosyntactic information, whereby the demarcation of the component morphemes and their categorial description is represented. The indices serve as markers of correlations between the individual components of the form and their semantics (abbreviated as SEM). Specifically, the index *i* attached to the base is meant to indicate that its meaning is part of the meaning of the derived complex noun. The index *j*, in turn, symbolizes the meaning of the derivative as a whole and it specifically includes pragmatic interpretation of the construction in the examined discourse genre and register.

5.2. Derivatives in *-izm/-yzm* with the semantic value ‘policy’

Instances that can be interpreted as referring to ‘political ideas that are put to practice, policy(ies) implemented by a political leader X during their term in office, or their result’ (cf. Waszakowa 2005: 107) are mostly based on foreign leaders’ names. The adduced examples include the following:

- (3) *putinizm* (← Putin), *putinizm-miedwiediewizm* (← Miedwiediew), *erdoganizm*, *trumpizm* (← Trump), *kimdzongunizm* (← Kim Dzong Un), *orbanizm*₁ (← Orban), *macronizm* (← Macron), *lepenizm* (← Le Pen), *merkelizm* (← Merkel), *johnsonizm* (← [Boris] Johnson), etc.¹⁷

In their context of use, many of the above-listed coinages express the speaker’s negative emotions and/or their negative intellectual attitude towards the referent of the name. As pointed out in Section 5.1., the negative meaning component is more prominent in the coinages with native names in the base, which oftentimes convey irony or even hostility. The meaning ‘policy’ should

¹⁷ It seems plausible that, in contrast to native name-based derivatives, foreign words such as *putinizm*, *orbanizm*, *hawlizm* or *salvinizm* were borrowed into Polish as wholes.

thus be properly interpreted through the lenses of such pragmatic effects. For illustration, consider examples (4)–(6):

- (4) *Kaczym₂* jak faszyzm niszczy Polskę. [www.rmf24.pl; 16.07.2017]
 ‘Kacz_{N(PROP)}-izm_{N(COM)} like fascism is doing damage to Poland.’
- (5) *Tuskizm₁* nie ma powrotu: zabierał biednym, oddawał bogatym.
 ‘There is no return to Tusk_{N(PROP)}-izm_{N(COM)}: he took from the poor and gave to the rich.’ [https://cyklista.wordpress.com; 2403.2017]
- (6) Ja przed katolicyzmem uciekać nie muszę. Ja boję się *rydzykizmu, hoseryzmu, dydyczizmu*. [http://www.racjonalista.pl/forum; 25.10.2015]
 ‘I do not need to escape from Catholicism. It is Rydzyk_{N(PROP)}-izm_{N(COM)}, Hoser_{N(PROP)}-izm_{N(COM)}, Dydycz_{N(PROP)}-izm_{N(COM)} that I am afraid of.’

In (4), the sentential context facilitates the interpretation of the italicised derivative as the governing policy and practice of the government established by Jarosław Kaczyński, which are likened to fascism in Germany. In (5), the thrust of irony and negative evaluation is directed at the governing policy of the former Prime Minister, Donald Tusk, who is described as Robin Hood *à rebours*. In (6), the hierarchy in the Polish Catholic Church is negatively evaluated by the speaker, which is partly revealed by the syntagmatic context of the negatively charged words *afraid* and *escape*.

It will be argued that *-izm/-yzm* derivatives which are instances of the category ‘policy’ in their meaning evoke the *action schema*, which is an underlying schematisation of recurrent real life situations, whereby “a human agent deliberately and responsibly acts upon another entity” (Radden & Dirven 2007: 284–285). The human entity is an AGENT in terms of its semantic role, the entity which is acted upon has the role of a PATIENT and it has an unindividuated character, which in the broad socio-political context is more likely to be identified with a social group. It will further be argued that the event in which the AGENT acts upon the PATIENT is mentally accessed only indirectly, via its agent participant. The exact nature of the action is suppressed and so is the entity of the PATIENT. However, what appears to be a distinctive meaning component of the category, the AGENT participant evokes an additional semantic specification (‘a person who deliberately and responsibly implements a policy’).

In summary, we assume that due to the attachment of the suffix, the name in the base is coerced to serve as a metonymic trigger in the metonymy AGENT FOR ACTION, which operates within the base. At a more generic level, the metonymy exploits the relationship that holds between a frame or conceptualization as a whole and its parts, or between parts of a whole (Kövecses 2002: 150). The thing-like view of the target entity is imposed by the affix.

The constructional schema of the category will be formulated as follows:

$\langle [X]_{N(\text{PROP})i} -i(y)zm \rangle_{N(\text{COM}; \text{NONCOUNT}; \text{ABSTR})} \leftrightarrow \text{SEM}_1$ ‘policy induced by X; discourse and register-bound negative valuation’_j>.

5.3. Derivatives in *-izm/-yzm* with the semantic value ‘special linguistic usage’

The interpretation of novel creations that belong to this category can more accurately be rendered as ‘an individuated idea or a set of ideas, together with their linguistic expression, which are characteristically associated with the referent named in the base word, and which have gained (typically negative) publicity’. The best-entrenched representative of the class is *walęsizmy*, denoting famous sayings of Lech Wałęsa¹⁸. It is perhaps the only instance which is not negatively charged, or only mildly so. More recent examples include the following:

- (7) *tuskizm*_{2-y}, *ogórkizm*-y, *jakizm*-y, *gowinizm*_{2-y}, *kempizm*_{2-y} (← Kemp[a]), *kopaczyszmy*-y (← Kopacz), *lisizm*-y, *szydlizm*-y, *schetyinizm*-y (← Schetyń[a]), *budkizm*-y (← Budk[a]), *kidawizm*-y (← Kidaw[a]-Błońska), *glempizm*-y (← Glemp), *micchalikizm*-y (← Michalik), *głódzizm*-y (*kazaniowe* ‘occurring in sermons’) (← Głódź), *ławrowizm*-y (← Ławrow), *orbanizm*_{2-y} (as in *opowiadasz orbanizmy* ‘you talk Orban-ism-s’), *petruizm*-y (← Petru), *dudyzmy* (← Dud[a]), etc.

Let us consider an example in the context of a clause:

- (8) [...], że PiS chce zatrzymać ludzi ukontentowanych 500+ w domach, żeby nie „spacerowali” (*blaszczakizm* biorę w cudzysłów) po ulicy ze świeczkami. (facebook.com) [...] that PIS [Law and Justice Party] wants to keep the people who are contented to have received financial support in the Family 500+ programme from “walking” the streets with candles (I put the *blaszczak*_{N(PROP)}-ism_{N(COM)} SG in inverted commas)

The example in (8) features a bizarre comment by Mariusz Błaszczak, the current Minister of Defence, who publicly referred to the protesters who took to the streets in Poland in September 2016 as ‘walkers’ or passers-by.

As already mentioned, it is an essential meaning component of the construction a given special linguistic usage is typical of and characteristic for a given politician. Oftentimes, a politician’s peculiar remarks inspire much interest in the social media, rocketing to fame on Twitter (cf. *#kempizmy*), or spawning viral memes (e.g. *dudyzmy*).

Waszakowa (2005: 109–110) classifies such uses of *-izm/-yzm* derivatives as a sub-category of the QUALITY meaning of the suffix at a higher level

¹⁸ Its earliest attestations, retrieved from the Google search engine, date back to 1996.

of abstractness. In contrast to adjective-based derivatives like *Americanism* or *colloquialism*, whose base words evoke the concept of quality, the suffix *-izm/-yzm* in such occasionalisms as *kidawizm(y)* creates a suddenly perceived incongruence that needs to be resolved. It will be claimed that conceptual augmentation, or the inferences that are made in meaning construction in such derivatives involve both metonymic and metaphorical mappings, or, more precisely, metonymy *in interaction with* metaphor (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa 2014).

Specifically, we would like to suggest that the conceptual content evoked by the proper name in the base should properly be situated at the event level, describing the situation of communication in the material world. Following Radden & Dirven (2007: 294–295), we assume that the schematic meaning of communication involves a configuration of three salient participants: the speaker (AGENT), the hearer (RECIPIENT) and the message (THEME), and an act of abstract transfer, all arranged in THE TRANSFER SCHEMA. We further assume that inherent in the schema are the ontological metaphors of OBJECTS and CONTAINERS (sub-metaphors of the CONDUIT metaphor complex), which pave the way for the understanding of the THEME entity.

As observed by Radden & Dirven (*ibid.*), “Acts of transfer are often accompanied by a change of possession: the agent gives up her ownership of a thing [...]”. It is then plausible to construe the THEME as an abstract POSSESSION and the speaker as POSSESSOR. The relationship POSSESSOR – POSSESSION is among major metonymy-generating relations confirmed in research. In this relation type, the POSSESSOR is typically the metonymic vehicle (e.g. Bierwiazzonek 2013: 8; Kövecses 2002: 155). We shall thus posit that a politician’s characteristic choice of words or arguments, which are publicly known as typical of that politician, are construed as their POSSESSION and mentally accessed through their relation to that public figure (via the metonymy POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED). The interpretation of the *-izm/-yzm* coinages that denote idiolectal language use can thus be restated in terms of a metaphor-metonymy complex involving a metonymic reduction of the conceptual material provided by the metaphors structuring the way we understand communication (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014).

The target entity POSSESSED (shaped by the ontological metaphors IDEAS ARE OBJECTS and LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS) is conceptually a THING and it is thus compatible with the thing-like profile imposed by the suffix. The schema licenses the conceptualisations which are coded as count nouns. It will be noted that the derivatives representing this category are typically pluralized.

The constructional schema that underlies and licences instances of the category can be formulated as:

$\langle [[[X]_{N(\text{PROP})} i(y)zm] Y_{PL}]_{N(\text{COM}; \text{COUNT}; \text{ABSTR}; \text{PL})} \leftrightarrow \text{SEM}_i \text{ 'special linguistic usage of X; discourse and register-bound negative valuation.'} \rangle$

5.4. Derivatives in *-izm/-yzm* with the semantic value 'mode of behaviour'

The derivatives that belong to this semantic category evoke meanings of special attitude, mode of behaviour, thinking, verbal behaviour of the name's referent as a politician but also as a person, which are all framed as characteristic and typical of them (cf. sense [viii] in Kamińska-Szmaj's [2006] classification, see Section 2). By way of example, let us note an ironic remark in (9), in which Speaker B presents their view that, as a politician, Jacek Sasin is a combative and unscrupulous propagandist.

- (9) A: 'Ja rozumiem, że to najlepsza metoda wkładać krytykom kłamstwa w usta a potem to z oburzeniem dementować, ale nie tędy droga.'
 B: Daj spokój to #sasinizm jest. [<https://twitter.com>; 31.01.2018]
 A: 'I understand that the best method is to put lies into the lips of the critics' and then hotly deny them, but it is not the right way (to behave).'
 B: 'Oh, it is just Sasin-_{N(PROP)}-ism _{N(COM)}'

It will be argued that part of the conceptual content evoked by the name in the base (Jacek Sasin's name in the case at hand) is contributed by *the action schema*. In the schema, a human AGENT is voluntarily and responsibly involved in an action, typically acting upon an unindividuated PATIENT, while the nature of this action is characteristically linked with and distinctive for this individual AGENT. In a fashion similar to the category interpreter as 'policy', in the coinages denoting 'mode of behaviour', the whole event, whereby AGENT is engaged in ACTION, is mentally accessed via its AGENT participant. The core difference between 'policy' and 'mode of behaviour' lies in the semantic nature of the Agent. In the latter, the Agent evokes a semantic specification that can be rendered as 'a person who deliberately and responsibly acts in a specific way', while the meaning component of policy making or governance is not highlighted. Further, the inferential activity is guided by the metonymy AGENT FOR ACTION which operates on the base (PART FOR PART metonymy at a more generic level). Finally, due to the profile imposed by the affix, the target entity is reified and viewed as a THING.

Numerous instances of the category were attested in our corpus, as exemplified below.

- (10) *szyszkoizm* (← Szyszko[o])¹⁹, *bodnaryzm*, *kuchcizm* (← Kuchc[íński]), *blaszczyzm* (← Błaszcz[ak]), *blaszczakizm*, *kukizm* (← Kuk[iz]), *waszczyzm* (← Waszcz[ykowski]), *suskizm* (← Susk[i]), *sasizm* (← Sas[in]), *witkizm*, *magierowizm* (← Magierow[ski]), *legutkizm* (← Legutk[o]), *zybertowiczizm* (← Zybertowicz), *rydzyzm* (← Rydz[yk]), *dudyzm/dudzizm* (← Dud[a]), *gowinizm*₃, *ziobryzm-jakizm*, *schetynizm* (← Schetyn[a]), *misiewiczizm* (← Misiewicz), *Kurskizm* (← Kurski), *jaruzelizm* (← Jaruzel[ski]), *glińskizm* (← Glińsk[i]), *ziobryzm*₂, *ziobryzm-schetynizm*, *owskiakizm* (← Owskiak), *gmyzizm* (← Gmyz), *żakowskizm* (← Żakowsk[i]), *lisizm*, *frasyniukizm* (← Frasyniuk), *jandyzm* (← Jand[a]), *chazanizm*, *balcerowizm* (← Balcerow[icz]), and *żurkizm* (← Żur[e]k), *kalużyzm*, etc.

By way of summary, let us observe that numerous examples in our corpus, and particularly instances of the latter category, convey not only irony and negative attitude or psychological distance of the speaker, but often also animosity and hostility towards the referent of the base.

The constructional schema that licenses the coinages in this category will be formulated as follows:

$\langle [X]_{N(\text{PROP})i} -i(y)zm \rangle_{N(\text{COM}; \text{NONCOUNT}; \text{ABSTR})} \leftrightarrow \text{SEM}_i$ ‘mode of behaviour; discourse and register-bound negative valuation_j’.

6. Metaphorical uses of *-izm/-yzm* derivatives

In the analysis of the *-izm/-yzm* derivatives in the foregoing sections, the focus was on metonymic and metaphorical motivations underlying the interpretation of the name in the derivational base. A number of metonymies and metaphors have been shown to operate on the base, extending its meaning so that it becomes compatible with the semantics of the suffix. So far, we have disregarded figurative uses of derivatives, whereby a given coinage is contextually licensed by metaphor. For illustration, consider the following:

- (11) Wicepremierowi Mateuszowi Morawieckiemu przytrafił się nie lada „*petruizm*”.
[16.02.2017; www.interia.pl]
‘Vice Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki made quite a Petru-_{N(PROP)}-ism_{N(COM)}.’

The semantic value of the coinage *petruizm* hinges on the metonymic relationship between Ryszard Petru (POSSESSOR) and his the idiolect that is characteristic for this politician (see Section 5.3). In the context of the word’s

¹⁹ It deserves note that, as the inflectional endings of the base word do not become part of the complex word in Polish, the morphological structure of the derivative *szyszkoizm* should properly be analysed as [Szyszko(o)][-oizm] and not *[Szyszko][-izm].

use in (11), the correspondence is set up between the politician Ryszard Petru and his famous and amusing tongue slips, and the Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki and the language error he made on a specific occasion, which the speaker classified as a token of the type *petruizm*. Due to metaphor, some conceptual material in discrete conceptual domains has been construed as similar.

7. Conclusions

In the present analysis, we hope to have shown that meaning construction in the recent *-izm/-yzm* formations proceeds, in large measure, along well-trodden conceptual paths. As has been argued, the inferential activity involved in understanding complex and condensed meanings that the novel formations convey is facilitated by: (i) two event schemas (the action schema and the transfer schema), (ii) a range of metonymies triggered in generic metonymy-producing conceptual relationships, including WHOLE-PART, PART-PART, and POSSESSOR-POSSESSED, and, finally, (iii) ontological metaphors (sub-metaphors of the CONDUIT metaphor complex).

We also hope to have confirmed that suffixation by means of *-izm/-yzm* is a highly productive word-formation process in the examined discourse genre, which may be due to the semi-formal or informal character of the targeted text types. Even if the majority of the coinages are most probably short-lived ephemerides, they prove to be effective tools of communicating rich cultural content in an extremely efficient and economical manner. Most of them include as their meaning component a negative attitude of the speaker and, especially, their negative emotions, which enhances the words' persuasiveness. Many seem to have been used deliberately to convey irony, mockery or hostility and animosity. As such they appear indicative of the current social conflicts in Poland as well as their scale and roots.

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