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Newspeak revisited: an analysis of selected speeches of PiS politicians from the 2019 Polish parliamentary elections

**Powrót nowomowy: analiza wybranych przemówień polityków PiS
z okresu wyborów parlamentarnych 2019 r.**

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie kampanijnego dyskursu polskich polityków konserwatywnej partii PiS. W szczególności artykuł stanowi próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy wypowiedzi polityków PiS zawierają elementy charakterystyczne dla polskiej nowomowy z czasów komunistycznych. Korpus badawczy składa się z zapisów publicznych wypowiedzi głównych polityków PiS z okresu od czerwca do października 2019 r. Materiał pochodzi z internetowych źródeł, przede wszystkim z konwencji partii oraz gazet. Teksty zostały poddane wnikliwej analizie stylistycznej. Przeprowadzone badanie umożliwiło wskazanie dominujących technik nowomowy wykorzystanych w dyskursie wyborczym prawicowej partii.

Słowa kluczowe: nowomowa, PiS, dyskurs polityczny, wybory parlamentarne

Abstract

The study aims to examine the parliamentary campaign discourse of politicians of PiS (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, lit. Law and Justice), the main right-wing Polish party, with a view to determining whether their language displays some similarities with Polish Newspeak used in the era of Communism. The research corpus consists of public statements of the most important PiS politicians delivered in the election campaign from June to October 2019. The research material comes from a plethora of online media sources, especially records of PiS conventions and from online newspapers. The selected texts underwent close scrutiny and stylistic analysis. This allowed for determining the patterns of Newspeak employed in this right-wing party parliamentary campaign.

Keywords: Newspeak, PiS, political discourse, parliamentary election campaign

1. Introduction

It can be observed that certain Newspeak techniques are still used in the sphere of political communication, irrespective of political changes after the transformation of 1989. According to Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak (2008: 158), conservative and nationalist parties are especially prone to Newspeak patterns. The present study aims to determine whether the language of the election campaign of the PiS party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, lit. Law and Justice) displays some similarities with the language of Polish Newspeak used in the era of Communism¹. Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak's views constitute the starting point for the analysis, since one can pose the question whether and to which extent the rhetoric and stylistic devices of Newspeak are employed in the modern Polish political discourse and how particular parties, especially the main ones like PiS, make use of them.

Drawing upon the works of Głowiński (2006), Kłosińska and Rusinek (2019) who state that contemporary political discourse of PiS retrieves to the Newspeak, the present study revisits communist vestiges in discourse of the main politicians from the governing party. The research material comes from the parliamentary election period from June to October 2019. The corpus of 30 public speeches of Morawiecki and Kaczyński was analyzed to observe whether Newspeak devices are employed in PiS policy as exemplified in the campaign discourse.

Here, it is of importance to highlight that the article does not analyze all statements uttered by these politicians during the parliamentary campaign. The 30 proclamations that present the most prevalent points underlying the parliamentary campaign of PiS were selected to compose the research corpus. The utterances refer to family, gender and leftwing opponents, i.e. the issues reiterated through the whole campaign. The study details the examples which serve to legitimize the party's vision and involve the Newspeak techniques.

The instantiations were extracted from the newspapers, i.e. Polish socio-political newspapers, inter alia "Sieci" or "OKO.press", and manually done transcriptions of party commences, and TV news websites, i.e. tvn24.pl or tvpinfo.pl and the official page of PiS. The preliminary analysis of 30 texts enabled me to distinguish the most recurrent Newspeak patterns, which are to be discussed in the article. The transcriptions of public speeches underwent

¹ It is planned to analyze the use of Newspeak techniques in the discourse of other main Polish political parties, so that their specification and distribution could be determined and compared.

a thorough manual reading with the aim of identifying the most salient Newspeak techniques, in the sense of Głowiński (1990) and Bralczyk (2003).

2. Polish Newspeak from a linguistic perspective

The term *Newspeak* coined by George Orwell refers to the ideological language, which was originally used by the totalitarian and communist leaders. The language of Newspeak aims to promote the governing authority and its ideas, serving as a tool for propaganda, since it allows for imposing certain visions and evaluations (Sambor 1985: 365). Fras (2005: 83–86) claims that politicians create a certain vision of reality which often largely differs from the real one. It means that such politicians produce utterances which are untrue to impose their subjective and unattested picture of reality on people, i.e. to manipulate them. For instance, long-term problems are called temporary problems.

The ruling party creates its own lexicon of the key terms and slightly changes vocabulary semantics. The politicians, most of all, change or blur words' meanings. For instance, the word *polski* ('Polish') loses its basic meaning of national identity. Instead, the adjective in question is associated with the conservative values. Finally, the party uses the so-called inclusive pronoun *we* to show that both the party and voters share the same values. All opposing parties are portrayed as national enemies destroying the social harmony. Therefore, newspeak rhetoric is supposed to diminish electorate's independent thinking and circumvent citizens' own observations and conclusions on a given social issue.

The language of Newspeak was pervasive in Polish politics under the communist regime (1944–1989) (Ponobis 1990). The year of 1989 is a groundbreaking moment in the history of Poland. It was the time when the economic and political transformation took place. Most importantly, the transformation meant the fall of communism in Poland. It brought a successful quest for democracy and, as a consequence, the language of Polish politics changed (Ozóg 2007: 103). What is crucial is the fact that the transformation denoted a multi-party political system and abolition of censorship. The communist prevalent form of monologue has been replaced by discussion and debate (Kamińska-Szmaj 2008: 254–256).

Many researchers investigate the sphere of political communication and style, analyzing it from various perspectives. For instance, Fras (1999) explores Polish political discourse, especially the language of political propaganda. Głowiński (1990) and Bralczyk (2003) analyze the old

Newspeak, i.e. the language used by the authorities in the communist Poland. Grzegorzczkowska (1985) also investigates the Polish Newspeak, but the scope of her study embraces the functions of its variety. In turn, Sambor (1985) explores the old Newspeak and its capacity of creating arbitrary terms.

Nowadays, scholars continue conducting research political discourse employed in democratic Poland. The way language is used by contemporary parties has been the object of several studies, including that of Kłosińska and Rusinek (2019) who examine the key-words of the rhetoric of PiS, with a special emphasis on the words' capacity to shape reality and sway electorate's opinions. In turn, Szerszunowicz (2016) discusses the cultural boundness and the translational aspect of modern Polish political language.

3. Modern Polish Newspeak employed by PiS

The analysis of the collected material shows that the language of PiS is reminiscent of the Newspeak patterns: the Polish ruling party employs the Newspeak techniques to transmit its ideology. Głowiński (2006) even coins the term *pisomowa*² which blends the acronym *PiS* with the word *Newspeak* (Pol. *nowomowa* 'newspeech'). The coinage of this contamination may be interpreted as an indication that the communication style adopted by this party resembles that of Newspeak.

The following subsections of the article discuss the main Newspeak strategies, i.e. usurping actions, magical language, arbitrary terms, political polarization and ritualization. The discussion of strategy of usurping actions is framed here in speaking in the name of the whole nation as well as validating the political actions and decisions. The section on magical language discusses the capacity of language and words to shape reality. The scrutiny of arbitrary terms proves that words convey speaker's perspective and evoke connotations among voters. The exploration of political polarization discusses the ways of linguistic representation of political opponents. Finally, the ritualization of the message is explained on the example of the common enemy.

² <<https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/spoleczenstwo/200965,1,nowomowa-wladzy.read>>, accessed: November 13, 2019.

3.1. Usurping actions

In Newspeak communication, there is no difference between factive descriptions and postulates. The politicians constantly repeat the desirable normative, then desires and predictions are accepted as universal truths. Accordingly, bans and orders are considered as cause force and people should obey the party instructions (Bralczyk 2003: 6).

PiS wins the election in 2015 and the political grouping introduces its program *dobra zmiana* (lit. good change). They implement government-run social programs, immensely popular with Poles. From a linguistic perspective, the phrase *dobra zmiana* conveys direct axiology of “good”. In the parliament election, the right-wing politicians speak on behalf of the Polish nation. This seems to be the case in the passage below:

Mamy dobry czas dla Polski i chcemy by on trwał (Mateusz Morawiecki, 24 August 2019)³.

[Now] there is a good time for Poland and we want to continue it⁴.

The politicians reckon that they know what the Polish nation needs. In the 2019 election, politicians decide to continue their former program of the good change. However, the name has been replaced by the slogan *Dobry czas dla Polski* (lit. Good time for Poland). It implies that the good change initiates a good time for Poland, so if Poles want the policy to be continued, they have to vote for PiS. Note further that PiS formulates statements that allow an attribution of “good” to the conservative party, as evidenced in the following statement:

Nasi wyborcy głosują za czymś na plus: za lepszą polityką społeczną, rodzinną, rozwojową (Mateusz Morawiecki, 9 September 2019)⁵.

Our electorate votes for something on the plus side: for a better social, family and development policy.

In that comment, the Prime Minister speaks on behalf of the PiS electorate and he predicts that Poles will vote for his party. In the conservative language, all social programs are accompanied by the word *plus* (‘plus’). For instance, PiS politicians promise *500 plus*, *flat plus* or *pension plus*⁶. The word *plus* used for the first time in the collocation *500 plus* carries a mathematical

³ <<http://pis.org.pl/aktualnosci/mamy-dobry-czas-dla-polski-i-chcemy-by-on-trwal>>, accessed: November 13, 2019.

⁴ All translations own.

⁵ <<https://www.wsieciprawdy.pl/sieci-odrodzony-narod-znow-pokaze-swoja-sile-pnews-4131.html>>, accessed: October 10, 2019.

⁶ *500 plus* is a flagship social program of PiS that guarantees financial support for each child before turning 18.

sense: 500 zlotys per child, thus, in a family with more children the overall amount of money increases. Here, the lexeme *plus* refers to financial support which parents of more than one child receive from the Polish government. However, in Morawiecki's rhetorical terms the constituent *plus* seems to be ontologically empty. It entails mainly axiological associations, as in this case in point, it evokes prosperity and higher living standards. By means of the phrase used in the above example, Morawiecki's party aims to gain voters' credibility.

To validate righteousness of the right-wing party program, politicians use the language that brings the concept of values to the fore (Bartmiński and Grzeszczak 2015: 9). Kłosińska (2012: 35) rightly observes that PiS endorses the ethical discourse drawing on core values (faith, church or family) and citizens' emotion. The politicians understand Polish affinity for core values and they refer to moral and idealistic stance. Importantly, the conservative faction expresses its wishes and desires in the form of normative sentences, assuming that recipients accept them as obvious facts, i.e. uncritically and unquestionably. Consider the following example which illustrates the use of this technique:

Chcemy, żeby Polską rządziły rodziny, to one powinny być fundamentem rozwoju (Mateusz Morawiecki, 7 July 2019)⁷.

We want families to govern Poland. They should be the lifeblood of development.

This statement emphasizes that PiS advocates the vision of Poland resting upon families. The representatives of PiS employ the first person plural pronoun *my* ('we'). Here, one can observe an inclusive usage of this pronoun: when used in political communication, it denotes both the representatives of *PiS* and society. Such a linguistic strategy underlies that receivers accept the presented vision and they support the party program for the country. The inclusivity of the pronoun emphasizes that the party's vision resonates with Poles' standpoint.

What is more, the right-wing politicians also advance a one-party system of values. Simultaneously, the politicians delegitimize distinct political views and other ideologies. The politicians intend to speak on behalf of the whole nation. The research corpus contains one example of an utterance in which PiS politicians give orders and strongly advise certain actions or behavior:

[...] dzisiaj muszę znów podziękować za szczerość panu wiceprezydentowi Warszawy, który po prostu postawił sprawę jasno: nie chodzi o żadną tolerancję, chodzi o afirmację. O afirmację związków jednopłciowych, o małżeństwa tych związków,

⁷ <<https://www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/1420864,morawiecki-kieln-rodzina-fundament-rozwoju.html>>, accessed: December 1, 2019.

chodzi o to żeby miały prawo do tego, aby adoptować dzieci. Otóż my chcemy jasno powiedzieć: tu mówimy nie, a już w szczególności jeśli chodzi o dzieci. Wara od naszych dzieci! (Jarosław Kaczyński, 16 March 2019)⁸.

[...] today I must thank again the deputy mayor of Warsaw for his honesty. He made it clear: it is not about tolerance, it is about affirmation. About the affirmation of same-sex relationships, marriages of such couples, the thing is that they would have the right to adopt children. So, we want to state it clearly: here we say no, and especially when it concerns children. Keep away from our children!

Evidently, it is a direct reference to the ideology of LGBT viewed as sinister by the right-wing politicians. In this example, Kaczyński seems to be accusing his political opponents of supporting liberal movements. Then, the leader strongly suggests, almost orders, that they should leave Polish children alone. Here, Kaczyński formulates a strong assertion, which resembles an imperative.

3.2. Mystical and magical language

Words dictate and create reality, which is of particular importance in political discourse. The Newspeak never reflects a real situation and state of affairs in the country. Speakers who use it rather reproduce the reality adjusting their vision for the ideological and political purposes. The magical language blurs boundaries between factual and imaginary worlds, thus, there is no difference between truths and lies.

The analysis shows that in some situations, the representatives of PiS aim to create their own political reality, using the magical function of language. The remarks made by the conservative political faction leaders are meant to evoke the illusion of truth. Politicians sometimes present all claims as true, irrespective of whether they tell the truth or distort reality and lie. Consider the following statement by way of example:

Jeżeli dziś niektórzy mówią, że mamy wybierać między demokracją a autorytaryzmem to można powiedzieć: gwarancja demokracji to PiS (Jarosław Kaczyński, 11 October 2019)⁹.

If some people say today that we are to choose between democracy and authoritarianism, then it can be said: Law and Justice guarantees democracy.

The quotation from Kaczyński's speech given above is a response to the words of Olga Tokarczuk, a Polish writer awarded the Nobel prize for

⁸ <<https://www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/1420864,morawiecki-kieln-rodzina-fundament-rozwoju.html>>, accessed: December 1, 2019.

⁹ <<https://www.tvp.info/44803634/wieczny-polski-kompleks-ze-jestesmy-biedniejszy-od-panstw-zachodu-moze-byc-zlikwidowany>>, accessed: December 20, 2019.

literature, who makes an assumption that the opposition is a synonym of democracy. This example shows that politicians may take advantage of language and they may use it instrumentally to satisfy their political ambitions. In the above-mentioned example, Kaczyński refutes any suggestion that Poland defies democratic rules. The politician reverses the meaning of Tokarczuk's words and presents his party as the most democratic political grouping in Poland. It shows that language is an extremely powerful rhetorical tool. In the case of this utterance, language dictates facts and preserves politically desirable state of affairs, simultaneously, being used to destroy or modify inconvenient facts.

In political discourse, the main function of magical language is to misinform society (Sambor 1985: 375). The magical shade of the Newspeak fosters linguistic manipulation, since it allows for creating a new world by omitting some political content. It seems to be the case in point in the instantiation given below:

PiS jest partią empatii i tolerancji (Jarosław Kaczyński, 8 October 2019)¹⁰.
Law and Justice is a party of empathy and tolerance.

As attested by the above statement, PiS associates its party with values such as empathy and tolerance. Nevertheless, the word *tolerancja* ('tolerance') here changes its meaning as it only refers to the conservative beliefs. Therefore, the information on reluctance towards individuals belonging to some minorities appear to be omitted on purpose.

3.3. Arbitrary expressions

The analysis shows that in the analysed PiS campaign discourse excerpts, certain manifestations of Newspeak techniques can be observed. For instance, the research corpus included right-wing politicians' utterances in which they use some terms interchangeably and they generate new meanings of existent words. In this process, neutral words tend to gain new, usually negative meanings (Głowiński 1990: 7–23). An illustrative example is the use of the word *Europa* ('Europe')¹¹: in some PiS speeches, the semantics of the toponym becomes a carrier of negative connotations, as exemplified by Kaczyński's words:

¹⁰ <<https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/wybory-parlamentarne-2019-jaroslaw-kaczynski-pis-jest-partia-empatii-i-tolerancji-6432921884412033a>>, accessed: January 5, 2020.

¹¹ See Rutkowski 2018 for more information on the process of denomination of proper names.

To jest taka teza, która jest często nam wtlaczana: chcecie żyć jak w Europie, to musi być tu, w Polsce, tak jak w Europie: dwóch tatusiów, dwie mamusie, et cetera (Jarosław Kaczyński, 26 September 2019)¹².

It is such a thesis that is often put into our heads: if you want to live like in Europe, it must be here, in Poland, as it is in Europe: two daddies, two mummies, etc.

Europe serves as a name for “European social diseases”. In the conservative party speeches, this toponym functions as a term for a group of those in favor of LGBT as well as other immoral and dangerous ideologies. Kaczyński instructs voters that Europe should be blamed for the homosexual agenda and spread of gay rights liberation movements. In PiS vision, a neutral word *Europe* becomes an extrinsic entity that should be equated with abstract danger. This newly constructed danger is based on a strong antithesis of immoral Europe and moral Poland.

The leaders of the conservative party exploited an old word *lewactwo* (‘radical left’) and they popularized new meaning of the word. Thus, the *radical left* functions as a linguistic label, i.e. words whose connotations dominate over their meaning (Szerszunowicz 2015: 110–111). Left-wing politicians hold extremely liberal views and they tend to manifest their opinions in a non-conformant way in public. The term *radical left* also refers to individuals that criticize conservative ideas. The excerpt of Kaczyński’s words illustrates the potential of this lexical item:

Polska tradycja wolnościowa może zawalić się z winy lewactwa. To nie jest lewica, to jest lewactwo (Jarosław Kaczyński, 3 October 2019)¹³.

The Polish liberation tradition may collapse because of far-left politicians’ fault. It is not left wing, it is lefties.

Therefore, the role of a left-wing person may be ascribed to anyone who represents different political stance, especially those people who seek social changes. Other views are positioned as a national threat to Polish society, since they jeopardize the social order. Morawiecki uses various collocations with the adjective *polski* (‘Polish’), for instance, *polskie dzieci*, *polska przyszłość*, *polska rodzina* (lit. Polish children, future or family) in his narration to show that his party is a patriotic political grouping that sustains a continuum of national tradition. Thus, the neutral adjective *polski* leaves the semantics of its dictionary meaning. In the PiS communication, this adjective tends to be identified with supporters of the right-wing policy. The radical left exhibits anti-Polish views which stand in sharp contrast

¹² <<https://niezalezna.pl/289893-prezes-pis-o-fundamencie-rodziny>>, accessed: October 25, 2019.

¹³ <<https://www.tvp.info/44670811/prezes-pis-to-nie-lewica-to-lewactwo-moze-zawalic-sie-tradycja-wolnosciowa>>, accessed: November 5, 2019.

with the moral imperatives represented by the PiS circles. The lexical unit *lewactwo* has also developed the second meaning. In the recent decade, this term is used as a negative label for the political opponents who back the “evil” Europe and LGBT ideology.

In their discourse, politicians may attach emotion and negativity to the neutral terms, so that the denotation (reference) and connotations of particular words dominate over their real meanings. For instance, *ex definitione*, the term *gender*¹⁴ is explained in relation to typically female or male characteristics and roles that emerge from culture and society. The lexeme *gender* is often confused with *sex* – the term that refers to biological differences between men and women. It is generally accepted that an individual’s identity should be aligned with their biological sex. PiS rhetoric, nevertheless, reverses the semantics of the word *gender* and its new meaning pertains to social and cultural discourse:

Ruch LGBT i gender zagrażają naszej tożsamości, zagrażają naszemu narodowi, zagrażają polskiemu państwu (Jarosław Kaczyński, 25 April 2019)¹⁵.

The *LGBT* movement and *gender* menace our identity, menace our nation, menace our Polish country.

Gender is associated with the term *LGBT* and they both arouse a set of negative connotations. *LGBT* stands for *lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender* (Pol. *lesbijki, geje, biseksualiści, osoby transpłciowe*). This acronym describes people’s gender identity and sexual orientation. Kaczyński frames *LGBT* and *gender* as a foreign and anti-Polish ideology (Kłosińska and Rusinek 2019: 74–79), menacing Polish identity, nation and country. Thus, the lexemes *LGBT* and *gender* leave the scientific sphere and they enter that of PiS views and ideologies, becoming artificial social constructions classified as an imminent and omnipotent danger. In fact, the meaning forced by politicians of PiS is imprecise: it is a mysterious force aiming to destroy natural order of the world. Therefore, *LGBT* and *gender* turn into the labels ascribing negativity to the representatives of sexual and gender minorities.

What is more, PiS politicians use the acronym *LGBT* to refer to abstract entities such as ideology or the action of spreading views, strictly relating to the word *Europe*. The right-wing party leader claims that constructionist model¹⁶ of the lesbian and gay family comes from western European countries.

¹⁴ <<https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/gender.html>>, accessed: October 1, 2019.

¹⁵ <<https://oko.press/kaczynski-lgbt-zagraza-polsce-biskup-chcialbym-zeby-czul-sie-pan-miedzy-nami-czlowiekiem-podziwianym/>>, accessed: October 1, 2019.

¹⁶ *LGBT* parenting refers to same-sex parents (two mothers or two fathers) raising children.

Kaczyński targets sexual minorities as a threat to Poland and Polish citizens and he formulates this view in the following words:

Nie musimy stać pod tęczaową flagą, możemy stać pod biało-czerwoną (Jarosław Kaczyński, 14 July 2019)¹⁷.

We do not have to stand under the rainbow flag, we can stand under the white-and-red one.

According to Kaczyński, *LGBT* destroys Polish values such as religion, church, marriage and family, thus it should be treated as an alien ideology to be purged from the country. In the above excerpt, the name *LGBT* itself and discursive context create a sense of apprehension in citizens.

Politicians may give different shades to meanings of words. As it has been shown, in some cases, the semantics of a lexical item may be unclear and imprecise. Nevertheless, the evaluation it conveys has to be clear-cut and unequivocal. Then, the axiological component dominates over the real meaning and sense (Grzegorzczkova 1985: 379–380). The politicians overuse such phrases as *gender*, *LGBT* or *Europe* and, as a result, create negatively-loaded clusters. Then, potential voters are familiarized with the recurrently used key-words and these lexical items absorb newly formed meanings and evaluative connotations. As it can be seen in the discussed examples, the leaders of the conservative political faction resort to arbitrary expressions to make a clear delineation between the depraved European nations and the Polish traditionalists.

3.4. Political polarization

The Newspeak patterns transpire through the political discourse of PiS. In the former political system, the Polish Communist party accentuated its excellent program, asking the electorate to vote for its proposals, not for concrete persons. It is apparent that the communist party positively scored the mere existence of program (Bralczyk 2003: 30–40). Effectively, conforming with the old Newspeak practices, conservative politicians concentrate on elucidating conspicuous differences between PiS and the opposing parties, for instance reproaching the opponents for their lack of campaign program. By doing this, PiS seems to be indirectly vilifying their political opponents:

¹⁷ <<https://www.dorzeczy.pl/kraj/108155/nie-musimy-stac-pod-teczowa-flaga-mozemy-stac-pod-bialo-czerwona.html>>, accessed: October 11, 2019.

Naszych konkurentów nazwałem koalicją chaosu (Mateusz Morawiecki, 11 October 2019)¹⁸.

I called our political opponents a coalition of chaos.

The research corpus also attests that in some situations, the conservatists express their unfavorable opinions on the opposing leaders and their co-workers. PiS coins numerous labels that express judgmental comments, using scalar words to construct a new, desirable meaning.

PiS claims that the opposition would discontinue its social policy. There is a clearly delineated differentiation between right-wing politicians who will pursue a successful policy for the Polish country and PO (*Platforma Obywatelska*, lit. Civic Platform) activists who will implement a disastrous program. The conservatists aim to evoke the whole body of negative associations referring to the opposition, as attested by the excerpt given below:

Mamy wybór między Polską plus a Polską minus (Jarosław Kaczyński, 2 October 2019)¹⁹.

We have a choice between Poland minus or Poland plus.

Kaczyński's statement presents two visions of Poland in which "Poland plus" denotes the Polish country under his party. Indeed, the conservative party introduces the bulk of social benefits. Apart from this, Poland plus acknowledges traditional values and pursues pro-family policy. The vision of "Poland minus" contrasts with the former one, since it signifies the lack of welfare programs and social insecurity, for instance the invasion of LGBT ideology. Therefore, PiS exaggerates the negative characteristics of PO. This technique aims to unify voters and the right-wing leaders, so that both the electorate and politicians could fight with the common enemy.

At this point, it is of pertinence to mention that in the analysed material, there are some utterances in which PiS employs the rhetoric of dichotomous divisions, and, consequently, deepens the polarization of Polish political stage. The ruling party aims to present an adverse image of the opposing party and prove that the political opponents have no moral standards, which is typical of political discourse. The use of this strategy is manifested below:

Oni [opozycja i jej media] będą posuwać się do wszystkich możliwych chwytów, do tych pseudoafair (Mateusz Morawiecki, 7 September 2019)²⁰.

¹⁸ <<https://tvn24.pl/polska/wybory-parlamentarne-2019-ostatni-dzien-kampanii-wyborczej-relacja-ra976499-2309869>>, accessed: December 13, 2019.

¹⁹ <<https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/466446-prezes-pis-to-wybor-miedzy-polska-plus-a-polska-minus>>, accessed: January 5, 2020.

²⁰ <<https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/462817-premier-morawiecki-kpi-z-medialnych-atakow>>, accessed: October 3, 2019.

They [the opposition and its media] will resort to all possible means (including the so-called scandals) [to gain power]

In the above sentence, Morawiecki uses the exclusive form of the pronoun *oni* ('they') to form a division between *we* (PiS) and *they* (opposition). Here, the politician paints a contrast between behavior of the governing party and despicable morals of the political rivals. The exclusive pronoun *they* entails the dichotomy resting on the opposition between outsiders and insiders (Fabiszak 2010: 80–86). Naturally, insiders indicate politicians from PiS, while outsiders are those from PO. Accordingly, insiders represent in-group values, which – in that particular case – are the values shared by the governing party and their followers. The out-group norms are ideological parameters of the opposing party worldview. In-group and out-group values are in discord with each other, which is attested in the following quote:

Są dzisiaj w naszym kraju tacy, którzy [...] chcą nam odebrać naszą kulturę, naszą wolność, nasze prawa (Jarosław Kaczyński, 18 August 2019)²¹.

Nowadays, in our country there are some people who [...] want to want to deprive us of our culture, our freedom and our fundamental rights.

Again, Kaczyński uses the possessive pronoun *nasz* ('our'), repeated three times to create a more intensive persuasive effect, to frame PiS politicians as fellow citizens. The selected quotation also shows that PiS is the intern party that represents in-group values. Yet, the politician employs an understatement *some people* to show contrast between right-wing politicians and other individuals. The politician generates abstract danger and the role of the enemy may be ascribed to anyone.

Albeit, by means of such a minimalizing and generalizing expression, Kaczyński intends to refer to both the left-wing liberal opponents and LGBT minority. The right-wing politician appears to frame the opposition in terms negativity. The representatives of the opposing parties do not fit into the conservative reality and it may be concluded that they are presented as "others". Here, the concept of *otherness* penetrates to the cultural beliefs that are not compatible with the mainstream ones (Głaz 2017: 84–86). Immigrants are framed as intruders and others, and, respectively the representatives of PO are portrayed as morally doubtful people, the other ones. Conservatists desire to fight against this otherness. More specifically, they want to protect Poland from foreignness, i.e. liberal and anti-Christ views, alien ideologies and the opposition.

²¹ <<https://www.dorzeczy.pl/kraj/111272/kaczynski-o-lgbt-chca-wedrzec-sie-do-szkol-i-naszego-zycia-to-trzeba-odeprzec.html>>, accessed: October 3, 2019.

3.5. Ritualization

The ritualization of message was ubiquitous in Newspeak texts from the communist era. The Newspeak communication was marked by numerous repetitions, formulaic expressions and recurrent ideological motifs. As Ożóg (2007) points out, the Polish communist politicians used to create an image of the common enemy which is dangerous for the country. The enemy (the political pro-democratic opposition) struggled to destroy the ideal system and this activity was considered to be anti-Polish policy.

PiS also resorts to the strategy of creating the common enemy, which becomes ritualized. This is observed in Kaczyński's words, in which the noun *wrogowie* ('enemies') is the exponent of the ritualization. This word, accompanied by the verb *piętnować* ('to stigmatize'), evokes strongly negative connotations in the receivers of the speech:

Kto pracuje dla naszych wrogów będzie piętnowany (Jarosław Kaczyński, 9 October 2019)²².

Who works for our enemies will be stigmatized.

The carrier of negativity *piętnować* may be easily associated with the acts of reproving or condemning people. Using the negative label *wrogowie* contributed greatly to creating an oversimplified vision of reality in which there are "good" people from PiS and "bad" individuals from the PO environment.

Therefore, this statement may cause that receivers will develop the perception of PO as a national enemy, with its politicians as the followers of the left-wing ideologies who, from the PiS perspective, intend to destroy Polish values. As already shown, PiS frequently uses the label of the enemy to warn against LGBT community and leftist politicians. Consequently, the overall public message becomes ritualized.

4. Conclusion

Newspeak is a special kind of communication, because it does not constitute sole means of communication. In turn, it serves to legitimize the authority power and to set new rules. Various exponents of Newspeak are found in the language of the Polish parliamentary election 2019, for instance, emotionally-loaded terms and labels. The final conclusion is drawn from the

²² <<https://natemat.pl/286885,kaczynski-w-sosnowcu-o-pietnowaniu-tych-ktorzy-pracuja-dla-wrogow-pis>>, accessed: December 13, 2019.

analysis of a research corpus of 30 speeches delivered in the parliamentary election period. The speeches under scrutiny were marked with controversial topics combined with the string of arbitrary words.

In the analyzed speeches, the politicians aim to show that they identify themselves with the electorate. In order to achieve this effect, they tend to use the plural pronoun *my* ('we') to indicate that they create the postulates on the behalf of the whole nation. Then, the conservative politicians seem to navigate the electorates' personal judgments as they correspond to the sender's inward intentions. In that sense, it may be deduced that the right-wing politicians attempt at promulgating the PiS-centric vision of the world on voters.

In the researched material, there are instances of criticism of the opposition. In order to express it, conservative politicians use various labels to refer to liberal or left-wing politicians. In the parliamentary election excerpts under scrutiny, PiS represents the core values of Poland and Poles, while other political groupings are pictured as opting for evil and foreign ways of thinking. Therefore, the right-wing politicians criticize their political rivals, evoking a set of negative associations related to the opposition. Presumably, in the examined utterances, PiS creates the image of abstract danger in order to push Polish citizens to unify with their party in the fight against the collective enemy, i.e. the political opposition, LGBT and European norms and values. Thus, it can be concluded that the analyzed excerpts contain examples of reverting to the communist style of speaking.

The present study focused on the speeches of representatives of one party delivered during the election campaign, thus the conclusions are of limited validity. A broader analysis of different forms of political discourse across the political arena, including various parties, should be conducted in order to offer an insight into the Newspeak manifestation in modern Polish political language.

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