

University of Łódź  
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# **POLITICAL LINGUISTICS III**

## **BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**

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Edited by  
Monika Kopytowska & Łukasz Kumięga



## POLITICAL LINGUISTICS III

### *(Re)construing nationhood in '(un)doing Europe' today?*

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#### CONFERENCE THEME AND FOCI

This third edition of the Political Linguistics conference series examines the current nexus between national and European thinking (in talk and text). Our focus is on the various discursive (re)constructions of **national identification** vis-à-vis Europe (and the contemporary world in the background): whether, and if so, then how, where and why, the ongoing discourses of European integration (and disintegration) invigorate, mute, or simply redefine national talk in (semi)public practices and domains, whether domestically or internationally.

Relational, dynamic and integrative perspectives on nationhood are in focus: how does the national element interact with other social dimensions and categories, especially those based in regional, global, political, professional or gender and age-related variation? What is the role of ideologies and policies of multiculturalism, employment, race and immigration? Do national (and nationalistic) arguments correlate with parameters of social diversification (economic, educational; elitist and egalitarian attitudes)?

The conference addresses **discursive** (texts, genres, metaphors, etc.), and more broadly, **semiotic** (artifacts, images, icons, etc.) manifestations of nationhood in how Europe is being 'done', but also 'undone' today, thus revealing various aspects, sites and styles of **interdiscursivity** and **dialogization** of difference (in the sense of Bakhtin) over issues involving national, European and international concerns.



## PLENARY LECTURES

Peter Berglez  
Örebro University

### **Can a “global outlook” reduce the distance between the European Union and its constituent nations?**

Discussions about the relationship between the national and the European usually lead to the conclusion that no European public sphere exists for the “people” (the majority population), only for the (EU) elite. This has become a self-fulfilling prophecy, with not least national media tending to reproduce the discursive barriers that exist between the citizens of Europe’s nation-states due to their ingrained national outlooks on society. As a consequence, for Polish or Irish citizens, the European space is still synonymous with *other* countries which, first and foremost, are foreign and distant, not with a common territory meant for political deliberation and action across borders.

In this paper, it is suggested that an expanded political discursive link between the national and the European presupposes a global component. Based on my discourse-oriented studies of media coverage of global crises and issues presented in the book *Global Journalism: Theory and Practice* (2013, Peter Lang), I argue that the development of *global outlooks* in national media is one of the keys to a “Europeanized” political discourse that is not solely orchestrated by the EU elite. My point is that the contours of European reality, space, and politics become *visible* in cases where national media focus on how the nation is affected by *extra-European* processes, which are often global, be they climate change or financial meltdowns. Thus, a gradual *normalization* of global outlooks in national media’s *everyday political language* might help to convince ever more local and national actors at the grassroots level to view Europe as a region, and to communicate across nation-state borders in order to handle the various global challenges. My paper focuses on the discursive characteristics of the global outlook and the potentials of, as well as the obvious barriers to, its presence in the everyday political language of national media.

Christopher Hart  
Lancaster University

### **Visuo-linguistic variables in representations of political protests**

The last few years have witnessed a significant number of street protests across Europe as well as further afield. Media representations play a fundamental role in constructing the legitimacy or delegitimacy of such protests. This paper advances a grammatical framework for analysing linguistic and visual dimensions of discourse on political protests. I will argue that in both linguistic and visual discourse a crucial meaning component is the 'viewer', their body, and their point of view in conceptual space. This position emerges from research in Cognitive Linguistics which highlights the embodied basis of meaning and the importance of spatial cognition for language (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

I will therefore try to show that features of visual design, such as camera angle, anchorage and relative distance show up in linguistic meaning too and in both realms function in similarly ideological ways. From a critical perspective, then, I will show how a visuo-linguistic 'grammar' for protest reporting is exploited in different ways to construct alternative, ideologically vested, conceptualisations of events. Illustrative data will be taken from a small sample of media coverage of recent political protests in the UK. However, the framework is naturally extendable to investigate representations of protests in international news coverage where hypotheses emerge about grammatical choices in relation to, or as diagnostic of, discourses concerning State and citizen in different countries and construed geo-political 'distance' between 'central' and 'peripheral' members of the European Union and countries currently 'outside' of the EU.

Leszek Korporowicz  
Jagiellonian University

### **Cultural rights in intercultural space**

The *intercultural space* will become a fact of everyday life and the ability to use it will be a key competence of every worker, citizen, student but also contemporary communities and nations. The space itself, even today, is recognised as being defined not by the physical parameters of the distances between specific objects, but as a *relations of meanings*, together with all the *variants of transition* from one manner of being into the other and all the accompanying transformations. This kind of space is deeply rooted in processes of *deterritorialization*, *medialization* and *virtualization* of reality. In the intercultural space, understood as a variant of space *per se*, it is the interactions with others, what happens during that process, and what determines new possibilities and new modes of coming into existence that is more important than just existing within the boundaries set by the canons of a specific culture. What matters in the intercultural space is what can be developed from these interactions and changed into innovative, often creative states of a new kind of culture.

At the same time, the processes of global migrations and mobility highlight the significance of *cultural diversification* as an unexpected, but at the same time highly logical consequence of globalisation. In an indirect fashion, it forces us to acknowledge and even respect *cultural rights* of particular communities, especially in those places, where there is a particular need for interaction, cooperation, and consequently, communication. That is why the pressing need for intercultural dialogue emerges, a need for a broader outlook on one's own characteristic. All this, however, is not possible without one primary and necessary condition: to sensitize oneself and respect the dignity of others, even in situations when we do not fully understand their values or goals. In practice, there are many variants of this attitude, and in their collective dimension they create new cultural communities with their cultural rights, and make culture itself the conscience of civilisation.

Inspiration in understanding contemporary cultural rights arises from the intellectual and cultural heritage of Poland under the Jagiellonian dynasty (1387–1572), a period that saw full multiculturalism, quarrels and tolerance, openness and dialogue, a place where many cultures and religions met and intermingled, times of an unusual awareness of the need to know and create common future, the times of many interactions, and accomplishments, the times of search. This is how a rich tradition of multiplicity was born and it was accompanied by a desire to attain a unity which would create; a tradition that

did not enclose, but opened, did not destroy, but created. Even though it was full of emotions and ambitions, it gave rise to some of the finest treatises in many disciplines. This was when the grounds for the Jagiellonian University; this was when the works on the defence of “national rights” were written (Paweł Włodkowic 1370-1436), which contributed to the European thought on subjectivity and dignity of cultures and nations, but also much smaller ethnic and regional and groups, to a dialogue that promises development, learning from each other, and providing a communal, sometimes even universal, but also very contemporary dimension and ideas of thinking.



Michał Krzyżanowski  
Örebro University

## **Discourses, concepts and organisational practices in the construction of European identities: Contribution of Critical Discourse Studies**

Drawing on over a decade of my research on the topic of discursive construction of European identities, my plenary at *Political Linguistics 2014* will point to the ways in which the research agenda of *Critical Discourse Studies* (CDS) can contribute to analysing and deconstructing various discursive patterns of contemporary European identifications.

On the one hand, I will argue that there still exists a need for multilevel, holistic approaches to European identity (Krzyżanowski 2010) which draw on key concepts in CDS – such as e.g. interdiscursivity or recontextualisation – and can facilitate theorising and analysing similarities and differences between trajectories of identity in Europe. They help showing identity-constitutive patterns across various spaces and genres and in different social fields and contexts, and can also be instrumental in relating identity dynamics at Europe's national and supranational as well as everyday 'social' level. On the other hand, I will point to the necessity for simultaneously proposing new, integrative theoretical and methodological approaches in CDS that allow dealing with the European identity dynamics in a strongly situated and context-specific way. As an example, I will highlight research on the supranational institutional spaces of the European Union whose accelerating complexity – in both discursive and organisational dimensions – necessitates the development of new pathways of theorisation and analysis. Here, I will highlight the *discourse-conceptual analysis* (Krzyżanowski 2012; Krzyżanowski & Wodak 2011) that, drawing on insights from CDS (esp. Discourse-Historical Approach) and Conceptual History (*Begriffsgeschichte*), allows for dealing with the increasingly concept-bound EU discourses, also within 'policy' and 'policy communication' genres (Krzyżanowski 2013). I will also emphasise the need for a *discourse-ethnographic approach* (DEA; Krzyżanowski 2011) that draws on CDS and critical ethnographies and helps in recognising the complexity of EU discursive and organisational practices while pointing to the central role of agency and identity in Europe's supranational institutional spaces.

As I will be aiming to show, combining the discourse-conceptual and the discourse-ethnographic analyses helps to deconstruct multiple, intricate relationships between micro/mezzo level organisational discourses, practices and modes of behaviour, and the wider macro-level ideological frames and power structures. Showing how the latter are recontextualised and mobilised

in the former is indeed central to understanding the complexity pertinent to the construction of multilevel European identities across different production and reception sites of institutional and non-institutional EU discourse.

Carlo Ruzza  
University of Trento  
University of Leicester

## **Language and politics in contemporary Europe**

This presentation will focus on the evolving relation between politics and language in contemporary Europe. After briefly framing controversies on language use in historical context, it will analyse key controversial aspects and conclude with a review of current EU language policy and its outcomes.

It will begin with an introduction of the role of language in the dual process of nation building and state building. It will argue that this is an uncompleted and contentious project whose pursuit is still the cause of ongoing social and political conflicts in several national contexts. It will describe early and recent globalization dynamics and focus on the role of language, particularly the emergence of lingua francas and the politicization of language that marks these processes. It will identify the contested relations between national languages and lingua francas in several European contexts. It will analyse the politicization of the transition between French and English as lingua francas. It will then focus on the multiple faces of nationalist use of language in an age of migration and of often-conflicting regional, national and supranational identities.

It will focus on the political role of language through a typology of modes of political participation and of types of political formations, with particular reference to the role of language in ethno-nationalist and extreme-right nationalist social movements. In this context, it will discuss the recent multiculturalism backlash and related language aspects, such as the increasing diffusion of language tests as part of citizenship tests. It will discuss EU language policy and the role of language controversies in the EU institutional context. It will illustrate key debates with reference to controversial cases, such as the 1990 debate in the European Parliament on the status and use of the Catalan language, the trajectory of civil-society groups promoting minority languages, and the role of political formations representing minority-language speakers (such as the European Free Alliance).

It will conclude by pointing to the continuing relevance of language in contemporary European politics as an identity-forming, boundary-marking and symbolic mechanism utilized to create and sustain processes of exclusion and adoption of forms of politics of the enemy.

## THEMATIC SESSIONS

### IN ENGLISH:

Political Discourse in EU  
Identity in Europe  
Nationhood and Right-Wing Discourses  
Identity in Europe  
Rhetoric of Othering  
Discourse Markers of Identity  
Russia and Post-Soviet Reality  
Discourses of Crisis  
Migration and Integration  
Identity and Collective Memory  
Media and Identity  
Discourses of Conflict  
Identity and Ideology  
Representation and Framing  
Lexical Choices in (European) Discourse  
Miscellaneous

### IN GERMAN:

Diskurs und Politik [Discourse and Politics]  
Das Eigene und Fremde im Diskurs [The Self and the Other in Discourse]  
Diskurs und Identität [Discourse and Identity]  
Diskurs in (inter)kultureller Perspektive [Discourse from an Intercultural Perspective]

### IN POLISH:

Oblicza patriotyzmu [Faces of Patriotism]  
Czynniki ponadnarodowe a tożsamość [Transnational Influences on Identity]

## PAPERS IN ENGLISH

Fabienne Baider & Maria Constantinou  
University of Cyprus

### **Virtual construction of 'nationhood': Avatars, pseudonyms and argumentation in extreme right followers' forums (National Front and Golden Dawn)**

Nationalism has been more and more present in the field of politics and far-right wing parties have considerably gained ground in this context. Indeed a stronger need for constructing national identity has contagiously emerged particularly in Europe. As a matter of fact, the themes of *borders* and *national identity* were the focus of many 2012 French and Greek presidential elections speeches (Sarkozy's and Le Pen's political campaigns for France and Golden Dawn's for Greece).

Discursive strategies are brought into play to encourage a strong sense of nationhood constructed on the division into us and them (Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault, 1967; van Dijk, 2006). However, identity is neither singular nor permanent and may present 'several contradictory selves' (Billig, 1991). These selves constructing a specific nationhood, especially in the context of extremist discourse, are dependent upon images' (cf. Lynn and Lea, 2003). In the virtual worlds of far right parties' followers, identity can be determined or even questioned in relation to their fictitious images (avatars) and names (pseudonyms). Pseudonyms (cf. Cislaru, 2009) and avatars (cf. Gee, 2004)–since they are the choice of the writers – may embody wishes or aspirations which are linked to their identity and in this sense can be considered pre-discourse because they come before but also prepare the way for discursive practices (Cislaru, 2009).

Borrowing concepts from traditional semiotics, lexical semantics and CDA, this paper proposes to examine how nationhood is being constructed via political followers' avatars and pseudonyms, while taking into consideration their discourse and parties' ideologies. Bearing in mind the different socio-political contexts in which the two parties have grown and developed over the last years, it is of interest to see how differently or similarly the followers of both parties discursively and symbolically construct their nationhood. We rely on corpora (50 000 per language) extracted from You Tube video comments concerning the two far-right parties, Golden Dawn (Greece) and National Front (France). Our data are also contrasted with corpora and studies dedicated to the leaders of the parties themselves to show how identity is constructed on the 'meme' principle (Baider and Constantinou, in print).

Sam Bennett  
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

### **Becoming 'British': UK integration policy 2000-2010**

When mass migration into the UK started after World War II, it was never envisaged that migrants would settle in the country and were therefore never seen as potential citizens. In reality though, this migration was often a permanent process and the UK has seen increasing levels of migration recently. This phenomenon, combined with the fact that integration is not just a moving across geographical borders but also across “conceptual borders of identity, belonging and entitlement” (Horner and Weber, 2011: 139-159), has forced the UK to decide how to integrate non-nationals. Despite outward rhetoric that integration is a two-way process in which migrants and pre-existing populations need to adapt to each other, a critical analysis of government discourse indicates that integration is primarily the responsibility of migrants.

In this paper, I critically analyse ten years of UK government discourse on integration. Employing the Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001), I show how integration policy became ever more proscriptive and prescriptive in this period. I argue that integration discourse in the UK cannot be understood fully without analysing other related policy discourses such as immigration, community cohesion and citizenship. To this end, the paper takes a synchronic and diachronic approach to the discourse and employs a discourse-conceptual analysis of integration and its sister concepts (Krzyżanowski, 2010). I indicate how integration is discursively constructed, who has agency/responsibility for integration and what processes are involved.

Łucja Biel  
University of Warsaw

### **Europeanization of national law: Shifts in supranational and national references in post-accession legislation**

The aim of the paper is to discuss shifts in supranational and national references in post-accession Polish law as one of the signposts attesting to the Europeanization of national law. The paper presents corpus-based findings on recent shifts in the use of adjectives which refer to the supranational level (*europaeski* [European], *wspólnotowy* [of the Community], *unijny* [of the Union]) and to the national level (*krajowy* [of the country], *państwowy* [of the state] and *narodowy* [of the nation, national], *polski* [Polish]). The study was conducted on the pre-accession version (1999) and the post-accession version (2011) of the KP-PLC corpus, which contains the fundamental high-ranking Polish legislation (codes and law-type statutes). The corpus data show a 1,352% increase in the frequency of the adjective *europaeski* [European]. The analysis of concordances and n-grams examines how the EU dimension is decontextualized during transposition.

The increase of *europaeski* frequency together with references to the EU Official Journal (Dz.Urz. UE/WE), which constitute 21% of references to both national and supranational official journals in the post-accession legislation, attest to the very high embedding of national law in the European context and its dependence on EU law. These data may be treated as an indicator of the Europeanization of Polish law, at least at the lexical and conceptual level.

The second part of the paper looks into how national legislation attempts to retain its local identity by shifts in the use of adjectives referring to the national level (a marked increase in the use of *polski* [Polish] and *krajowy* [of the country]; a decrease in the use of *państwowy* [of the state] and *narodowy* [of the nation]).

Salomi Boukala  
Lancaster University

**Looking for Europe in Greek pre-electoral speeches:  
The discursive (re)invention of the 'red threat' against Greece's  
European process**

In the summer of 2012 two rounds of national elections took place in Greece in the midst of polarization and crisis. In a climate of political uncertainty, *Antonis Samaras* – the leader of *New Democracy* (a conservative party) that narrowly won the first place in the two electoral rounds, set forth his party's agenda regarding migration, Greece's position in the EU and the country's national enemies. He based his arguments on the polarising and arbitrary theory of the two extremes and demonized the Greek left-wing and migrants. *'Illegal immigrants have become our society's tyrants. We should reoccupy our cities that have been taken over by them'* Samaras argued; he added: *'who do you want to rule the country on Monday, those politicians who support illegal immigrants and want Greece's exit from the Eurozone?'* and underlined that *'The left wing endangers our national and European identity'*. The current Prime Minister built his rhetoric on the red threat and attempted to display the leading opposition party *Syriza* as the main threat against the Greek nation and its European process.

Using the Discourse Historical Approach of the CDA, I intend to analyse *Samaras's* pre-election speeches and illustrate the manifold ways in which the DHA can reveal silent strategies that lead to the discursive construction of 'Us' the 'guarantors of Greece's European process' and 'Them' – the 'far-left enemies of the Greek nation and Europe'. By emphasising hegemonic discourses, this presentation seeks to explore the discursive strategies employed in the construction of 'far-left Euroscepticism' by answering the following questions: 1) what kind of actors are referred to in those speeches, which roles are ascribed to them, and who is blamed for being a 'threat'? 2) what strategies of argumentation are applied in political discourse formation and how do they lead to the legitimation of the 'red Eurosceptic peril' and the representation of *New Democracy* as guarantor of Greece's European continuity?



Marta Brzezińska  
University of Warsaw

### **Visual rhetoric and political change in film – based on German cinema related to the year 1989**

After the so-called *visual turn* (or *pictorial turn* according to Mitchell) in the academic discussion on modern culture, a more and more dominant role of the media in the contemporary world has become obvious and no one seems to doubt the media's role in creating narratives (historical or political) in societies. Cinema, especially the German contemporary cinema – strongly related to the past – takes part in the understanding of the past (as a common history), helps to shape its mental image (according to Rosenstone or Welzer), and offers visual tools for constructing a nation's common narrative.

The aim of my presentation is to show how special types of images, visual figures, symbols and film genres are being used by German filmmakers to tell the story of the 1989 political change. The so-called *Mauerfilme* (broadly speaking, films related to the opening of the German-German border and reunification) generally take part in shaping the feeling of community after German reunification and are used to induce the positive sense of the "Revolutionary autumn".

I will focus especially on relatively schematic television films to demonstrate how the images of the Berlin Wall (its visual presence) and the figures of film protagonists could be interpreted as visual symbols in the story of overcoming the German past. Another interesting factor is that in this case the meaning is constructed by the viewer in the process of recognizing the image and decoding its intertextuality and referential potential (from one type of image to another).

Piotr Cap  
University of Łódź

### **Genre theory and European political discourses**

Communicative genre theorists (working within systemic-functional, critical linguistic, (new) rhetorical, applied linguistic, and other paradigms) have been so far only partly successful in arriving at a unified notion of genre. Communicative genres are, pretty uncritically, viewed as (i) abstractions; (ii) “flexible macrostructures”; (iii) reflections and simultaneously activators and realizers of context; (iv) as engaging in discourse relations to other genres in their social fields; finally, (v) as assigners of (stable) interpersonal roles in these fields. Yet, such a conception of genre, drawing upon the medium and the setting as basic criteria for identification of genres, is nothing but intuitive and expressing a rather commonsensical observation that discourse involves a conventional use of stable utterance groups which follow recognizable patterns that suit the accomplishment of certain social goals (Gruber and Muntigl 2005). Consequently, it does not capture systematically a number of modern, dynamically evolving, rapidly changing, hybridized, and often multimodal, discourses (Cap and Okulska 2013). By scrutinizing the five “common” points against different instances of EU political discourses (from interviews of the top leaders of EU institutions, to campaign clips of EP candidates), I demonstrate that, a) most of the current “generalizations” on common properties of communicative genres should be toned down; b) the only sound generalizations might be those drawing upon the theme/function (as opposed to the medium/setting) as the principal criterion for genre identification. EU political discourses are, I argue, a particularly rich source of data to elucidate both a) and b), as their actors engage in complex rhetorical interactions reflecting continually redefined and updated ratios of national vs. European identification. These functional redefinitions and updates entail modifications to both content and form of the rhetoric, posing a challenge to distinguish generically between its initiation and follow-up parts.

Petra Chvojková  
Palacký University, Olomouc

### **Language integration and ideology in the Czech Republic: A case of Czech language examinations for migrants**

The paper presents a critical discourse analysis of the Czech official background documents, policy texts and studies concerning the system of Czech language examinations for migrants. First, the main arguments of the proponents of the current level of requirements concerning language skills will be analysed in the context of the Czech language integration policy. Next, discursive strategies used by the proponents of the exams will be examined. Finally, I attempt to answer the question whether the analysis of various texts associated with the system of Czech exams can reveal the proponents' ideologies. Therefore, critical discourse analysis will be adopted as a theoretical and methodological framework. The Czech materials will be analysed in the context of European language and integration documents (*Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants*, etc.).

Paweł Dobrosielski  
University of Warsaw

### **Identity games in contemporary Polish memory discourse**

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Poland was marked, among others, by a publication that commenced the Polish memory boom – *Neighbours* by Jan Tomasz Gross. Since then, debates over the ‘peripheries of the Holocaust’ have formed an important part of the public discourse, exceeding the domain of collective memory. One of the most striking features of these discussions is the ease with which its participants utilize identity etiquettes, often merging together contradictory dimensions: ethnic, class, religious, institutional or political. This may even result in narratives within which the perpetrator of a crime is described as “a peasant”, the victim as “a Jew” and the bystander as “a Catholic”.

However, although these confusions may lead to interpretational problems, the primary function of these categories is not to describe and understand the past, but to justify and project the present. This perspective allows tracking down the prospective character of the Polish transformation, oriented at modernization and European aspirations, even in cultural memory practices. Identity etiquettes, ascribed to actors from the peripheries of the Holocaust, serve as a basis for constructing contemporary national identities in Poland. This is especially visible in such notions as *żydokomuna* (*Judeo-Bolshevism*), which functions as a stereotypical category offering a simple explanation of complex issues, or in such acts as shifting the responsibility for anti-Semitic attitudes and deeds onto “peasants” or “mob” in a classical gesture of class distinction to save the healthy national tissue.

In this paper I would like to address the problem of ascribing various identity etiquettes in the Polish Holocaust discourse and to trace the impact of such discursive practices on national identity building.

Barbara Dumara  
University of Warsaw

### **Polish vs. British *we* in the European Parliament**

Plurality of identities in the European Parliament implies the fuzziness of the *we* pronoun, well-renowned for its importance in the political discourse. This paper exemplifies how a computer-assisted corpus analysis may be applied in studying political discourse, how to recreate mental horizons from wordlists and what can be learnt from certain collocations. Also, it presents the results of a study based on a selection of the so-called *One-minute speeches* given by British and Polish MEPs. Even though the concept of *we* in the EP remains inherently complex and unstable, the findings of the *we* and *our* distribution analysis suggest that Polish MEPs seem more eager to identify themselves with the European Union while MEPs from the UK prefer to exhibit their national and local affiliations.

Anna Duszak  
University of Warsaw

### **Voices *of* and *on* 'Polishness' in European media after 2004**

The paper is an interim report on a project run in the Department of Discourse Studies at the Institute of Applied Linguistics (University of Warsaw). It is a multi-task initiative inspired by the recent discussions about 'united' Europe, especially as regards human mobility and the accompanying processes of social inclusion and exclusion. The overriding theme of the project is the discursive construction of Polish national identity after the country's accession to the European Union in 2004. Two exit perspectives on 'Polishness' were adopted, domestic and international, and two research questions were asked: what are Poles saying about others, and what are others saying about Poles, where *others* stands for voices coming from English, French, German, Spanish, Russian and Ukrainian media. First, the talk reports on how the up-to-now findings confirm, or challenge, the historical, socio-cultural, national profiles in (self-) positioning of Poles. Second, the methodological foundations and goals of the project are outlined and briefly problematized: how it borrows from historical-interdiscursive models in critical discourse studies, and how it is expected to enrich such analyses by its multicultural and multilingual comparison. Finally, the educational role of this project is addressed for research and curriculum development.

Jala Garibova  
Azerbaijan University of Languages

### **Linguo-political discourse and nation-building in the ex-Soviet land**

Linguo-political discourse has played a significant role in national identity (re)formation in former Soviet countries. It was an efficient verbal communication tool for promoting national languages as important symbols of the nation-building process. In this process, national languages were also expected to play a significant role in the reconstruction of national identities, and in achieving social integration. Hence the language policy promoting national languages was in the center of the nation-building strategy and was promoted, among other means, by way of discourse building.

As a strong tool of shaping language attitudes, the linguo-political discourse is initiated through the media, education, sociolinguistic research, public statements and formal social communication. In post-Soviet Muslim States national languages are also praised by poets and writers in literary works which evoke emotions towards the concept of linguistic identity.

Linguo-political discourse, especially at its early stages, was heavily relying on various types of language myths both of descriptive and prescriptive nature. Descriptive myths focus on praising a language, its importance as a part of identity, reference to the eloquence of a renowned personality etc. Descriptive language myths about primordality and sacredness are probably the most popular, especially in the Caucasus. Prescriptive discourse is more constructive and appears as labeling, directing or proscribing a behavior, or legitimating a certain attitude.

Linguo-political discourse also carries elements of de-Sovietization which is sometimes reflected as de-Russification. In Baltic Republics, for example, sociolinguistic research on national languages is surrounded, directly or indirectly, with sensitivity concerning “the oppression of the national languages by Russian”. In Azerbaijan and Central Asia, as well, there is a common societal sensitivity towards Russian as a continuing threat to the revival of national languages, and sometimes towards Turkish and English as new threats to the development of these languages. The presentation will focus on various elements of the linguo-political discourse with illustrations from diverse sources.

Marina V. Gavrilova  
National Research University – Higher School of Economics

### **Construing nationhood in Russian presidents' speeches**

Presidents' rhetoric is structured by values and corresponds to the expectations of big social groups. Presidents have formed a prototype which represents the image of Russia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: 1) Russia has a millennial history and it's a young democratic state, 2) Russia is an outstanding and great country, 3) Russia must become a strong world leader.

Presidents search for an ideologically important word that unites people. The change of the state system has determined the necessity to nominate people living in a new country: Soviet people (Soviet period) – peoples of Russia, multinational Russian (rossiyskiy) people, rossiyane (Eltsin) – people of Russia, an indivisible nation (Putin) – people of Russia (Medvedev). In the Presidents' rhetoric the Russian word people (narod) competes with the term 'foreign nation' (natsiya). It is a shift in semantics: multitude goes to state affiliation. The analysis of attributes such as 'our' or 'Russian' (russkiy, rossiyskiy) points to a decrease in the words describing culture and historical features of Russians, and an increase in signs, ideal for a citizen of democracy.

Eltsin described the qualities of Russians: greatness, wisdom, diligence, aspiration for freedom and justice, morals and abilities to create. Medvedev pointed out such attributes as laborious and talented. Putin emphasizes actions: people strived, created a base for economic growth.

National identity has been formed in a frame: we, the people of Russia, active citizens, free and hard-working, united by a common aim will reach personal success and prosperity for the country. We found a neutralization of negative self-representation and an amplification of the positive one.

Presidents focus on cooperation with European countries based on traditional humanitarian values. Russia has to strengthen its position in world politics: Russia is returning to the global community (Eltsin); respect in the world (Putin); Russia is the leader of technological and intellectual development (Medvedev). Presidents emphasize Russia's openness as well as proclaim equal partnership (dialogue).



Małgorzata Fabiszak  
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

### **Collective memory, identity and urban landscape: Poznań regional online media and their readers**

This study connects with the main leitmotif of the conference, i.e. how multiculturalism (understood as past religious diversity) has influenced the (re)-construction of national and regional collective identity in Poznań. The aim of this project, specifically, is to investigate the interaction between memory and identity in the context of the dynamically transforming cultural cityscape. In his book on social memory and its implants, Golka (2009) identifies memory 'carriers' with the cityscape featuring significantly among them. One of such urban memory carriers are city cemeteries. In our study they will be used as search words for constructing the corpus of Poznań regional information websites and the below-the-line-comments on these websites.

The particular research questions are: (1) How does the image of the collective memory of the past religious variation created by the city media differ or coincide with that the one created by grassroots website readers? (2) What effect do the urban landscape variables such as the denomination of the cemetery (Jewish, Protestant, Catholic) or its administrative status (liquidated or closed) have on their discursive representation by the media and the grassroots readers of these websites? The analytic method includes: (1) critical discourse analysis (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) and (2) metaphor analysis (Musolff 2006, 2012, Fabiszak 2007, Baker et al. 2008, Mautner 2009a and b). The pilot study of selected regional newspapers has revealed that as the wide scale construction works unearth many of the former liquidated cemeteries, the Poznań public opinion has shown a sustained interest in the commemoration of the city's multicultural past. For example, in 2008, a part of a Jewish cemetery in Głogowska street was reconstructed to commemorate rabbi Akiba Eger (died in 1837) and his followers. The reconstruction sparked some controversy as the former cemetery fragment is now an inner yard of a housing estate.

Ivan Fomin  
Russian Academy of Sciences

### **Representations of Kosovo, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the Russian political discourse**

The paper presents a structural analysis of the discursive images of three partially recognized states (Kosovo, Abkhazia, South Ossetia) in the contemporary Russian political discourse. The study is based on the analysis of official Russian political texts produced after the recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The analysis technique applied is based on some elements of structural narrative semiotics as presented by R. Barthes and A.J. Greimas, as well as CDA. The images of nations are described at three levels: functional (semantic), actantial (syntactic) and pragmatic. The peculiarities of the analyzed representations and differences between them are discussed in the context of the questioned status and problematic state capacity of the nations studied. The strategies of the discursive construction of stateness for South Ossetia and Abkhazia are compared with the strategies of “de-statization” of Kosovo.

Ekmel Gercer  
Loughborough University

### **Cultural diversity in the Turkish media: Constructing a nation or isolating it?**

All states, with a few exceptions, are heterogenic in terms of religion and ethnicity and one of the main reasons for not being able to cope with cultural diversity is that the modern nation-state does not properly consider the minorities' ethnic features and tries to describe them in the circle of majority group's culture and sometimes heavily discriminate or simply ignore them through the mainstream media, as done in Turkey. For decades, the Turkish media have been consecrating the "nation-state" as demanded by the country's superior powers, marginalizing or ignoring ethnic/religious minorities. However, the Turkish media forgot they were segregating Turkey from the global nations and organisations such as the EU by discriminating minorities.

In this regard my project aims to examine how the Kurdish Issue and Kurdish people have been represented in the Turkish media and how the media contribute to the democratisation of Turkey on the basis of ethnic conflicts and the power of news production in managing the country's conflicts. The research will also ask broader questions about the media and democracy in Turkey, as well as assess the democratic performance of the country more generally.

The study will talk about the democratisation process in Turkey after the 1980s, combining theories of democracy and communication through analysing special events regarding the Kurdish Question. Moreover, the study will ask more general questions about:

- the connection between journalism, society and politics during the democratic change in Turkey under the alleged political and military pressures;
- the democratisation process and the transformation in the Turkish media during the European Union accession process;
- the issues of sociology of news such as media ownership, news productions and consumption;
- the recent changes in Turkish journalism and media;
- nationalism and multiculturalism in the mainstream Turkish media.

Ewa Gieróń-Czepczor  
State Higher Vocational School in Racibórz

### **Are Polish politicians out of this world? Cosmic and religious conceptual metaphors in political discourse**

Two major aspects seem to influence the canonical forms of political discourse and the power differential (politicians vs. citizens) exhibited in the language of Polish politics. One is the pretence of the politician being similar to the average citizen, which results in the vernacularisation of the political language; its earthiness and (presumably fake) naturalness is readily exhibited in order to evoke the image of the politician as one of the people. Another strategy is the creation of the image of a politician as an outstanding figure with a mission, one alleged to possess almost 'supernatural' powers, entitled to 'worship' from the public. These two tendencies result in images ranging from the folksy *swój chłop* to that of the divine-like status of the political leader. In between, the imagery of celebrityhood is fairly common and salient.

This paper aims to present the linguistic traces of political and journalistic discursive exploitation of the domains of outer space and religion in structuring political events and evaluating the role of politicians. This analysis, which draws upon the fundamental assumptions of cognitive semantics, investigates conceptual metaphors and blends which rely on source domains and scripts such as CELESTIAL BODIES, SPACE TRAVEL, RELIGIOUS WORSHIP, and the conceptually/etymologically correlated domain of LIGHT.

The material for this study includes radio interviews, news reports on popular Polish portals and online versions of selected Polish dailies and weeklies culled in the period between early 2012 and December 2013.

Małgorzata Haładewicz-Grzelak  
Opole University of Technology

Joanna Lubos-Kozieł  
University of Wrocław

### **Storying memory in the Licheń pilgrimage center (Poland)**

This paper examines the processes of ideological symbolization in a Catholic pilgrimage center in Licheń (Poland). In particular, we focus on the topic of 'heritage' in the context of the sky-rocketing development of the centre. Using photographic documentation of local memorabilia, gathered during joint fieldwork done on the premises of the centre in September 2010, we posit that Licheń is an instance of *lieu de memoire* (cf. Nora 1996), prepared for pilgrims/tourists as a *pedestrian walk* (cf. Plate 2009; Urry 2002). Along these lines, we explore pervasive and instrumental references to the past in the center, as well as the superficial status of such references. We highlight the crucial relevance of this study to the body of work devoted to the sacrosanct and exclusive aspect of *heritage* as opposed to *history* (e.g. Lowenthal (1996). We find strong evidence for positing referring to heritage as a means of in-group mobilization of Polish nationality. In particular, we focus on the strategies of avoiding conflict between heritage references and other values, such as novelty, modernity, luxury etc. as well as on strategies of exposing the past without being subject to any limitations connected with the presence of the relics of that past. We also focus on the national dimension of the religious code in Licheń, that is, how typical units of identity such as 'nation' are re-negotiated and fortified in contemporary society.

Sten Hansson  
Lancaster University

### **Discursive strategies of blame avoidance in crisis**

Blame firestorms and mediated scandals are the essential building blocks of narratives about crises. On a personal or organisational micro-level, receiving blame may ruin individual or organisational reputation and result in the loss of power, finances, and job security for particular individuals (Allern & Pollack 2012; Thompson 2000). Policy makers are thus tempted to apply strategies of blame avoidance which permeate administrative structures, operations, and language use (Hood 2011).

Discourse analysts have so far neglected linguistic aspects of blame avoidance in government. I work towards filling this gap in knowledge by proposing an improved heuristic model for understanding discursive strategies that officeholders employ in the circumstances of blame risk. I illustrate how blame avoidance works at the highest level of administration during the financial crisis by analysing concrete textual examples from public statements of the current UK coalition government. I show how the government's attempts to deflect blame sometimes involve denigrating 'Europe'.

I argue that to understand blame avoidance as a leitmotif of political communication we should look beyond current linguistic approaches to conflict talk. This could lead to new theoretical and methodological insights within the Discourse Historical Approach in critical discourse analysis (Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Wodak 2011) and open new avenues of critical research into language use in politics and bureaucratic organisations.

Anna Jopek-Bosiacka  
University of Warsaw

### **Katyń judicial discourse as political discourse**

Rhetoric in judicial proceedings is – when combined with legal procedure – a system which allows to settle a dispute in an institutionalized and ritualized communicative situation and at the same time a tool enabling dispute's analysis on the basis of argumentation schemes, syllogisms and legal reasoning.

The paper will address the argumentation schemes in the case *Janowiec and Others vs. Russia* before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg as based on hearings and judgments. The proposed analysis will encompass rhetorical strategies and tactics, as well as types and forms of arguments. Several issues are of major importance to the analysed dispute such as: categorization of the Katyń crime in legal terms, the way of its presenting by litigating adversaries and the court itself, and also the evaluation of the Russian investigation by various parties, and the Russian government's standpoint towards victims' relatives.

It is not possible to analyse the argumentation of the parties without referring to the judicial process per se. The legal procedures imply the ritualization of the dispute and rhetorically structured course of the proceedings, in particular the hearing. It is also important to consider the context of this dispute in the public space, especially in the media – both Polish and Russian – in the light of two judgments passed by the Court in 2012 and 2013 and of revealing many Katyń documents by the American government.

The ongoing Katyń dispute may thus be reconstructed in various contexts and domains: legal, political, national, ideological, etc.

Christian Karner  
University of Nottingham

### **Discursively “undoing” and “doing” Europe the Austrian way**

The literature on European and national identities displays a tension between occasional observations of an emerging “banal Europeanism” (Cram 2009) and a dominant strand (e.g. Guibernau 2007; Toplak and Šumi 2012) that questions the viability of European identifications vis-à-vis historically entrenched nationalisms, particularly in the context of the debt-crisis and the resulting (re)nationalization of European politics.

In this paper I build on recent work on Austrian EU-skepticism and its contestation (Karner 2013) to examine select instances – in relevant media coverage, readers’ letters to the editor of Austria’s most widely-read newspaper, internet platforms, and party political positions – of national identity negotiations and re-assertions in relation to the EU and as articulated in the context of successive European crises. The resulting qualitative analysis of these wide-ranging materials is informed by two key concepts in critical discourse analysis: first, the “rhetorical pointing”, or *deixis* (Billig 1995) achieved by the use of personal pronouns or the distinction between “here” and “there”, through which identities are (re)produced and the relationship between the nation-state and the European “network state” (Castells 2000) is negotiated; second, the concept of the *topos*, or “structure of argument” (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2001) through which circular arguments are often ideologically “naturalized” (Barthes 1972).

The resulting analysis reveals the uneasy coexistence of (critical) Europeanism and various national reassertions in Austria’s public sphere and their respective discursive features.



Monika Kopytowska  
University of Łódź

### **Proximizing the Other: Radical discourses online**

The paper explores the dynamics of *radical discourses* in cyberspace and the online construction of the Other. It addresses the following questions: 1) How do the structural and functional features of online communication facilitate the spread of radical messages? 2) Who is the Other and what are the motivations behind and the underlying cognitive and discursive mechanisms of *othering*? 3) How does anonymity, on one hand, and publicity, on the other, enhance this process?

McLuhan's claim that "the medium is the message" gains particular relevance in this case. The near-instantaneous, dialogic, and decentralized nature and interactivity make cyberspace an ultra-attractive site for extended political debate, citizen participation, and a more direct and effective communication between political elites and the rest of the society (Couldry & McCarthy 2004; McKenna & Pole 2008; Keren 2006, 2010; Coleman and Blumler 2010; Street 2011). At the same time, however, the anonymity and global accessibility have transformed it into a tool for promoting messages of hate and radicalism, by enabling previously diverse and fragmented groups to connect and providing them with a sense of community that shares values, ideologies and fears (Perry & Olsson 2009). The collapse of discourse genres and discursive integration of multimodal forms result in unique intertextual and interactive character of online communication (Kopytowska 2013). Creating a common spatiotemporal, cognitive and axiological sphere of shared experience, and supplementing the social activities which previously took place only face-to-face with virtual interaction it transforms the relationship between media, society and politics (the phenomenon referred to as *mediatization*, cf. Krotz 2007, 2009; Strömbäck 2011; Hepp 2013), uniting and dividing, including and excluding members of the groups addressed.

On the theoretical level, the paper presents a new integrated approach towards discourses in the cyberspace combining CDA and cognitive linguistic perspectives with insights from social semiotics and media studies. On the thematic level, the analysis covers radical online discourses in Poland (political blogs and radical groups' websites).

Bartłomiej Krzysztan  
University of Wrocław

**Ideological re-construction of ethnic identity in permanent  
*martial law*: Mythologizing the political discourse over the conflict  
in Nagorno-Karabakh**

The collapse of the USSR, the last colonial empire (Kapuściński 1993), introduced a crucial qualitative change connected with the question of ethnic and national identity re-construction into the political discourse. The multi-level character of the case of re-defining common identities and building complex social and institutional organisms caused the necessity of re-thinking the linguistic structures and the cultural nomenclature helpful in the process of consolidation of newly-created states. This process is especially interesting in regions which are still affected by the “frozen conflicts”. This paper presents an analysis of the Nagorno-Karabakh case. Referring to postmodern political thought, it is possible to put forward a hypothesis that politics and identity are being shaped by the inevitability of building stabilization in “permanent martial law” (Agamben 2008). Despite the slow extrication from the lack of subjectivity within the post-Soviet postcolonial structure, Armenians and Azerbaijanis are re-construing the idea of a nation based on mutual hostility.\* The complex ethnic problem and political narration are deeply tied with the memory and post-memory discourse, and have a significant impact on the character of the official language and on propaganda and values. Furthermore, those circumstances strongly mythologize “everyday” discourse (Ricoeur 2012, Assman 2008). Based on the analysis of the content of symptomatic documents, cultural artifacts, websites and forums, the paper describes and interprets the uncertain role of language in the process of mythologizing the conflict discourse. Besides, I will attempt to predict the consequences of those processes for potential “mental europeization” and factual political integration of Armenia and Azerbaijan within the “undone” project of a united Europe.

\* David Chioni Moore, *Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique*, [online] <http://monumenttotransformation.org/atlas-of-transformation/html/p/postcolonial-political-post-soviet/is-the-post-in-postcolonial-the-post-in-post-soviet-toward-a-global-postcolonial-critique-david-chioni-moore.html>

Can Küçükali  
Lancaster University

**Interventionist tendencies in Turkey's foreign policy:  
Seeking legitimacy for direct intervention in Syria**

This paper investigates how the Turkish government problematizes current developments in Syria in order to 1) legitimize a possible military intervention 2) seek international support for such an intervention. The focus will be on governmental discourses both on the presidential and ministerial levels in order to trace how argumentation schemes might evolve from a conciliatory position to an irreconcilable one, how these schemes might complement each other and also which tensions they would have to accommodate because of the limited political and economic capabilities of the Turkish government.

Based on the theories and methodologies provided by the Discourse Historical Approach in Critical Discourse Studies (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, Wodak & Meyer 2001, Wodak 2009; 2011), the use of different topoi, territorial proximization (Cap 2008; 2010) and populist arguments are analyzed during three years, 2011-2013, by focusing mainly on a set of three party group speeches and three ministerial speeches on the discourse topic 'Syria'. The results illustrate that the current government of Turkey showed an increasingly interventionist tendency in its Syrian policy until 2013. However, it seems that the government's political and economic capacity is limited to realizing the direct interventionist policy that is reflected in the speeches after 2013. Thus, the whole process could be interpreted as a combination of poor judgment of the current developments (Phillips 2012) and lack of support on the part of Turkey's Western allies, which pushed the government in the direction of a potential intervention (Robins 2013).

Filips Lastovskis  
University of Latvia

### **EU Parliament elections and discursive framing in online news media “Delfi” portal audience commentaries**

The research will look into language attitudes – to EU Parliament elections – what is expressed by the readers of the biggest online news medium in Latvia – [www.delfi.lv](http://www.delfi.lv). The social attitudes of this political discourse will be measured at the time of Latvia's joining the Eurozone, when the European narrative becomes more sensitive to Eurosceptic audiences and also to the public in general. The method of this research will be a qualitative content analysis.

This research forms part of a PhD program and thesis: “Political parties and euroscepticism in postsoviet space – public sphere analysis in Latvia 2004 – 2014”.

Tamar Lomadze  
St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University of the Patriarchate of  
Georgia  
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University  
Caucasus University

### **Linguistic peculiarities of PR in Georgian reality**

The aim of this paper is to study the linguistic interpretation of PR in Georgian reality. PR language in contemporary Georgia is important for the following reasons: 1) It is important for the Georgian language to adopt and modify its lexis and phraseology in accordance with the development of a completely new and specific field such as public relations. On the one hand, language has to show mobility and openness to the global environment, as well as readiness to accept, stylistically analyze and conduct stylistic and connotative evaluation of any new information. On the other hand, language should have the ability to maintain its linguistic and cultural basics. 2) Georgia has undergone numerous socio-political changes over the last twenty years. The post-Soviet 'closed space' has been followed by the diversity of political situations that posed numerous challenges to the language. The Georgian language has become an integral part of international relations and the tool of conveying information, which was totally unimaginable under the Soviet Union. The new discourse has created new texts; these texts not only depict but also create and have a significant influence on the public opinion.

Azad Mammadov  
Azerbaijan University of Languages

Aytaj Alikhanova  
Azerbaijan Aviation Academy

### **Person in political media discourse**

The paper aims to analyze the role of person and subjectivity in political media discourse (Fetzer, 2013) focusing on newspaper articles, interviews and letters to editors. For this purpose, we wish to introduce a theoretical framework for the study and then hope to give certain ways in which personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns represent a person based on the contextual analysis of texts from about 400 pages of broadsheets (*Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *USA Today*), tabloids (*The Sun*, *The Mail on Sunday*) and one middle-ranged tabloid (*Daily Express*).

The theoretical framework of our study is the socio-cognitive approach, which gives priority to individual practices and subjectivity in discourse (van Dijk, 2009). The high degree of personalized conceptualization and contextualization dominated by a large number of subjective factors prevail in certain genres of political media discourse such as newspaper articles, comments, interviews, letters (Fairclough, 2001; Talbot, 2007, etc.). Personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns play the key role in this process.

The analysis of the data suggests that although the individual and social characteristics of political media discourse participants such as intelligence, creativity, the degree of charisma, ideological identity, cultural identity, age, gender, race and social status, as well as the kind or type of the relevant media institution (broadsheet, middle-ranged tabloid, tabloid) are very important, certain communicative situations are crucial in the process of representing person in political media discourse.

Agnieszka Mierzwińska-Hajnos  
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin

Małgorzata Paprota  
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin

**Towards a concept metamorphosis. The diachronic change of  
“europejski/a/e” (European) as an evaluative adjective in the  
Polish press: A cognitive account**

This paper will examine the “europejski/a/e” (European) adjective and its concept metamorphosis in the light of frameworks offered in cognitive linguistics, i.e. conceptual metaphor theory (cf. Lakoff 1980, 2013, also Zawisławska 2011) and conceptual blending theory (cf. Fauconnier and Turner 1998, 2002, also Brandt and Brandt 2005, Libura 2010). To achieve this goal, three corpora of articles from Polish quality press will be taken into account. The corpora dating from 1989 and 2004 coincide with key dates in Poland’s relationship with Europe (the regaining of full autonomy from the Soviet sphere of influence and the accession to the EU respectively); the 2013 corpus is the most recent available.

The paper uses corpus methods as well as recent cognitive approaches to linguistic analysis, including the notion of metaphor and conceptual blending. We will try to establish the lexical and cultural association of the adjective, showing a diachronic change from a highly positive evaluation to a more neutral one. This coincides with the changing view of Europe in Poland; although this remains positive, the intensity of the evaluation changes as Poland’s European quality becomes normalised.

James Moir  
Abertay University

### **Britain, Bulgaria and benefits: The political rhetoric of European dis(integration)**

This paper considers the recent debate and political controversy in Britain over the forthcoming lifting of restrictions of freedom of movement for EU citizens from Bulgaria and Romania. In Britain this has provoked a response from the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government centred on altering the rules on the payment of welfare benefits to potential new EU immigrants such that they would not be entitled to claim these benefits for three months after entry. This policy has itself led to a split in the coalition, with the Liberal Democrat leadership claiming that it is a panicked move of the majority Conservative coalition partner, and moreover that it is a blatant attempt to appeal to the electorate in an effort to be seen doing something to stop the benefit system from being abused by 'foreigners'. This issue is set within a wider debate about the economic contribution of East European immigrants to Britain and the claim and counter-claim over issues concerning jobs, welfare benefits and services such as the provision of English language support in schools. These matters are brought out in the paper through an examination of the airing of the political debate on welfare benefits and the response to it in the form of an analysis of online comments to a political interview with Vince Cable, the Liberal Democrat business secretary who stated that the Conservatives were introducing a panicked measure on welfare benefits as a response to the rising popularity of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP).



Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska  
Opole University

**EU's expert rationality versus Poland's ethical conundrum:  
The case of *in vitro* discourse(s)**

The context of this study is the September 2013 infringement package in which the European Commission decided to take Poland to the European Court of Justice for the failure (despite repeated calls) to comply with EU rules on the quality and safety of human tissues and cells. *Directive 2004/23/CE* sets quality and safety standards concerning human tissue and cell donation, procurement, testing, processing, storage and distribution. An obstacle to implementing these standards in Poland is the Parliament's lack of consensus about some points in the document related to *in vitro* fertilization and the status of the human cells and tissues used in the procedure. It seems that the centrist Polish government is not keen on enforcing the EU understanding of IVF as a medical procedure since it might alienate a portion of voters more aligned to the Catholic Church's understanding of *in vitro* as unethical, best encapsulated in the Vatican document entitled *Dignitas Personae*.

This study adopts a qualitative orientation to investigate the divergent representations of the human body and human rights, as well as medical standards and moral responsibilities, particularly those related to *in vitro*, in the EC directive and the Polish Bishops' Conference documents. On the one hand, the expert rationality of directives legitimizes the regulation and standardization of human-derived biological material; on the other, ethical concerns around the status of human tissues, particularly embryos, are foregrounded in the Polish public debate. The study focuses on the comparison between the main discursive strategies and rhetorical devices that permeate the two discourses. Assuming that discourse is constructive of knowledge, the study aims to verify the thesis on the mutual exclusivity of propositional/ideational tenets of expert rationality and moral deliberation in this specific case.

Maja Muhic  
South East European University

### **Torn between agendas: Macedonian national identity between Europe and its multicultural agendas**

In the last two decades, the region of Southeast Europe, the Republic of Macedonia included, has been marked by a type of politics that is based on the pronounced primacy of the issue of national identity over other socio-political questions. National identity as an issue *per se* entails material cultural and academic processes aiming at the construction and fixing of an idea and a sense of a collective. These processes work through the means of recognition, legitimization and symbolic production that maintains, enriches and perpetuates the representation of the national self. Artistic production, academic re-creation of the national truth and re-production of the cultural symbolic (essentially patriarchal) in the fields of humanities are at work in the institutions of the state, in public and private universities and in the media in Macedonia. Ample evidence in terms of material culture (Project Skopje 2014) and recorded public discourse supports the claim that the question of national identity determines the course of politics, nationally and internationally.

The main focus of this paper will be to examine the different discourse types regarding national identity, and the multicultural and cultural policies formulated against the backdrop of the conditions set by the EU. Through a discursive and semiotic analysis of some of the speeches and texts of Macedonian and Albanian political officials, as well as the new physical look of the city of Skopje, this paper will trace the various discursive (re)constructions of national identity vis-à-vis Europe and Macedonia's dedication to EU accession. Additionally, Macedonia's complicated interethnic relations are brought to the surface in the country's struggle with the name issue with Greece and the lack of loyalty on the part of the Albanian political parties which push for an urgent change of name to accelerate EU accession. This further complicates the discourses on the Macedonia-EU integration and creates a triangulation of discourses, one stemming from EU requirements, and two other stemming from the two major ethnic groups and political parties in Macedonia.

Piotr Napierała  
Poznań Trade and Commerce College

### **Universal versus ethnic patriotism**

The article concerns the problem of various forms of patriotism to be found in the Western civilization. The main question is: which form of patriotism agrees more with the modern pluralistic and multicultural world. The author presents two main types of patriotic spirit we deal with today. The first type is the somewhat old-fashioned ethnic patriotism which is usually based on common cultural and historical grounds of one particular nation. The second type is universal patriotism based on virtues. The paper demonstrates that only two nations really proposed some kind of universal patriotism consisting in universal virtues that can be adopted and praised by any human being. The first example is France (*les vertus republicaines*), the second the USA (American Creed). These nations seem to have found a key to today's problems of assimilation and migration.

Chiara Nasti  
Federico II University of Naples

### **Doing or undoing Europe in the Lisbon Treaty debate: A corpus-based analysis of British newspapers**

The aim of this paper is to investigate how the British quality and popular press construe the European identity in reporting the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty. The referendum debate in Ireland on whether to vote in favour of the Lisbon Treaty has filled the pages of newspapers and the online media. Several anti-EU campaigns have emerged and politicians have shown their own attitudes towards the ratification process.

It has been argued that newspapers construe public identities for individuals and social groups through specific textual strategies and contribute to our understanding of belonging to a community (Fairclough 1995). Some scholars have proved that, in reporting European matters, British newspapers are mainly Eurosceptic and tend to depict EU leaders in a negative light (Musolff 2004; Nasti 2012). It has also been pointed out that when reporting on European integration newspapers tend to define what it means to be a European citizen by construing their own images of Europe. By doing so, newspapers have the power to support or subvert the feeling of European belonging by showing desired or unwanted scenarios.

Against this framework, the present paper aims to analyse, by combining a quantitative and a qualitative approach, how newspapers construct professional, social and private identity of the European politicians involved in the Lisbon Treaty debate. This study aims to investigate what qualities and features are, for example, attributed to the EU leaders and to what extent the stereotyped roles of previous studies are also revealed through the analysis of specific textual strategies.

Magdalena Nowak  
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

### **How to dismantle a language: (De)constructing representations of Scots in Scottish parliamentary discourse**

While the conditions of glocalisation are triggering multiple, intertwined codings of identities on local, national and suprastate levels, opening up spaces for the discursive reconstitution of historically contested linguistic identities, the dominant ontological orthodoxy which views languages as autonomous, bounded systems, unproblematically related to similarly defined cultural identities is increasingly hard to sustain.

Taking Scots as an example of a contested language variety whose status and legitimacy is continuously negotiated in public discourse, the talk will present a selection of the discursive strategies through which the language was constructed in the Draft Census (Scotland) Order 2000 debate of the Scottish Parliament.

Seeking recourse in an interdisciplinary conjunction of critical approaches to discourse analysis and language policy, the study has been particularly informed by Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) project of language disinvention and as such it attempts to engage in a critical deconstruction of languages as discursively constructed elements of social reality.

The methodological tools for this deconstructive effort have been based on the Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, which allowed both for the identification of particular discourse topics and strategies that served to demarcate Scots in the parliamentary debate as well as their systematic contextualization within the language's social, political and historical contingencies.

The study also serves as a call for interdisciplinary approach to language policy which would reconstitute languages as plurilithic social products of personal and communal identity building.

Elana Ochse  
University of Torino

### ***Topolino* against *Mickey Mouse*: An uneven match**

Known as *Mickey Mouse* in English, *Topolino* has been so relevant to Italians, both young and old, that one of the most popular Fiat car models back in the Fifties, a shaping status symbol for the upcoming post-war bourgeoisie, was named after him. The icon developed an aesthetic, from cartoons to films to advertising, which rapidly overcame age boundaries and still marks the threshold between brothers who can only read images and elder siblings who can access whole text, when it's not stolen away by *papa*. But there is a detail which should not be overlooked. While the cartoon has annihilated age, gender and class boundaries, with perhaps a bit of suspicion from conservative teachers who would frown on any reading beyond the Iliad, the Odyssey and, later, Dante, foreigners are astonished to discover that *Topolino* is not just tolerated but taken for granted in all Italian homes – thoroughly nationalized and naturalized. The difference lies in the verbal dimension, which in the English-speaking world is not welcome by most adults. Why do even intellectual, and even elitist Italian adults perceive the creature as *simpatico*, and why instead do educated Brits and Americans tend to consider his language as a model which you would not want your child to grow up with?

There are national discourses of education impacting not so much on the semiotics of cartoons, nor on their proposed political/social models – *e.g.* the debate on *The Simpsons* and their Weltanschauung – but “merely” on lexically, syntactically and above all socially inappropriate language use. This resistant Gordian knot tying up the “doing” of class with discourses of parenting, education and language pragmatics will be undone in this paper by showing how the *Italian copyrighted Topolino*, analyzed in a translation class, reveals a degree of linguistic sophistication/creativity unknown in the English genre and text-type.

Alicja Maria Okoniewska  
Complutense University of Madrid

### **Europeanization through discourse: National element in multilingual and multicultural political debate at the European Parliament**

What is Europeanization? How is it reflected through political discourse in the multilingual and multicultural context of the European Parliament? I start my analysis with an attempt to reply to the above-mentioned questions.

Then, I describe the national element present in the political discourse, focusing mainly on the Spanish and Polish interventions. I compare the negotiation of the elements of national identity applying Identity Negotiation Theory of Stella Ting-Toomey and Teun Van Dijk's approach towards power negotiation in multicultural context.

My objective is to describe the role of national element in the Europeanization through discourse in the multilingual and multicultural context of the European Parliament. It can enrich Europeanization perceived as a process of "unifying in diversity" as imagined in the mission of the European Union. However, it can also hamper the process and blur the communication. Therefore, I outline some suggestions of further study of the use of the national element in order to positively reinforce Europeanization, identity negotiation and communication process.

Urszula Okulska  
University of Warsaw

### **Dialogic vision of European and Polish/national identities in John Paul II's messages from his first visit to sovereign Poland (1991)**

Dialogue as an expression of the basic need for communication has always played a major role in maintaining interhuman ties at both local and global levels of social contacts. In its conciliatory potential it is a primary means of managing personal disputes and solving larger-scale conflicts. This makes it a powerful discursive medium of overcoming social disparities and divisions, by which it can establish relations of mutual trust and understanding between interacting parties. The present study explores how the constitution of Polish and European 'selves' is determined by the dialectical growth of the strong aspect (*ipseity* 'selfhood') of both national and, by the same token, regional identities, as respectively small- and large-scale analogies of personal identity (Ricoeur 1992).

The analysis is based on selected texts from John Paul II's fourth visit to Poland (1991), which, as his first arrival in the independent country after 1989, was largely devoted to the problem of Polish freedom and Poland's place in uniting Europe. Departing from the Dialogic Model (DM) of discourse (Grillo 2005), with relations of (comm)unity (rather than of isolation/conflict) featured as natural and unmarked human bonds, the analysis shows the process of co-constructing by individual and collective voices in the Pope's messages their Polish and European 'selfhood', based on the actors' dialogic endeavours to build interactive, and thus also spiritual, integrity with their partners. This is possible only through the people's deliberate choices of 'communicative' (*vis-à-vis* 'strategic/instrumental') action (Habermas 1984), which is aimed at establishing transparency of meaning via interactional symmetry and power balance between the parties.

It will be illustrated, with the help of the Transformative Approach to Conflict (Bush and Folger 2005) and concepts of narrative mediation (Winslade and Monk 2000), how the Polish nation from the Pope's accounts is able to perform its self-transformation by eliminating conflict-laden 'commonsensical' behaviours (see esp. Fairclough 1989) in favour of self-/other-oriented 'participatory' stances. This deconstruction of the old, non-reflexive 'stories' of exclusionary practices allows the Poles to arrive collaboratively (through mutual dialogue) with conscious, self-made and creative 'narratives' (Ricoeur 1992), which can critically transcend the former divisions, and invite peaceful attitudes, openness and authentic cooperation in (inter)national/European relations. Such discursive construals produce each



community's *ipseity*, embodying the universal values of self-constancy, dignity and self-esteem, and constituted by dialogic instantiations of 'power in concert' *with others*, as a reflection of genuine human togetherness in plurality and freedom (Arendt 1972, 1998). It will be argued that all these qualities generally represent discursive products of people's *ethical change*, which at a more global level also turns out to be a relevant factor of *cultural change* in that it inscribes in, responds to and revives the classical European tradition of building the true public realm.

Jair Antonio de Oliveira  
Federal University of Paraná

### **The pragmatics of journalistic power: The (de)construction of resistance**

The effects of journalistic contents in the global context of society are yet to be studied, for new technologies, geopolitical and economical interests, modes of production, and different beliefs pervade the medias, influencing and making realities that will somehow affect organizations and individuals. Such effects, that is, interventions, mediations and influences (not always explicit) of journalistic contents reveal a “(de)construction” of resistance forms. In this sense, this paper aims at investigating the (de)construction of resistance from two thematic axes: a) the journalistic context of production where metaphoric and symbolic uses of language foster an idealized social imaginary and/or promote abusive generalizations; b) the context of reception where one can find different practices of media reading – although the academic world does not always consider such practices efficacious, they allow for the transgression of the “vicious cycle” of generalizations and idealizations.

The central purpose is to verify how different intentions both mediate the use of language in these domains and constrain the support to public and private policies that do not correspond to the concrete existential context of individuals (deconstruction of resistance). Moreover, the paper pursues an understanding of how the technological and linguistic habits of new generations are used to resignify the articulations and designations in raising, creating and circulating news (construction of resistance).

The theoretical background is that of linguistic pragmatics (Mey, 1985, 1993; Rajagopalan, 2001, 2002) and of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 1999; Pennycook, 2001). The investigation’s methodology is basically analytical-descriptive.

Irina Oukhvanova  
Aliona Popova  
Elena Savich  
Ilja Putikov  
Belarusian State University

### **Discourse linguistics and functional models of nationhood**

The problem of identity nowadays – that is in the time of active migration and globalization processes – is equally topical for individuals, groups and nations. Discourse linguistics adds a new dimension to its modeling. In particular models of a prototypic character (the ones coming from the very depth of history) do not work so effectively as they used to. Functional models start to gain their prominence.

The models we would like to present are built on three depth interviews and one focus group. The collection of the database was carried out with a focus on the so-called inter-categories, such as inter-textuality, inter-discourse-ness, inter-subject-ness and inter-event-ness. The database was reconsidered with the dichotomist discourse categories of a cluster-type such as discourse pictures of the world and interaction, knowledge and attitude, sense and essence.

The research is performed on the level of a pilot study and aimed at testing a number of hypotheses, the central one being formulated as “national identity can and should be studied nowadays as both functional and dynamic materially-based activities and ideally based practices coded verbally and nonverbally. Thus, national identity should be studied on the basis of individual’s identities”. As a result, identity can be modeled within a set of functional models which, being various (even opposed), form a certain holistic system revealed in patterns and structures.

From a functional point of view, identity (as a functional system) is both open and closed. It forms a certain balance that permits to accept it as both stable and flexible. And it is like Ferdinand de Saussure’s two-faced Janus with four eyes: Janus’s faces are turned to reality and verbal reality, and also specifically social and individual group realities within their functionally identified individuals, groups and communities.

Małgorzata Paprota  
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin

### **Mild-mannered dogs and a freedom-loving people: The discursive construction of Britishness under threat from Europe**

Opinion polls carried out in the UK indicate a substantial opposition to the EU, an attitude which is very much in evidence in the British press, especially of the conservative persuasion. The institutions of the European Union are almost universally held by the said press to be a threat to the British way of life, but Europe itself is not exempt from this distrust.

This proposed paper draws on corpus methods, argumentation theory and metaphor analysis to locate and analyse the aspects of British life which are construed in conservative press discourse as being under threat from Europe and/or the European Union. Two corpora have been analysed, one dating from 2005, the year of Poland's accession to the EU, the other from 2013, as Romanians and Bulgarians are about to be allowed into Britain's job market. Both corpora contain news and comment articles from the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph. The analysis focuses on values, myths and features of character (whether human or animal) to show that this discursively constructed Britishness is nostalgic, idealised, selective, and permeated with contradictions. It also looks for evidence of a diachronic change in this construction of Britishness, though this is not substantial.

Alexandra Pinto  
University of Porto

**Towards a (dis)integrated Europe: The constructs of “Europe” – as represented by “Troika” – versus “Portugal” and “the Portuguese” in a corpus of Portuguese satirical chronicles**

Based on theoretical and methodological principles of pragmatics and discourse analysis, the present work analyses a corpus of 62 humorous and satirical chronicles, published in Portuguese newspapers from December 2011 to March 2013, in order to foreground the concepts of proximization and distanciation and its contribution to the construction of the social representations of “Troika”; “the Portuguese government” and “the Portuguese” in the articles.

The analysis will foreground that markers of epistemic, deontic and appreciative modality are used to construct the ironic and sarcastic tone that permeates this type of discourse. Other recurrences as manifestations of intertextuality and interdiscursivity and the invocation of other voices are geared either for the legitimization of the enunciators voice, or for the disqualification of the voice of the other, in keeping with the pragmatic dimension of social satire.

In general, the analysis will demonstrate that the reconstruction of the identification of “Portugal” and “the Portuguese” as a nation vis-à-vis “Europe” – as represented by “Troika” – corresponds to two opposite positionings that polarise these entities, foregrounding the distance between them and contributing to a vision of a disintegrated Europe.

Joanna Redzimska  
University of Gdańsk

**Are children's cartoons politically correct?  
The study of proper names used in *CARS 1***

Nowadays, political correctness has become an issue for almost all spheres of life, including artistic creations such as cartoons for children. It pertains both to the picture as well as to the language that is promoted in them. Obviously, one of the levels at which the discussion continues is the question of artistic freedom as far as artistic and esthetic values are concerned. Yet, the above mentioned issue is not within the scope of interest for the present work. The present paper is an interdisciplinary (cognitive and pragmatic) study of proper names of characters in *CARS 1* focusing on how politically correct they are.

The phenomenon of proper names has been a matter of philosophical, psychological and linguistic interest. From a psychological point of view the discussion is mostly centered around the relation of names and the unities that bear them (Russell 1956, Searle 1958, Kripke 1980). Valentine, Brenner and Brédart (1996) have made an attempt to explain the difficulties with lexical access of names from a cognitive psychology position. However, the thesis of the present paper is that for particular cognitive, semantic and pragmatic reasons in children's cartoons (*CARS 1*) proper names of major characters are based on culture-grounded prototypes. Additionally, this paper will examine how the element of political correctness (defined by e.g. Czerner 2006, Andrews 1996, Huges 2010) in connection with names has been realized (if at all) and what possible explanations (pragmatic, cognitive and cultural) can be identified.

Ahmed Abdel-Rheem  
University of Łódź

### **Messaging battles in the Eurozone crisis discourse: A critical cognitive study**

We know from research in cognitive science that all thought is physical, with mostly unconscious mental structures characterized by neural circuitry in the brain.

Fillmore has shown that frames are the most commonplace mental structures, and Lakoff has shown that a huge number of mental structures are metaphorical, mapping from one frame to another. All forms of communication, whether language, images, cartoons, or gestures work via the activation of such frames. The more a mental structure is activated, the stronger the neural circuitry that comprises it will become.

World-views are long-term systems of conceptual frames and metaphors in the brain. People can only make sense of ideas that fit their fixed systems of frames and metaphors. Many people have access to more than one world-view. If one is activated more than another, the one most activated will become increasingly strong and the others increasingly weak. The use of language and cartoons in the media can have a strong effect on which world-view will be strengthened in the brains of members of the public.

The author analyses a corpus of 1000 op-eds employing political cartoons and pertaining to the ongoing Eurozone crisis (2010- ), and finds that the English-language media is attempting to undermine the euro and to foment the crisis. More specifically, the US and UK discourses on the crisis are a panorama of metaphors, categorizations, and blendings. These are normal in discussions of any important topic, but here are one-sided. Such communicative devices have the effect of moving the understanding of the public in an anti-euro direction.

Michael Rinn  
University of Western Brittany

**The meaning making process of *disability* in public discourse:  
A case study of France, Great Britain and Germany**

What is the role of public discourse on disability? To support and empower the disabled to achieve better life conditions. The traditional logic of care is shifting to the contemporary logic of free choice, self-esteem and mutual recognizance. The use of this new logic results by no means from the Europeanization of disability policies. The principal issue of that transnational model is based on universal and non-discriminatory principles. However, our paper aims to show why the meaning making process of *disability* is national language based. We would like to discuss the following hypothesis: national languages, public discourse and the construction of social reality are strongly interrelated. By comparing the linguistic representation of disability in France, Great Britain and Germany, we will show how national boundaries define specific ethics of inclusion and exclusion, as well as specific *Weltbilder* of social life.



Inesa Šeškauskienė  
Vilnius University

Julia Ostanina  
University of Warsaw, Poland

### **Conceptualising current events in Ukraine: A cross-cultural analysis of online press releases**

The news discourse and particularly its immediate reaction to any 'hot' events have been in the focus of attention of researchers for many years (Lakoff 2002, Charteris-Black 2005, Musolff 2004, among others). Current events in Ukraine have not escaped the attention of journalists writing about politics making news articles a good source of investigation. Therefore, the present research focuses on the coverage of events in the on-line articles about Ukraine's strife for European membership. The research aims at identifying prevailing metaphors in Lithuanian and Polish discourse on the issue.

The data has been collected from the internet portals *delfi.lt*, *lrytas.lt*, *15min.lt* in Lithuanian and *Gazeta Wyborcza* (*wyborcza.pl*), *Rzeczpospolita* (<http://www.rp.pl>) and *Polityka* (*polityka.pl*) in Polish. The methodology of research is based on the principles of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT, see Lakoff 1993), largely assuming that metaphor is our major tool in understanding more abstract phenomena in terms of more concrete, major principles of the MIPVU methodology (see Steen et al. 2010) and the principle of semantically revealing combinatory patterns (see Steen et al. 2010, Šeškauskienė 2013).

Presumably, the events in LT and PL newspapers are conceptualised through the notion of flood (e.g. *people flooded the streets of Kiiv*), journey (e.g. *Ukraine is turning to Russia*), love and hate relationships (e.g. *Ukraine is going to embrace Russia*). Most of them are cross-cultural, demonstrating, however, culture-specific features of realisation.

Lil Reif  
Danube University Krems

**When the European Union is West and the EHEA is EU: Iconization and erasure in public discourse on language policy in higher education**

The starting point of this paper is a discourse analysis on regulating the use of languages in the field of higher education and research in Latvia covering parliamentary debates and related changes in legislation in the period 2006 – 2011. Here, I will explore how one of the core values of the EU – linguistic diversity – and the EU policy of official languages, related to it – are used as cornerstones for shaping language policy in higher education in Latvia. In the core of arguments for or against certain legal regulations lays the construction of spaces: imaginations of what the EU, Latvia and the European Higher Education Area are supposed to be like and linking these spaces with “right” or “wrong” linguistic repertoires. Furthermore, the paper highlights how reasoning is done by individuals in power (politicians and academics), silencing other voices in a highly elite field of practice as is the case in higher education.

Ayten Rzayeva  
Azerbaijan University of Languages

### **Names as the representations of knowledge in political discourse**

We wish to explore political discourse based on the definition of discourse given by Wodak (2009) who distinguishes “between discourse and text: discourse implies patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures, where as a text is a specific and unique realization of a discourse.”

Political discourse is an excellent space for verbalization of knowledge and there are various linguistic representations of knowledge in political discourse (Musolff, 2009, Lakoff, 1995 etc.). Among them there are names of persons, countries and organizations, which also include deictic elements metaphors, metonymies etc.

Names strengthen the power of perception in mind and it is hardly possible to perceive political developments without them. The names represent a specific way of thinking, which is the necessary element of participation in political deliberation, as the way of thinking with names is a specific quality in the organization of political discourse. Such scenario for political discourse motivates the attention of the receiver and encourages attaining the goal, which is perception.

The names of persons and countries persuade the receiver to recognize the prominent global and cultural values of those concepts and furthermore construct the identity of cultural pluralism. Thus we analyze the ways of how the names of persons (W. Churchill, M. Thatcher, R. Reagan etc.) represent knowledge such as power or ideology in political discourse. For this purpose we focus on political speeches.

Aleksandar Takovski  
South East European University

Nenad Markovikj  
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University

### **Is Europe “Greek” to Macedonia? The effects of Greek politics on Macedonian national identity and its citizens’ perceptions of Europe**

The Macedonian road to European integration is paved with internal persistence and external challenges. On one hand, the strive by the domestic political elite as well as the general public to join the European club is undisputed and long-lasting. On the other, the process has been hindered by Greece’s negation policy towards Macedonian national identity, epitomized in the name dispute. This has radicalized the expression of the Macedonian national identity as demonstrated by the Macedonian government’s provocative project Skopje 2014. This revival of the “extended temporal perspective that reaches back to antiquity” (Armstrong 1994) has only radicalized the identity display, without causing a dramatic shift in self-perception, as shown by many domestic studies. However, this national identity negating policy by Greece may have also caused a change in Macedonian perception of European identity. Considering the argument that identities are fluid, plural and discursive, both national (Wodak and Ludwig 1999, Wodak et al. 2009) and European (Malborg and Strath 2002, Wodak and Weiss 2005, Wodak 2007), and also context-dependent, it is also conceivable that perception of identity is subject to transformation. In the light of the fact that “identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgment” (Barth 1998), the paper argues that the evaluation and judgment of the European identity by Macedonians has been widely affected by the evaluation and judgment of the Macedonian identity by Greece. Such effect may additionally be stimulated by Macedonian political elite discourse (value standards – Barth) and the presentation of European identity there in, along with its ‘conversationalisation’ (Fairclough 1995).

In addition to these effects; radicalization of national image and shift in perception of European identity, we also postulate that Greece politics has caused EU to offer an ambiguous subject position to Macedonia. Namely, on one hand, by adhering to the institutional and political harmonization demands by EU, Macedonia has demonstrated its institutional European-ness. On the other hand, European Union, under the influence of Greece has offered a problematic, contestable subject position of cultural identity for Macedonia.

One could claim that this pseudo-“orientalistic” (Said 2001) discourse resulted in Greece being typified as a “high culture” (Gellner 2006) and Macedonia being exemplified as an “imagined community” (Anderson 2006) in the process of “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012).<sup>1</sup> Hence a position in which Macedonia is not able to bring (part of) its own national identity into the European supranational one. This dilemma begs questions like: what is EU discourse on Macedonia and Macedonian national identity? Can EU discourse on Macedonia accommodate Macedonian image of itself? Is Macedonia on the verge of EU discourses? Answers to these questions along with the fore mentioned questions shall constitute the back bone of this study.

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<sup>1</sup> The theoretical concepts of “imagined communities” and “invention of tradition” are used here in a pejorative perspective rather than in their original constructivist meaning.

Olena Shershnova  
Higher School of Computer Science and Management in Rzeszów

### **Ukraine - “undoing Europe”: What are we fighting for?**

A political situation in Ukraine has recently attracted the attention of the whole world, following the president's decision from November 21, 2013 to stop the process of Euro-integration. People gather for national protests: Ukraine talks, the world listens, authorities ignore it. These events and their consequences were the motivation behind the project focusing on the “Euromaidan” events and the development of the Ukrainian state system. The following methods of research have been combined: descriptive and comparative analysis of information, statistical methods and generalization. The data analysed comes from the media coverage of the “Euromaidan”. The author compares the representations of protests in Ukraine with protests in other parts of Europe.

Federico Giulio Sicurella  
Lancaster University

### **How post-Yugoslav intellectuals speak for the nation in the context of Europeanisation: The case of Croatia**

The intricate relationship between national identities and the European integration process has attracted research also in the field of critical discourse studies (e.g. Krzyżanowski, 2010). In this growing body of research, however, little attention has been devoted to intellectuals and their capacity to act as spokespersons for their national communities, particularly through articulating widespread concerns, shared social representations, as well as a common vision for the future.

This paper begins to bridge this gap by exploring the discursive strategies that Croatian intellectuals employed to ‘speak for the nation’ on the occasion of Croatia’s accession into the European Union in 2013. Building on inquiries into the discursive construction of national identities (Wodak *et al.*, 2009), I elaborate an original approach which combines the notions of intellectual spokespersonship (Pels, 2000) with conceptions of the intellectual as ‘nation-maker’ (Suny & Kennedy, 1999). I then apply this framework to a set of opinion pieces about Croatia’s membership in the EU which were circulated in the national press. The analysis focuses on the articulation of the nation as a project aimed to bring prosperity to its members.

The case of Croatia is relevant as it illustrates how the idea of nation might occupy an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the ‘European project’, which sheds light on the complex interplay between nationhood and Europeanisation in general.

Katarzyna Sobieraj  
University of Wrocław

### **The Euro crisis and its influence on the European identity: Critical Discourse Analysis in the comparative study of political debate**

Political media discourse is one of the main factors in constructing society and shaping its worldview. It is where the ongoing negotiation of European identity making (or breaking apart) is reflected and the interplay between national sentiments and European dreams is demonstrated.

The aim of my research project is a comparative analysis of the language of political debate on the current European crisis in selected EU member states and its influence on the European identity. My main objective is to show the differences in the construction of the discourse in each country and by different political parties and to demonstrate how the discourse on the fate of the Euro constitutes a part of the debate on European identity.

My analysis will be based on primary material from daily press as it allows most detailed analysis of the dynamics of the discourse on the crisis. It is of vital importance to analyze this dynamics as it offers a closer look at the very process of the decision making in European politics and allows to understand its motivations. My preliminary research shows that the Euro currency is an important element in strengthening European identity and as such it is used as an argument to preserve the Eurozone.

I will conduct my analysis with the mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods, complemented by critical discourse analysis (CDA), which allows to fully integrate socio-political aspects of the debate. It reflects the interdisciplinary character of discourse analysis deriving from other branches of humanities, like text and cognitive linguistics, genre studies, stylistics, sociology, and philosophy. As a result, it offers a holistic approach to the complex social phenomenon which discourse is.



Vilelmini Sosoni  
Ionian University

### **The rhetoric of othering in the Greek parliament: Representations of the troika and the Self/Other dichotomy**

Cornelius Castoriadis (1987: 147) argues that all societies have a central imaginary in order to consider basic questions about their identity. Imaginary specifications provide an answer to these questions, while they assemble, adjust, fabricate and construct a society. In all this, language plays a crucial role. As Castoriadis points out, it is through language that these social imaginary significations become manifest and do their constitutive work. In the spirit of these claims and the assumption that identities are constructed discursively (Tekin, 2010: 4), the present article investigates the construction of the identity of the troika – the common support mechanism for Greece in the wake of its sovereign debt crisis and threat of a disorderly default in 2010 consisting of the IMF, the European Central Bank and the European Commission.

The aim is to determine how the different political parties construct the identity of the troika. Since identity necessarily concerns a relation to the Self and the Other, and othering is an important activity in the construction of identity, the paper studies the strategies of othering used in the Greek Parliament by the different political parties across all political affiliations during the parliamentary debate preceding the vote on the second bailout loan on February 12, 2012. How do the parties supporting the troika and the second bailout loan differ – if at all – from the parties who oppose them in the discursive construction of the troika's identity? Resting on the notion that complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be examined thoroughly unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined, the analysis is carried out on the basis of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which, as Crawshaw and Tusting (2000: 27) observe, seeks to “combine linguistic and socially-grounded approaches to the analysis of discourse”.

Piotr Twardzisz  
University of Warsaw

### **Multiple projections of *Europe* across discourses at a time of major political reconstructions**

The paper explores numerous projections of the term and concept *Europe* in various domains (political, economic, business, academic) in the time span from 1989 to 1993. This was the time of major political and economic changes in this part of the world. Besides the rebirth of some of the European nations and states, the collapse of the post-World War II arrangements *of* and *in* Europe itself took place. Abstracting away from any one particular domain, an analysis will be undertaken whose goal will be to scour all uses of the term *Europe* in an online corpus of mostly journalistic and academic texts. As a result of the corpus search, all possible phraseological configurations involving *Europe* will be retrieved. The processing of the language material will lead to establishing numerous and highly variegated phraseological patterns in which *Europe* participates. This, in turn, is to result in a comprehensive picture of how Europe was portrayed at the time of major political and economic changes towards the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s. Compared to the four decades of the Cold War period with a strong polarization between Western and Eastern Europe, there is a noticeable shift in labelling and conceptualizing Europe in the early 1990s. Apart from the appearance of new nation-states on the European stage and subsequently in 'European' discourse, preliminary research shows numerous altered projections of Europe as a place and *Europe* as a concept. There is no denying that alongside new national identities *Europe* per se features as an important political and/or economic entity. There is also a remarkable phenomenon of different kinds of *Europeanizations* of *Europe*. To put it differently, the discourse and corpus analysis in question shows a decreasing amount of 'polarized *Europe*', or 'just *Europe*', and signals an increase in conceptualizing 'kinds of *Europe*' and/or 'instances of *Europe*'.

Valentyna Ushchyna  
Kyiv National Linguistic University

### **Manipulative use of “risk” as a stance in political communication**

The aim of this study is to demonstrate how social, political and moral hierarchies are embedded in the speaker's stances (Jaffe 2009). It has been analyzed how particular linguistic forms indicating epistemic and affective stances may also index different personal and social identities of a speaker. The emphasis of this study is on the notion of 'risk' as an important part and powerful means of manipulation in modern political discourse. While 'risk', according to the 'world risk society' perspective (Beck 1992), is seen as both a real risk and a social construction of possible harm, in modern theories risks are understood as being constructed by attributing (expected or observed) negative outcomes to decisions (Zinn 2010).

In this research the risks are associated with the “wrong” political choices of the people, and decisions are to be made on the advice of political actors and media representatives. The 'risk' receives a subjective interpretation in the present study; therefore 'positive' or 'negative' connotations of taking risks directly depend upon the stances of the communicating participants. The way that stances on risks are constructed linguistically is analyzed with regard to semantic categories of risk such as 'chance', 'harm', 'victim', 'risky situation', 'beneficiary', etc.

The data was gathered from the public political rhetoric (including advertisements, TV programs, newspaper and Internet publications) in November-December 2013, devoted to the failed Ukraine-EU Association, which triggered mass protests in Ukraine. The discourse analysis of the stance-taking in this situational context was undertaken in the following framework: the act of signing/not signing Association with EU was seen as 'a risky situation', the speaker together with recipients were regarded as 'decision makers' while their role was also treated as that of 'the affected' party (either 'victims' or 'the beneficiaries' of the risky choice).

Andrzej Widota  
State Higher Vocational School in Racibórz

### **Playing the ideological organ: On some aspects of the 21st century right-wing manipulative discourse in Poland**

In his book *Moral Politics* (1996) Lakoff discussed the conservative/liberal conflict in America. He argued that the division was in fact between *strictness* and *nurturance* as ideals at all levels – from the family and morality to religion and politics. The application of the conservative worldview based on Strict Father Morality (as opposed to Nutrant Parent Morality) is in danger of breeding a culture of exclusion which makes people stereotype, demonize and punish the Other just for being the Other and has led to the Holocaust, rasism, militarism, the KKK and numerous military conflicts. In Europe, the Nutrant Parent model has made the creation of the EU possible but one should not ignore the current popularity of extreme and fanatic ideologies. How is it possible that ideologies discredited by the horrors of Wold War II have come to considerable prominence?

A major contribution to promoting extreme ideologies is being made by the manipulative discourses presented by popular right-wing mass media in Poland. Such discourses do not cultivate the values of death and hatred in an overt way. They are fully aware that it is through mass media that ceratain aspects of reality may be amplified and enter the collective consciousness while others may sink into oblivion. For this article, I would like to show ideology as an organ whose pipe ranks represent different values associated with a given ideology. In order to activate a given pipe rank it is necessary for an organist to activate a stop. A manipulative text author is seen as an organist only activating those pipe ranks which are pleasant for the hearer (family values, conspiracy theories) and avoiding those which might deter them (antisemitism, killing as an acceptable action against the Other) thus allowing his tunes to seduce potential followers.

Julita Woźniak  
University of Łódź

### **Polish migrants in the British press: A CDA perspective**

The main objective of this paper is to present the research project on discursive representations of Polish migrants in the British press. The topic is situated within the extensive concept of migration discourse comprising, among others, media representations of migrants. The accession of Poland to EU in 2004 resulted in a large out-migration to other member states with a considerable proportion of Polish migrants leaving for the UK. This phenomenon has systematically attracted the attention of British media that have presented broad spectrum of attitudes towards Poles, including alarmist concerns over the scale of the influx of Polish migrants being the case in recent years.

Starting from the assumption that media discourse is both socially constituted and socially constitutive (Wodak 2011), the paper uses the Discourse-Historical Approach as an effective methodological framework for revealing specific approaches to migrants. The corpus comprises selected British online newspapers, both broadsheets and tabloids, of various ideological affiliation: *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times of London*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun*. The DHA methodology provides tools to examine the process in which discourse reflects, represents and reconstructs attitudes towards Poles in Britain. It reveals the phenomenon of perspectivization of migrants through discursive strategies occurring in the articles in the form of particular language devices (Wodak 2001). This kind of research exposes numerous types of images attributed to Polish migrants by the authors of media texts, which may result in negative stereotyping of Poles living in the UK and, in consequence, contribute to social tensions within British society.

Franco Zappettini  
University of London

### **Transnationalism as an index to construct European identities**

The intensification of globalization processes and the proliferation of transnational practices over the last few decades have had a profound impact on modern societies resulting, inter alia, in a polarization of 'local' vis-à-vis 'global' identities. Whilst 'nationhood' has sometimes re-emerged conspicuously in discourses of European identity, 'alternative' embryonic forms of post-national belonging are also being negotiated, challenged and legitimized in the European public sphere.

This paper seeks an understanding of how current 'European' identities are discursively constructed from a bottom up perspective, in the discourses of 'active' citizens by investigating the role of transnationalism in the 'imagination' of the European community with members of a transnational NGO. It suggests that whilst transnationalism does not represent an identity per se, it provides members with critical perspectives and in some cases an ideological lens to index their identities to multiple referents. Three main identification patterns were recognized which indexed Europeanness to different conceptual dimensions of transnationalism. The first dimension is one that conceives of Europe as a space of transnational practices thus projecting national identities on a European trajectory and tallying with the 'Europeanisation' of national identities in discourse. The second conceptualization of transnationalism is one that dismisses 'nationhood' to reconstruct the European space as an internally open space of belonging albeit bounded from other blocs. Finally, a third dimension conceptualizes European identity as a 'node' interconnecting individuals with a seamless cosmopolitan 'network' of citizens. This paper will thus suggest that, within the fragmentation of the European project, national referents appear to become increasingly volatile and/or recontextualised in 'glocal' and 'hybrid' discourses.

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### **'Networked' identities: Changing representations of Europeanness**

'Late modernity' has been characterized by fundamental social changes often captured by the (contested) terms globalization and transnationalism. In relation to Europe, such changes, embodied for example by increasing cross-border flows, new technologies and changing geo-political orders, have had a major impact on established notions of affiliations, belongings and social identities resulting in a redefinition of Europeanness vis-a-vis the 'local' and the 'global' (Wodak & Weiss, 2005).

Previous research on transnationalism has conceptualized European identities as 'layered', 'contained' and bounded. For example the 'Russian doll' model proposed by Hermann et. al (2004) metaphorically represents national and supranational loyalties as nested within each other and emerging hierarchically. Alternatively, Risse (ibid) has argued for the treatment of European identities as blended and intertwined with other identities using the metaphor of a 'marble cake'. All of these models regard national belonging as an essential component in the formation of European identity.

Drawing on data taken from interviews and focus groups conducted with members of a transnational organization promoting civic participation in Europe, this paper challenges existing representations of Europeanness by offering a new interpretive metaphor of 'networked' identities. Findings suggest that, through the schema of 'network', members are able to construct and 'reimagine' their belonging along new axes that often bypass national identification. They construct their identities along a spatial dimension that does away with a 'core-periphery' or 'bounded' logic, often dynamically reorganizing hierarchies and bringing to the fore individual agency and 'creativity'. In this context we argue that the 'network metaphor' represents a powerful referent for (re)imagining European identity as more fluid, dynamic, and processual than previously conceptualised.

## PAPERS IN GERMAN

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### **Schleppnetzfisherei im Datenmeer - Metaphern und Metonymien im deutschen und amerikanischen Diskurs um den NSA-Überwachungsskandal**

Die Rolle der Metaphern und Metonymien im öffentlichen Diskurs wurde lange unterschätzt. Sie stellen jedoch einen gravierenden Anteil der Meinungsbildung dar (Mio 1996: 127).

Ziel dieses Artikels ist eine qualitative, kontrastive Analyse der Metaphern und Metonymien im deutschen und amerikanischen Diskurs um den aktuellen Überwachungsskandal. Das Forschungsmaterial umfasst Artikel und Diskussionen aus ausgewählten Presseartikeln und Internetforen. Auf der Basis einzelner Beispiele wird versucht, die Konzeptualisierungen der konkreten Begriffe in den deutschen und amerikanischen Presseartikeln zusammenzustellen und zu vergleichen. Auf diese Weise wird herausgefunden, welche Unterschiede es in den jeweiligen Beispielen gibt und inwieweit sie kulturell geprägt sind. Darüber hinaus werden die Ergebnisse den Konzeptualisierungen aus den Internetforen gegenübergestellt.

Im Laufe der Arbeit werden folgende Fragen beantwortet: Wie werden Datenschutz, Überwachung und Sicherheit seitens der Medien konzeptualisiert? Welche Argumente werden von den Befürwortern und Gegnern der flächendeckenden Überwachung durch die NSA angeführt? Inwieweit spiegeln die einzelnen Metaphern die amerikanische bzw. deutsche Identität wieder?



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### **„Das politische Wir – Funktionen der ersten Person Plural in öffentlichen Reden bei nord- und lateinamerikanischen Präsidenten“**

„Wir haben gewonnen!“ Diesen Satz hört man nicht nur bei sportlichen Großereignissen, wenn ein Team stellvertretend für eine ganze Nation auf dem Spielfeld steht. Einige mögen zustimmend nicken, andere wiederum fragen provokant: „Wieso *wir*? Wir haben doch gar nicht mitgespielt!“ Was also ist der semantische und pragmatische Inhalt der ersten Person Plural? Meint ein *Wir* tatsächlich immer nur „wirkliche“ Personen oder kann es auch für eine Nation, Partei oder ein anderes soziales Konstrukt stehen?

Es ist anzunehmen, dass das *Wir* spezifische Funktionen und Bedeutungen im politischen Kontext besitzt. Bisher wird in der politischen Sprachforschung das Thema der Personalpronomen oftmals unter rein semantischen Aspekten betrachtet (z.B. Zimmermann 1969, Vollmert 1989, Burkhardt 2003). Im Zusammenwirken mit Ansätzen der Linguistik (z.B. Bühler 1934, Lyons 1968, Herbermann 1988, Helmbrecht 2004) und der linguistischen Gestenforschung (Kendon 2000, McNeill 1992, Müller 1998, Fricke 2007) soll der multimodale Gebrauch von *Wir* und dessen verschiedene Funktionen und Bedeutungen aufgezeigt werden.

Im Fokus steht dabei der Gebrauch der ersten Person Plural in öffentlichen politischen Reden und Interviews. Die Analyse konzentriert sich auf Politiker aus Nord- und Lateinamerika (Clinton, Obama, Chávez und Morales), was gleichzeitig eine sprachvergleichende Perspektive auf das englische und spanische *Wir* eröffnet.

Basierend auf eigenen Studien wird argumentiert, dass eine spezielle Form von *Wir* im politischen Kontext zu finden ist, die das *abstrakte Wir* genannt werden soll. Eine bedeutende Funktion dieses *abstrakten Wirs* ist – vor allem in öffentlichen Reden – eine Gruppe von einer anderen zu separieren oder an eine bestimmte Gruppe oder Nation zu appellieren. In den meisten Fällen fällt diese Form von *Wir* zusammen mit einer *diskursiven* Geste. Es kann außerdem gezeigt werden, dass der vermehrte Gebrauch von *Wir* eine Intensitätssteigerung aller Interaktionsmodalitäten nach sich zieht. Dies weist darauf hin, dass der Verwendung des *Wirs* im politischen Diskurs vor allem die Funktion zukommt, Aufmerksamkeit zu strukturieren und zu lenken.

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### **Sprachliche Formen bei der Bewältigung der europäischen Wirtschafts - und Finanzkrise: Wege zur Integration oder Desintegration?**

Obwohl die Europäische Union nach wie vor die Weltregion mit der höchsten Wirtschaftskraft ist, sind mehr als die Hälfte aller Jugendlichen Europas ohne Arbeit und haben keine tragfähige Lebensperspektive. Dies ist eine der Auswirkungen der Wirtschafts- und Finanzkrise, mit der Europa seit einigen Jahren konfrontiert ist. Angesichts solcher Konsequenzen wird ihre Bewältigung zur zentralen Herausforderung für die Weiterführung des Friedensprojektes *Europa*.

Ohne *Solidarität* der Bürger und ihre Zustimmung zu den notwendigen Schritten wird die Bewältigung dieser Herausforderung nicht gelingen. Solidarität und Zustimmung sind nicht denkbar ohne Verstehen. In der Krise hat sich die Vorstellungswelt der Menschen mit zahlreichen neuen *Wortungetümen* bevölkert, deren Bedeutung unklar ist und die leicht Ängste erzeugen. Mit dem Versuch, bei einigen dieser Ungetüme Schicht für Schicht bestehende Verständnissperren abzutragen und Hintergründe offenzulegen, wollen wir dazu beitragen, die politische Sprache von Verhexungen zu befreien und den Bürgern den Zugang zu den Sachfragen zu erleichtern. In einer offenen Gesellschaft ist Integration nur über Verständnis möglich. Verständnislosigkeit führt zu Desintegration. Unser Beitrag wird einige Neologismen auf dem Gebiet der *Europäischen Wirtschaftsregierung* näher untersuchen: *Fiskalunion (Eurobonds)*, *Bankenunion*, *Transferunion*, *Schuldenbremse (Geldwertstabilität)*, *Europäischer Stabilitätsmechanismus*, *Europäisches Semester*. Doch schon der Oberbegriff der Wirtschaftsregierung bedarf der Entzauberung. In dem freiheitlichen System, für das Europa sich entschieden hat, kann und soll das Wirtschaftsleben selbst nicht regiert werden. Es geht um die Festlegung der allgemeinen Bedingungen, innerhalb derer sich ein freies Wirtschaftsleben entfaltet, es geht um *governance* und nicht um *government*. Ein treffendes Wort für *governance* stellt die deutsche Sprache (noch) nicht bereit. Die Untersuchung wird zeigen, ob die sprachlichen Neuerungen nur neue Kleider für bekannte Formen hoheitlichen Handelns oder Ausdruck echter Innovationen sind, die in der Auseinandersetzung mit der Krise geschaffen wurden.

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## **Die Konstruktion von nationalen Identitäten am Beispiel der Migrationspolitik der Republik Österreich**

In Österreich leben derzeit laut offiziellen Statistiken rund 940.000 Ausländerinnen und Ausländer. Sie bilden damit über 11% der Gesamtbevölkerung, was den Staat in der europäischen Spitze von Einwanderungsländern positioniert. Interessant scheint deshalb die Frage, wie dort nationale Identitäten konstruiert werden. Der Vortrag beschäftigt sich mit deren sprachlicher Manifestierung, denn, laut Krzyżanowski (2010:29), „expressions of identity are linguistic and can be traced in narratives produced by that community“.

Gegenstand der Analyse sind Diskursfragmente, die im Rahmen eines laufenden Projektes gesammelt wurden. Diese umfassen eine Reihe von offiziellen Dokumenten, Broschüren und Informationsschriften zum Thema Migrant\*innenintegration und Migrationspolitik. Sie wurden von staatlichen Institutionen herausgegeben, die speziell entstanden sind, um sich mit der Migrationsproblematik zu beschäftigen, u.a. vom Staatssekretariat für Integration oder vom Österreichischen Integrationsfonds.

Den Ausgangspunkt der Analyse bildet die Annahme, dass Migration in Österreich zu einem – um Foucault zu zitieren – „gesellschaftlichen Notstand“ führte. Deshalb richtet sich der Vortrag in seinen theoretischen Grundlagen an die Grundannahmen der Dispositivanalyse und versucht vor diesem theoretischen und methodologischen Hintergrund nach den Subjektpositionierungen (Bührmann/Schneider 2009) zu fragen, um schließlich die Frage zu beantworten, wie sich österreichische Nationalidentitäten in komplexen, institutionalisierten Redeweisen manifestieren. Es werden konkrete Beispiele vorgebracht, die veranschaulichen, dass die sprachlichen und diskursiven Mittel, deren sich diese Institutionen bedienen, auf der Textoberfläche an den Toleranzdiskurs erinnern (Witosz 2010). Es wird aber auch gezeigt, dass die gesammelten Texte stark ideologisch sind und den Migrant\*innen und Migranten nahelegen, die Normen und Werte anzunehmen, die für die österreichische Nationalidentität konstitutiv sind.

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### **Zur Bedeutungsentwicklung der Schlüsselwörter im politischen Diskurs. Am Beispiel der Integrationsdebatte in Deutschland 2006-2010**

Das Thema des Referats ist die linguistische Analyse des politischen Diskurses in Bezug auf die kleinsten diskursiven Einheiten, d.h. Schlüsselwörter. Die Analyse erfolgt am Beispiel der in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit geführten Debatte (2006-2010) um den Multikulturalismus (das sog. "Multikulti-Problem"), die als *Integrationsdiskurs* bezeichnet wird. Analysiert werden drei Schlüsselwörter: *Integration*, *Multikulturalismus* und *Assimilation*, sowie ihre lexikalische Umgebung.

Die erwähnten Schlüsselwörter des Integrationsdiskurses waren in allen politischen Debatten der Zeit besonders prägnant. Als Wort-Konzepte drückten sie politische Ideen aus, bestimmten die Richtlinien in der deutschen Integrationspolitik. Die Rekonstruktion der Bedeutungen der Schlüsselwörter ermöglicht das komplexe Bild der politischen Wirklichkeit im bestimmten Zeitabschnitt zu erfassen. Die Perspektive des diskursiven Weltbildes ermöglicht typische Denkweise, Denkmuster, Weltanschauungen sowie die Interpretation der Realität im Rahmen von einer bestimmten Gesellschaft, in einem bestimmten Zeitausschnitt darzustellen. In den Wörtern wird die Schlüsselkonzeption der deutschen Politik der letzten Jahre konzentriert und kondensiert. Zu verweisen ist dabei auf eine sukzessive Redefinition der Begriffe, was als ein Symptom einer zeitgeschichtlichen und politischen Wende verstanden werden kann. Die Analyse hatte zum Ziel die Schilderung der Bedeutungsentwicklung der genannten Schlüsselwörter in der zeit- und kontextbedingten Umgebung und erfolgt in Bezug (1) auf die Frequenz der Schlüsselwörter im Laufe von fünf Jahren (2006-2010) (2) auf die sukzessive Entwicklung und Veränderung der Bedeutung sowie (3) auf die Gebrauchskontexte.

Die Analyse belegen Beispiele aus den bedeutenden meinungsbildenden deutschen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, wie: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, *Der Spiegel*, *Der Stern*, *Die Zeit*.

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**Normalisierungsstrategien im rechtsextremistischen Diskurs in  
Deutschland:  
eine dispositivanalytische Perspektive**

Der politische Bereich in Deutschland, der „rechts von der Union“ institutionell verortet wird, stellt ein komplexes Gebilde dar und unterliegt einem dynamischen Wandel, was den Ausgangspunkt dieses Vortrags ausmacht. Zu den besonders relevanten Merkmalen dieses Wandels gehören insbesondere die Versuche der rechtsextremistischen Szene in Deutschland (hier verstanden als ein wichtiges Teil des oben genannten „Gebildes“) sich strategisch in die Diskurse der sog. politischen Mitte einzuschreiben, was als gezielte Normalisierungsstrategie verstanden werden kann. Über den Bezug auf die Ansätze der *postfoucaultschen* Diskurs- und Dispositivforschung wird der Vortrag die möglichen Ursachen, die empirisch identifizierten Spezifika und letztlich auch die theoriegeleitet konstruierten Logiken dieses strategischen Moments des rechtsextremistischen Diskurses skizzieren. Darüber hinaus wird der Versuch unternommen, nach dem Potenzial der an das foucaultsche Diskurs- und Dispositivkonzept anknüpfenden Ansätze im Kontext der Analyse des breit gefassten „Politischen“ zu fragen.

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### **Die „bedrohte“ Nation? Selbstviktimsierung und Re-Nationalisierung am Beispiel der „Alternative für Deutschland“**

Mit der „Alternative für Deutschland“ (AfD) hat sich in Deutschland nunmehr die lange für unwahrscheinlich gehaltene populistische Partei rechts von der Union formiert und ist bei der Bundestagswahl 2013 nur knapp an der Sperrklausel gescheitert.

Die scharfe Anti-Euro-Haltung geht bei der AfD zusammen mit einer Re-Nationalisierung des Politischen, mit der Propagierung eines konservativen Gesellschaftsbildes, der Forderung nach einer bürgernahen, direkten Demokratie im Unterschied zur „Parteiherrschaft“ sowie einem ausgeprägten neoliberalen Kurs in der Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik. Direkte Demokratie steht dabei im Dienste einer Rebellion „von oben“ gegen die gefühlte Gängelung durch die „politische Klasse“.

Die AfD recurriert auf eine aggressive Rhetorik der Selbstviktimsierung, in der wahlweise das Volk, die Partei und ihre Anhänger, die Demokratie, Deutschland oder auch ein christliches Europa zu Opfern stilisiert werden und Problem- sowie Konfliktursachen so externalisiert werden, d.h. wahlweise „Brüssel“, der „politischen Klasse“, dem „linken“ Medienmainstream, den „Leistungsempfängern“, den „faulen Südländern“, dem Islam usw. zugerechnet werden.

Der beachtliche Wahlerfolg und wachsende Mitgliederzahlen, sprechen dafür, dass diese Rhetorik verfängt. Zudem hat die AfD bereits Spuren im öffentlichen Diskurs hinterlassen. Nicht allein zwingt sie die anderen Partei zu einer Stellungnahme. Auch fungiert sie als Türöffner für randständige, sich ebenfalls des Topos der Selbstviktimsierung bedienenden Re-Nationalisierungsdiskurse in Medien aus dem rechtslibertären, rechtskonservativen und neu-rechten Spektrum, mit dem führende Köpfe der Partei vernetzt sind.

Die AfD ist schließlich im weiteren Kontext der Post- oder Spätmoderne zu betrachten. Einerseits erhält, wie u.a. Castells darlegt, der Nationalismus eine neue, stärker defensiv-reaktive Gestalt im Angesicht von Globalisierung und Global Governance, die Zürn treffend als „Denationalisierung“ beschrieben hat. Die Nation sieht sich weniger bedroht durch andere Nationen

als durch den Souveränitäts- und Identitätsverlust angesichts supra- und transnationaler Strukturen und Prozesse. Andererseits hat sich in den westlichen Demokratien spätestens seit den 1970er Jahren Selbstviktimisierung als ein wirksames Mittel von Marginalisierten, emanzipatorischen Bewegungen und den Betroffenen von ungesühntem historischem Unrecht im Kampf um Anerkennung erwiesen (Nora, Rancière, Vattimo). Diese Waffe wird von der AfD geschickt zweckentfremdet, wenn eine Ober- bzw. Mittelschicht sich selbst als Opfer der Verhältnisse inszeniert.

Der Vortrag basiert auf der diskursanalytischen Auswertung von Texten und Redebeiträgen von „Sprecherfiguren“ der AfD sowie der offiziellen Dokumente der Partei.

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### **Fragen im Sejm – Informationsgewinnung oder Konfliktverstärkung?**

Parlamentarische Regularien, Mehrfachadressierung oder Restriktionen des Rederechts sind nur die auffälligsten Aspekte, die das Sprechverhalten von Abgeordneten im parlamentarischen Diskurs beeinflussen können. Andere Spezifika sind die besondere Rolle von Fragen oder die bewusste Provokation von Dissens seitens der Redner. Fragen im Parlament dienen freilich nicht nur Nachfragen dem besseren Verständnis oder sind dem Informationsgewinn geschuldet, sondern können ebenso als Aufforderungen zum Handeln betrachtet werden (Chilton 2004). Laut Ilie (2006) besteht der überwiegende Anteil aller Fragen aus Fragen, die nicht zum Zwecke des Informationsgewinns gestellt werden.

Ein möglicher Fragetypus im Parlament ist die „rhetorische Frage“. Da die alleinige Berücksichtigung von Informationsfragen und rhetorischen Fragen zu restriktiv wäre, eine trennscharfe Abgrenzung von rhetorischen Fragen und Tendenz- oder Suggestivfragen jedoch kaum möglich erscheint, soll versucht werden anhand diverser Fragetypen und ihrer pragmatischen Funktionen (Athanasidou 1991; Ilie 1994; 1999; Rhode 2006) die Praxis des Fragestellens im Sejm zu analysieren. Hierzu sollen zum einen Fragen aus dem Korpus extrahiert und einem Fragentypus zugeordnet werden.

Weil Fragen ohne Informationsgewinn den Dissens zwischen politischen Lagern fördern oder gar vertiefen, sind die Ansätze der Unhöflichkeitstheorie hier von zentraler Bedeutung (Bousfield 2008; Culpeper et al. 2003). Bei der Erstellung eines Korpus polnischer Parlamentsdebatten, dem die Belege entnommen sind, wurde die besondere Konfliktträchtigkeit bestimmter Teildebatten berücksichtigt. Alle zu präsentierenden Ergebnisse wurden im Rahmen eines vom Schweizer Nationalfond geförderten Projekts „Implizite und Explizite Kommunikation im Diskurs Russlands, Polens und Tschechiens“ erzielt, wobei im Vortrag natürlich einzig das Teilkorpus polnischer Parlamentsdebatten berücksichtigt wird; der Fokus liegt auf Frage- und unhöflichen Sprechakten.



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### **Politische Karikatur: Wie die Großmächte sich selbst und andere Länder sehen?**

Im Referat wird die politische Karikatur als Instrument des politischen Diskurses und als Objekt politischer Linguistik untersucht, ihre Typologie und Auswertungskriterien werden dargestellt. Es wird gezeigt, dass die Karikatur nicht nur ein Werkzeug der politischen Kommunikation ist, sondern das Image des Landes und die nationalen Stereotypen repräsentiert. Die Karikatur ist als Kritik der bestehenden Zustände in lustiger Form zu verstehen. Dabei entsteht die Frage: hat Karikatur überhaupt ein Veränderungspotential? Positiv gesehen thematisiert die Karikatur die Missstände und bewahrt die Gesellschaft „vor dem Erstarren“. Ihre Gegner werfen der Karikatur dagegen vor, dass sie die Gefahr des Verschwindens von Autorität birgt und den Gemeinsinn der Bürger zersetzt. Eine Karikatur hat immer einen geographischen, historischen und/oder politischen Hintergrund, den es bei jeder Analyse zu berücksichtigen gilt.

Als Forschungsmaterial des vorliegenden Referats dienen Karikaturen aus amerikanischen, deutschen, ukrainischen und russischen Printmedien. Als Forschungsmethode wurde computergestützte Inhaltsanalyse mit Programm MAXQDA gewählt. Dabei wird es auf die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede in der textuell-visuellen Gestaltung deutscher, amerikanischer und ukrainischer Karikaturen eingegangen. Die Bilder werden in 2 Gruppen geteilt: Selbstbilder (USA, Deutschland, Ukraine, Russland) und Fremdbilder (Deutschland-USA, USA-Deutschland, Deutschland-Russland, Deutschland-Ukraine, Russland-Ukraine, USA-Russland USA-Ukraine) und anschließend entlang der folgenden Aspekte ausgewertet:

- Beschreibung des Bildes (hier geht es auch darum, den Stil der Zeichnung und Anordnung der Bildelemente zu erfassen),
- Deutung der Bildelemente und der Gesamtaussage (Was will der Karikaturist mit der Karikatur sagen? Wann entstand die Karikatur? Was kann man über die Zeit ihrer Entstehung sagen? Was genau wird kritisiert? Für welche Position wird Partei ergriffen?)
- Beurteilung und Stellungnahme (Wie wirkt die Karikatur auf den Betrachter? Welche Gefahren können von der Karikatur ausgehen? In welchem Sinne ist die Karikatur „berechtigt“? Soll die Karikatur belehren oder verspotten?)

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### **Kreative Konzeptfusionen als Schlagworte – Untersuchungen zum diskursiven *entrenchment* einiger Schlagworte der PiSomowa**

Schlagworte, die wichtige ideologische Konzepte eines Lagers bezeichnen oder aber den politischen Gegner disqualifizieren, markieren die Demarkationslinie zwischen zwei politischen Lagern. Am Beispiel von drei Schlagworten (*patriotyzm genetyczny / genetischer Patriotismus, półka kulturowa / das kulturelle Regal, palikotyzacja X-a / Palikotisierung von X*), die in der angeheizten politischen Debatte der 2000er in Polen aufgekommen sind und hauptsächlich eine Nähe zur national-konservativen PiS (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość / Recht und Gerechtigkeit*) signalisieren, wird ein Analyseansatz vorgeschlagen, der diskursanalytische und kognitive Methoden miteinander verbindet. Einerseits werden die lexikalischen Einheiten dabei als Schlüsselworte *in statu nascendi* analysiert, die im politischen Diskurs zitiert, diskutiert und verspottet werden und dabei aber immer noch das Potential haben, die kommunikative Situation heraufzubeschwören, in der sie kreiert worden sind. Andererseits werden diese neugeschaffenen lexikalischen Einheiten im Rahmen der *blending theory* als kreative Konzeptfusionen (*blends*) analysiert, indem das zugrundeliegende konzeptuelle Netzwerk (*conceptual integration network*) rekonstruiert wird. Die Analyse im Rahmen der *blending theory* legt offen, wie die neue Konzeptstruktur Elemente und Beziehungen aus verschiedenen Konzeptbereichen kreativ miteinander kombiniert. Das konzeptuelle Netzwerk bildet dabei die Logik des *blends* bzw. das Argumentations- oder Erklärungsmuster ab, das vom Schlagwort in kondensierter Form transportiert wird. Eine Diskursanalyse der vom jeweiligen Schlagwort ausgelösten Debatte, zeigt wie diese umkämpft werden und sich u.U. sogar etablieren. Aus kognitiver Perspektive zeigt der Verlauf der jeweiligen Debatte, ob die Logik der Konzeptfusion tradiert wird und sich im Diskurs verfestigt (*entrenchment*) – oder ob die lexikalische Einheit auch weiterhin ein Marker der *PiSomowa* (*PiSpeak*) ist, dessen Logik außerhalb des Lagers allenfalls humorvoll verkehrt wird.

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### **Die Mährer und ihr politischer und sprachlicher Status**

Die Volksgruppe der Mährer stellt 40% der Bevölkerung der Tschechischen Republik dar und Mähren weist proportional den entsprechenden Teil ihres Gesamtgebietes auf.

Der neue Pragozentrismus, der an den alten kommunistischen Zentralismus anknüpfte, brachte nicht die Wiederherstellung der Landesordnung mit sich, obwohl sie in der neuen Verfassung erwähnt wird. Nach der Euphorie nach dem Umsturz sinkt das Interesse für diese Fragen zugunsten ökonomischer Interessen ab und eine Schwankung der Anzahl der Einwohner, die sich zur mährischen Nationalität bekennen, ist zu beobachten: 1991 waren es insgesamt 13,2% (nahezu 1,4 Mill. der Bevölkerung!), 2001 nach der Verspottung durch die Prager Journalisten nur 3,7%, 2011 bereits wieder über eine halbe Million, d.i. 5%.

Die Standardsprache ist den beiden Ethnien gemeinsam; vergleichsweise kann hier auf das Verhältnis der Amerikaner und der Briten bzw. der Österreicher und der Deutschen hingewiesen werden mit dem einzigen Unterschied, dass die Mährer seit dem 14. Jh. keine eigene Staatsorganisation haben. Die Bestrebungen um die Herausbildung einer mährischen Standardsprache waren, sind und bleiben erfolglos. Die drei Dialekt- und interdialektischen Gruppen sind hier kaum vereinbar. In den linguistischen Kreisen werden die mährischen Dialekte und Interdialekte nicht selten sogar unterschätzt. Eine Kodifizierung der Standardnorm ist von den Prager Normen abhängig, und ebenfalls hier setzt sich ein Aspekt der Moderne als Ausdruck eines entfremdenden, repressiven und manipulativen Zentralismus durch, und zwar namentlich bei der Ablehnung von mährischen Dubletten. Trotz seines prestigeträchtigen Charakters wird das Gemeinschechische aus dem Gebiet Böhmen von den meisten Mährern als befremdend empfunden. Dies ist insofern von gewissen soziolinguistischen Konsequenzen, als in Zukunft auf diese Weise zwei tschechische Standardsprachen entstehen könnten. Äußere Umstände, insbesondere die Übersetzungspraxis in der EU, sind imstande, dem effektiv entgegenzuwirken.

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**„In Vielfalt geeint“ – das Motto der Europäischen Union  
durch die Linse eines Nationalstaats.  
Einige Worte zur Universalität von Menschenrechten in der polnischen  
Verfassung und in dem deutschen Grundgesetz**

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## **“Doing gender” while “doing Europe”? Die europäische Identitätskonstruktion im Fokus der Gender Studies**

Während in den letzten 10 Jahren sehr viel über die mögliche und unmögliche europäische Identität sowie Identifikationspolitiken der EU geschrieben und diskutiert wurde, ist die Gender-Frage gar nicht erst gestellt worden.

Dies ist umso verwunderlicher, als dass Geschlecht in der nationalen Identitätskonstruktion bislang eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat: wie Weiblichkeiten, Männlichkeiten und das Verhältnis zweier Geschlechter zueinander entworfen wird, gibt Aufschluss über Vorstellungen von Natürlichkeit, Sitte und Fortschritt der eigenen Gruppe und erlaubt Abgrenzung gegenüber als „fremd“, „rückschrittig“, „unmoralisch“ kategorisierten Konstruktionen anderer Gruppen.

Auch die EU bedient sich dieses Musters. Kommission und Parlament nennt regelmäßig die Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter als einen zentralen Grundpfeiler der europäischen Identität, und der Stand der Gleichberechtigung – nicht in Europa, sondern in anderen Teilen der Welt – bildet ein wiederkehrendes Thema parlamentarischer Debatten. Nicht zuletzt die Auszeichnung Malala Yousafzais mit dem diesjährigen Sacharow-Preis ist ein Beispiel für diesen Diskurs. Gleichzeitig bleibt es merkwürdig still, wenn es um Geschlechterdiskurse innerhalb der EU geht. „Gender Mainstreaming“ wird zwar immer beschworen, darüber hinaus aber geschwiegen.

Meine These ist, dass die Konstruktion einer europäischen Identität einhergeht mit der Konstruktion eines idealen Geschlechterverhältnisses, das auf Gleichberechtigung, aber nicht auf Gleichheit beruht, und dass trotz allerdiskursiv beschworenen Toleranz zur Reproduktion binärer Geschlechtlichkeit beiträgt. Grundlage meiner Ausführungen bildet die Analyse von Debatten des derzeitigen Europäischen Parlaments zu Fragen zu Gender-relevanten Themen einerseits und, kontrastierend, zur Konstruktion europäischer Identität andererseits.

## PAPERS IN POLISH

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### **Patriotyzm zbanalizowany?**

Patriotyzm powszechnie jest uważany za jedną z najważniejszych wartości Polaków. Przez stulecia w imię miłości ojczyzny cierpieli, oddawali życie. Czy dziś jest dla wszystkich taką samą wartością? Analizy semantyki *patriotyzmu* we współczesnych tekstach publicystycznych (1989-2008) pokazują, że nie jest już tak jednoznaczny.

*Patriotyzm* współczesny (czasu pokoju) w *Gazecie Wyborczej*, jakkolwiek jest przeciwstawiany *nacjonalizmowi*, opiera się na związku z własnym narodem, jest bardzo racjonalistyczny i pozytywistyczny, przejawia się przede wszystkim w dbałości o interes ojczyzny i jej gospodarkę oraz w pracy dla kraju. Równocześnie jednak jest widziany jako towar i traktowany niemal jako słowo potoczne, banalne, tam zwłaszcza, gdzie mówi się o podmiocie i przedmiocie patriotyzmu (np. *patriotyzm* zwierząt czy *patriotyzm* wódczany, benzynowy, zakupowy). Jest to punkt widzenia liberała, przywiązanego raczej do wolności niż do historii i tradycji. W dyskursie liberalno-demokratycznym przełomu wieków *patriotyzm* to świadectwo minionej przeszłości, ważne zapewne, ale wcale nie najważniejsze dla narodowego „dziś”. Słowo banalne, jak wiele innych. Można przypomnieć tu *banalny nacjonalizm* Billiga.

Czy to schyłek *patriotyzmu*? Chyba nie, choć to miłość kłopotliwa, niejednoznaczna. Teraz (2014), w czasie kryzysu ukraińskiego i widma wielkiego międzynarodowego konfliktu, znów zaczyna odżywać w dawnej, niebanalnej postaci. I to świadczy o tym, jak bardzo jego kształt zależy od poczucia zagrożenia bytu państwowego i narodowego.

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### **Polityczny wymiar procesów rusyfikacji/derusyfikacji w ukraińskiej telewizji**

Rynek telewizyjny na Ukrainie jest zdominowany przez prywatne stacje telewizyjne należące do środowisk związanych z siłami politycznymi. Wszystkie kanały telewizyjne o zasięgu ogólnokrajowym można określić jako dwujęzyczne. Zazwyczaj wybór języka audycji oraz treści programowych nadawcy tłumaczą względami ekonomicznymi, a także istnieniem lub brakiem klarownych preferencji językowych wśród widowni kanałów. Jednocześnie dość łatwo zaobserwować, że w okresach bardziej liberalnych rządów stacje telewizyjne mają inną politykę językową niż w czasach, gdy władzę sprawują siły polityczne przejawiające tendencje autorytarne. Podobne trendy widoczne są również w ofercie państwowego kanału telewizyjnego. Demokratyczna władza zazwyczaj sprzyja zachowaniu na antenie odpowiedniej proporcji między językiem ukraińskim a rosyjskim. Z kolei rządy o zapędach autorytarnych zachęcają media do zwiększania obecności języka rosyjskiego. Prawidłowość tę dobitnie ilustruje polityka językowa kanałów telewizyjnych od czasu, gdy prezydentem Ukrainy został Wiktor Janukowycz. Można więc zaryzykować twierdzenie, że wybór przez stacje telewizyjne oferty programowej pod względem języka audycji jest podyktowany nie tylko względami technicznymi i ekonomicznymi (takimi jak oglądalność czy też dostępność materiału programowego w danym języku), lecz także motywami politycznymi. Te ostatnie implikują również pewną wizję odbiorcy przekazu telewizyjnego: w jednym przypadku jest nim ludność postsowiecka, w drugim zaś społeczeństwo ukraińskie. W moim referacie spróbuję przedstawić sposoby konstruowania odbiorcy telewizyjnego za pomocą praktyk językowych i dyskursywnych.

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**Zabić komika, czyli o zgubnych skutkach rekontekstualizacji.  
Sprawa francuskiego humorysty Dieudonnego i jej polskie echa**

W referacie przedstawiam sylwetkę francuskiego komika Dieudonnégo, uprawiającego gatunek *one man show*. Zarysowuję przebieg ostrego sporu, który jego twórczość wywołuje wśród francuskich polityków i publicystów oraz przypominam kierowane pod adresem humorysty oskarżenia o rasizm, faszyzowanie, antysemityzm i ksenofobię. Następnie poddam analizie złożone przesłanie Dieudonnégo, a także wybrane środki dyskursywne, przy pomocy których artysta przesłanie to buduje, takie jak paradoks, wielogłosowość i ironiczna antyfraza. Przedmiotem mojego zainteresowania będą też transformacje, jakim ulega przekaz i użyte do jego wyrażenia środki wówczas, gdy dyskurs „błazna Republiki” - jak sam siebie nazywa Dieudonné - ulega rekontekstualizacji, czyli przeniesieniu z sali kabaretowej na scenę polityczną.



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### **Konceptualizacja *Unii Europejskiej* w prasie polskojęzycznej wydawanej na Ukrainie - analiza zawartości mediów**

Przedmiotem niniejszego referatu jest analiza zawartości prasy polskojęzycznej ukazującej się na Ukrainie pod względem występowania w niej elementów odnoszących się do wyobrażeń *Unii Europejskiej*. Szczególną uwagę poświęcono rekonstrukcji funkcjonujących obrazów językowych *Unii Europejskiej* w dyskursie prasowym oraz ich relacji z konceptualizacjami: *Ukrainy* oraz *Polski*. [W badaniu uwzględniono charakterystykę punktu widzenia Polaków (obywateli kraju członkowskiego UE), którzy na stałe mieszkają na Ukrainie, czyli poza granicami kraju oraz UE.]

W części wstępnej referatu zawarte będą założenia metodologiczne, następnie ogólna charakterystyka prasy polskojęzycznej na Ukrainie oraz stan badań nad nią. Część właściwą referatu stanowić będzie omówienie badań oraz prezentacja wyników analizy zawartości prasy uporządkowanych pod względem ich frekwencji w materiale prasowym (korpus tekstów). W zakończeniu podjęta zostanie próba odniesienia opracowanych konceptualizacji do pojęć: stereotypu, mitu i ideologii.

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**„Mowa nienawiści” przeciw „prawom człowieka”:  
nacjonalistyczna krytyka „wartości europejskich”**

Od kilkunastu lat moim przedmiotem badań są ruchy społeczne o wyraźnym obliczu ideowym: zarówno lewicowe (anarchistyczne, marksistowskie), jak i prawicowe (nacjonalistyczne, konserwatywne). Przyjęta perspektywa komparatystyczna pozwala mi na śledzenie, w jaki sposób ruchy społeczne wzmacniają i radykalizują społeczne debaty i podziały. Tego typu badania ruchów społecznych umożliwiają analizę głębokiej struktury konfliktów i związanych z nimi społecznych wyobrażeń.

Krytyka idei zjednoczonej Europy i „wartości europejskich” jest stale obecna w refleksji wszystkich radykalnych ruchów społecznych: tak lewicowych, jak i prawicowych. Zdarza się, że jako problemy wskazywane są te same zjawiska, jednak postrzegane są one z zupełnie innej perspektywy, warunkowanej odmiennymi założeniami aksjologicznymi, antropologicznymi i geopolitycznymi. Jednym z najciekawszych i być może kluczowym wątkiem nacjonalistycznej (i konserwatywnej) krytyki „wartości europejskich” jest krytyka praw człowieka. Polemika z ideą prawa człowieka odnosi się zarówno do kwestii genderowych i bioetycznych, jak i do koncepcji więzi i sprawiedliwości społecznej.

W swojej prezentacji chciałabym poddać analizie dyskursywną strukturę krytyki praw człowieka, prezentując tym samym tematy centralne owej krytyki oraz sposoby ich ujęcia w tekstach i praktykach organizacji nacjonalistycznych oraz konserwatywnych. Mam nadzieję, że analiza taka – jako próba poszerzenia spektrum narzędzi interpretacyjnych – pozwoli w nowy sposób spojrzeć na fundamentalne konflikty aksjologiczne współczesności.

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