

research have a great importance because they are used to construct marketing strategies. Properly planned strategy not only builds strong position of the magazine's title, but also opens the publisher's chance to gain success in the future. The text presents research which publishers use to prepare and implement strategic and operational activities. They help to identify trends and suggest suitable marketing program.

Key words: polish press market, printed press, reaserches of Polish Press Market, methodology, marketing.

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THE IDEOLOGY OF THE POLISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN TERMS OF COMMUNICATIVE GRAMMAR

The subject of the elaboration are problems associated with investigations of ideology. Research concentrates on ideologies functioning in polish political discourse. Methodology of research, assumptive in elaboration, is based on conception of communicative grammar, which authors are Aleksy Awdziejew and Grazyna Habrajska (the theory was given in two books titled "The introduction to communicative grammar", Polish only). In that conception the ideology is understood as relatively constant collection of evaluative views referring to the cultural objects. The difficulty for ideology researchers is that views, assembled in ideology, most frequently are not verbalized in utterance, they are not shown directly. Generally, discussion concentrates on exact objects of reality, ideology is hidden. The elaboration aims to show the method, how to unveil that hidden content and present partial results of big research, conducted in debates having place in Polish Parliament during period 2005–2007. The main aim of the research is to investigate if politics belonging to one party represent the one ideology and if there truly is ideological diversity on Polish political scene.

Characteristic for debate is that, during that form of contact, problems are presented from different, often concurrent, points of view of interlocutors, who also aim to convince others to their attitude, in most cases using axiological argumentation. Standardisation of axiological arguments, that are used in argumentative utterance, allows to identify not verbalized evaluative views.

According to typology of speech acts in the communicative grammar, ability to express axiological attitude to object have emotively-evaluated speech acts. They are the results of

standardisation of argument. As the authors of the communicative grammar say: "The fact of valuation assumes existence of object of evaluation". Analysis of emotively-evaluated speech acts allows to identify that cultural object and the value it has. As a result it is possible to construct collection of that objects with the value assigned to them. The collection forms ideology.

Introduction

In my speech I would like to present the method of ideology testing from a communication perspective. In terms of the general theory of communication formulated by Michael Fleischer (Fleischer 2008: 97), ideology is defined as "one of several global patterns of interpretation of the world, intended to generate, stabilize and make convincing beliefs that further organize both thinking and communicating about the world, as well as the construction of the social system." This broad approach correlates with the understanding of ideology within the concept of communication grammar, where the concept of ideology is understood as "a set of relatively stable references to the generalized axiological judgements in the socio-political discourse. It is a relatively stable system of values recognized as legitimate by a particular social group" (Awdziejew 2007:95). It is assumed that the entire set of generalized axiological judgements representing an ideology can be described as a relatively ordered list of those judgements.

Although the awareness of the concept of ideology is increasing recently (there is speaking of gender ideology, the ideology of vegetarianism, etc.), in my speech I am going to focus on the aspects of the phenomenon limited to its functioning in the political discourse, particularly in the Polish parliamentary discourse.

Parliamentary discourse

When defining the concept of discourse, communicative grammar assume that it is the overall communication contained in the social circuit, so both the area of daily life communication [...] and the area of the mass media. The scope of the issue outlined in the topic of the article implies confinement to the public sphere in which political discourse is realized. According to the researchers in the field of this particular communication space, the parliament is the most common place for political action (see Laskowska 2004); therefore, parliamentary discourse constitutes an essential part of political discourse. That being the case, parliamentary discourse will be the subject of this study.

The most common form of parliamentary discourse are parliamentary debates. Only authorized persons — who are mostly the representatives of political parties belonging either to the ruling coalition or the opposition — can take part in them. The Polish political system comprises many groupings that are often defined as opposed to the other. Their representatives compete with one another.

As a result, the ideological inclination is highly characteristic of the utterances made by the participants of parliamentary debates. They take the form of argumentative texts, in which the sender is trying to influence the audience. Moreover, the very sender is not perceived as an independent individual, but as a member of a particular political formation. Thus, parliamentary debates, constitute — according to the definition of M. Fleischer (Fleischer 2008: 97)— ideological communication about the world: their participants based on the group-specific ideology they represent, create beliefs about the new objects emerging in this type of discourse, as well as stabilize or strengthen the judgements that have already been functioning.

It can therefore be assumed that the parliamentary debate involves an axiological polemic in which participants aim at different attribution directions. It is a competition of different attitudes towards the objects of reality, called “axiological polyphony” (Awdiejew 2008: 68).

Between the sender and the recipient — the assumptions of communication grammar

The description model adopted in the article is based on the assumptions of communication grammar which presupposes that in the process of verbal interaction the text is a common sphere of action of the sender and the recipient. As a formal representation of the message, it covers all possible character manifestations (graphic and audio text, motor behavior of the sender, relevant constituenial elements, context, etc.). The information expressed by means of the language system thus constitutes only a portion of the message that the sender wants to convey in the communication act. Communication grammar assumes that “In the process of verbalization the sender transmits information available systemically, which is the result of a creative composition of the language system units, available to the sender as well as the recipient, and assumes the recipient’s use of relevant non-systemic information, which, together with the information available systemically allows for a proper interpretation of the message” (Awdiejew and Habrajska 2004: 30).

The content that is either unspoken or only assumed is very often crucial in the process of formulation and interpretation of messages. The sender, as an active text producer, decides which portion of the message will be subjected to verbalization, which part will not be expressed explicitly and will only be signaled. The resulting communication effect is determined by granularity (that is detailness) of the recipient’s cognitive representation and the level of its equivalence to the cognitive representation of the sender. It depends not only on the degree of verbal detailness of the presented images, but also on the quality and quantity of the assumed content and its possible interpretation.

The analysis of argumentative sequences as part of the text interpretation

As has been already mentioned, the information expressed by means of the language system is often only a portion of the message that the sender wants to convey in the communication act. In the next step, the recipient uses the relevant non-systemic information, which, together with the information available systemically, enables them to properly interpret the message. As far as political texts are concerned, the source of non-systemic information is:

- general background of discourse, knowledge of the specific situation that the utterance refers to, the aim of the utterance, and above all
- judgements on cultural objects and values assigned to them, which function in another reality (as defined by the authors of communication grammar, see: Awdiejew and Habrajska 2009).

The *situational background* creates information space in which the discourse takes place, and without the knowledge of it, it is impossible to understand the meaning of the utterances made by discourse participants and their persuasive aims. Usually discourse discusses a *specific situation* (a specific event on the political scene), which is located in the situational background, thus contributing to its greater detailness. It is also important to identify the source of political discourse, the object or objects of propaganda and to preliminarily determine the propaganda aims of particular discourse participants — it is necessary to determine which participant belongs to the critics of the object of propaganda, who defends it, and who is neutral.

With regard to the judgements on the cultural objects and the values assigned to them it should be noted that the concept of communication grammar presupposes that: “there is a lasting impression that is rooted in the social awareness and which refers to the phenomena of good and evil in the form of undisclosed, usually generalized axiological judgements (...): being a hero is good, being a traitor deserves condemnation, being honest deserves praise” (Awdiejew and Habrajska 2006: 258). These judgements have an internal predicate structure, in which the role of arguments is fulfilled by the so-called cultural objects, that is various phenomena operating in the cultural space (people, institutions, the behavior of those people and the operation of those institutions, events, processes, states etc.), and the role of predicates is fulfilled by the values assigned to those objects.

Q(X) is evil (war)

Q(X) is good (patriotism)

Based on this type of general judgements, comprising embedded normative values, the utterances of the deputies who take part in parliamentary debates are made.

General axiological judgements are not very often verbalized as part of the utterance, but they can be reconstructed on the basis of the analysis of the presented

argumentative sequences or on the basis of a generalization of a number of qualifying judgements.

Argumentative utterances in parliamentary debates

In the parliamentary debate the manifestation of the ideological orientation takes place directly (the sender verbalizes general axiological judgements they adopt). However, just as often the utterances take the form of specific argumentative utterances. This term should be understood as an utterance in which by introducing the argument, an opinion, view or thesis — mostly controversial — are justified.

An important step in the interpretation of an argumentative utterance is to restore full arguments that are contained in this utterance. It is a way of accessing the content that is expressed inexplicitly and of proper understanding of the text. In communication grammar, the full argument takes the following form:

General rule: $Q(X)$ (the value is assigned to the class of objects)

Qualifying judgement: $(x \rightarrow X)$ (determines whether a particular object of reality belongs to the specified class of objects)

Conclusion: $Q(x)$ (the value is transferred onto the specific object of reality).

C: $Q(x)$, — transfer of the attribution from the ideological space onto the individual object.

where X is a class of objects, x — a particular object of reality, and Q — attributed value (see Awdiejew, Habrajska 2006).

In the case of axiological argument, the general rules take the form of general axiological judgements. The selection of a general rule of inference consists in the selection of attribution in the ideological space.

The qualifying judgements comprise actual objects of reality, operating on the political scene (x), which the speaker assesses by means of reference to their general value system. This relationship is realized by means of reference of the individual object to the class of ideological objects ($x \rightarrow X$). This is a primary operation of the axiological argument, which leads to the transfer of the attribution from the ideological space onto the individual object $Q(x)$.

The standardization of argumentative sequences in the analysis of political discourse

An important step in the interpretation of an argumentative utterance is to restore full arguments that are contained in this utterance. It is a way of accessing the content that is expressed inexplicitly and of proper understanding of the text. The reconstruction of the arguments that are included in the argumentative utterance can be achieved by means of argument standardization. According to the concept of communication grammar, it consists in extracting from the argumentative utterance the components of the argument (that is the general rule, the qualifying judgement, the conclusion), and expressing them in the form of independent and emotionally

neutral statements. This principle can be operationalized by bringing the judgements contained in the argumentative utterance to the components of the argument, in other words to the form:

GR: Q (X)

QJ: $x \rightarrow X$

C: Q (x)

Let us analyze this formula on an exemplary argumentative utterance:

„A democratic country enjoys freedom of thought and expression. We have this in Poland. This is a democratic country”.

The following judgements are revealed here:

The country that enjoys freedom of thought and expression is a democratic country
Poland enjoys freedom of thought and expression.

Poland is a democratic country.

By applying the rules of deduction here, the sender tries to convince the recipient of a particular argument — by reasoning that Poland is a democratic country.

The standardization of the argument contained in this utterance takes the following form:

GR: The country that enjoys freedom of thought and expression is a democratic country.

This judgement takes the structure: Q (X) as follows:

IT IS DEMOCRATIC [COUNTRY THAT ENJOYS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION], where

X, that is the class of objects, constitutes [COUNTRY THAT ENJOYS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION], and the Q value is expressed by the word [DEMOCRATIC], which has a positive evaluation of the E+.

QJ: Poland is a country that enjoys freedom of thought and expression.

In this judgement, the specific object of reality $x = [\text{POLAND}]$ gets qualified to the class of objects (X) specified in the general rule X [COUNTRY THAT ENJOYS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION]

C: Poland is a democratic country.

In this judgement, as a result of the deduction process attribution was created for an actual object x: the actual object $x = [\text{POLAND}]$ is assigned with the positively evaluated (E+) value of Q [DEMOCRATIC].

The standardization of the quoted argumentative utterance was relatively easy, because all the elements of the argument were verbalized in it.

Mostly, however, the argumentative utterances formulated in parliamentary debates take the form of enthymemes — one or more of the components of the contained argument is not verbalized. The enthymemic form of argumentative utterances constitutes an additional obstacle in the process of interpretation of the utterance.

The recipient of such an utterance is forced to pay greater attention and perform deductive thinking in the process of interpretation in order to discover the full content.

The awareness of the approximic nature of verbal communication and the assumed communicative competence of the recipient, enable the sender of the argumentative utterance to construct it in an allusive way, thus excluding certain components of the argument, mostly due to their obviousness, stylistic considerations or in order to avoid verbalization of some awkward content. The direct verbalization of judgements which make up an ideology are mostly avoided. As contrary to the approach of competing groups, they are awkward and therefore their verbalization is avoided. The discussion focuses on specific real objects while the ideology is hidden.

We have to do with an entymemic argumentative utterance in the following example. Let us perform its standardization.

„Mister Speaker! Honorable Members! According to the results of research by Polish Public Opinion Centre (CBOS) that I have already quoted, 69% of Poles want to appoint Central Anticorruption Bureau. Let us not let them down.”

The following judgements come up here:

69 % of Poles want to appoint Central Anticorruption Bureau. = The appointment of Central Anticorruption Bureau will meet the expectations of the majority of Poles

By applying the rules of deduction, the sender tries to convince the recipient of a particular argument — by reasoning that the appointment of Central Anticorruption Bureau is required.

The standardization of the argument contained in this utterance takes the following form:

GR: Meeting the expectations of the majority of society will enable not to disappoint this society.

This judgement takes the structure: Q(X) as follows:

THE SOCIETY MUST NOT BE DISAPPOINTED [MEETING THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SOCIETY],

where the cultural object X constitutes [MEETING THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SOCIETY], while the Q value is expressed in the formulation [THE SOCIETY MUST NOT BE DISAPPOINTED] and is assigned with evaluation (E+)

QJ: The appointment of Central Anticorruption Bureau will meet the expectations of the majority of Poles.

In this judgement, the specific object of reality $x =$ [THE APPOINTMENT OF CENTRAL ANTICORRUPTION BUREAU] gets qualified to the class of objects (X) specified in the general rule X [MEETING THE EXPECTATIONS

OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SOCIETY]. As a result of the deduction process, the conclusion takes the form:

C: The appointment of Central Anticorruption Bureau will not disappoint Poles., at the same time the specific object of reality $x = [THE\ APPOINTMENT\ OF\ CENTRAL\ ANTICORRUPTION\ BUREAU]$ is assigned with a positively evaluated (E+) value of Q [THE SOCIETY MUST NOT BE DISAPPOINTED].

Further examples will illustrate the means of contrasting various attitudes in parliamentary discourse.

Both examples take the form of enthymemic argumentative utterances.

In the first of them:

„Poland really needs an institution that will fight corruption, especially by means of penal repression. CAB wants to pursue this goal.”

GR: An institution which will primarily use penal repression will fight corruption.

QJ: CAB is an institution that will fight corruption primarily by means of penal repression.

C: CAB will fight corruption.

The second utterance whose author is the deputy of the opposition party, states:

„(...) Contrary to a common belief in Poland, limiting the CAB activities to prosecution and punishment reveals the weakness of the state”.

In this utterance the sender argues that the appointment of CAB is not a good idea. He does so by introducing a different attribution to the judgement in the general rule.

And so: TO REVEAL THE WEAKNESS OF THE STATE [INSTITUTIONS WHOSE ACTION IS LIMITED TO PROSECUTION AND PUNISHMENT]. The introduction of such attribution ($Q = [TO\ REVEAL\ THE\ WEAKNESS\ OF\ THE\ STATE]$) is associated with a negative evaluation (E-).

GR: Institutions whose activity is limited to prosecution and punishment, reveal the weakness of the state.

QJ: CAB is an institution whose activity is limited to prosecution and punishment.

C: CAB will reveal the weakness of the state.

The adoption of a general axiological judgement of negative evaluation (E-) leads to the transfer of the evaluation on the actual object $x [CAB]$.

Argumentative analysis and ideology

As a result of the analysis of argumentative utterances in parliamentary debates, we get a set of a number of general axiological judgements. In line with the definition adopted by communication grammar, it is a piece of ideology, which was used by the sender.

On the basis of these general axiological judgements we can create a table dedicated to ideological object valuation, for example:

| Party programme The Democratic Left Alliance (excerpt) | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Ideological object</i> | <i>Ideological object value (E)</i> |
| Neo-liberal model of the state | – |
| Neo-liberal economic model | – |
| capital before work | – |
| work before capital | + |
| the interests of the working people | + |
| Polish guarantee regarding democracy and the idea of self-governing and civil society | + |
| increase in the standard of living of working people | + |
| unemployment | – |
| labour rights | + |
| the powers of the Ombudsman | + |
| the powers of the State Labour Inspectorate | + |
| programs promoting disabled people in the job market | + |

Similar tables can be created to illustrate the ideology used by a specific representative of a given party:

| The analysis of the genreal rules applied by deputy Przemysław Edgar Gosiewski (excerpt) | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Ideological object</i> | <i>Ideological object value (E)</i> |
| The government which leads to the rapid growth of corruption in the country | – |
| activity damaging the economic interests of the state | – |
| corruption in state institutions | – |
| Special services whose task will be to fight corruption in state institutions | + |
| Fighting corruption in a dispersed and uncoordinated way | – |
| Treating the activities aimed at fighting corruption as one of many tasks to do | – |
| the government's effective weapon to fight dishonest politicians and officials | + |
| Methods that are approved by the district court or the attorney general | + |

The tables aimed at ideological object valuation clearly show the scope of the objects that the senders adopt as well as show the direction of the values assigned to these objects (positive or negative).

Constraints and opportunities of the argumentative analysis method

According to the authors of communication grammar, “Due to the synthetic nature of texts strings, the standardization of persuasive sequences is one of the most difficult analytical procedures” (see *Awdiejew and Habrajska 2009: 10*). These difficulties are objective in nature since most of the components that are involved in argumentative sequences, are either alleged or indirect, and their verbalization often comes down to the choice of the analyst. Nevertheless, communication grammar assumes that if the analyst’s interpretations are objectified, in other words, if the analyst does not mark them with their own political orientation, the reconstruction of argumentative sequences enables to discover the ways of ideological object evaluation. In addition, the preliminary stages of the text analysis, as a result of which the general background and the direction of the interlocutor’s engagement are determined, serve as the limitation of the freedom of the researcher during the reconstruction of the arguments.

The method of ideology testing based on the thorough analysis of argumentative utterances can have many practical applications. By means of this method one can verify the beliefs whether in Poland we do really deal with the ideology of pluralism in political discourse. Such a picture is made up of ideological declarations of the party. The creation of tables of objects valuation for particular parties and a comparative analysis seems a reliable way of verifying these declarations.

At the same time on the Polish political arena there are migrations between ideologically conflicting (on the level of party declarations) politicians representing particular groups. This raises the question whether the Polish political environment is really varied and if so, within which ideological objects such differences appear. Interesting conclusions could be drawn from the ideological analysis of the utterances of these politicians before and after the migration, and maybe one could identify the ideological objects which were evaluated differently by the same person at different times. Such situation is not impossible, as in communication grammar it is assumed that ideology is a relatively stable set of beliefs — therefore, changes within axiological judgements are possible.

Books:

1. *Awdiejew A., Habrajska G., Wprowadzenie do gramatyki komunikacyjnej, t. 1, Lask 2004.*
2. *Awdiejew A., Habrajska G., Wprowadzenie do gramatyki komunikacyjnej, t. 1, Lask 2006.*
3. *Laskowska E., Dyskurs parlamentarny w języku komunikacyjnym, Bydgoszcz 2004.*

Articles:

1. *Awdiejew A.*, Ideologia, postawa a komunikacja [w:] :] Ideologie w słowach i obrazach, red. I. Kaminska-Szmaj, T. Piekot, M. Poprawa, Wrocław 2008: 65–72.
2. *Awdiejew A.*, Konstruowanie trzeciej rzeczywistości [w:] Mechanizmy perswazji i manipulacji. Zagadnienia ogólne, red. G. Habarajska, Łask 2007: 95–104.
3. *Awdiejew A.*, Habarajska G., Strategie propagandowe i agitacyjne, [w] Rozmowy o komunikacji 3, red. G. Habarajska, Łask 2009: 9–54.
4. *Fleischer M.* Ideologia — jej funkcje komunikacyjne i kognitywne [w:] Ideologie w słowach i obrazach, red. I. Kaminska-Szmaj, T. Piekot, M. Poprawa, Wrocław 2008: 97–115.

Предметом дослідження є проблеми, пов'язані із вивченням ідеології із зосередженням на ідеологіях польського політичного дискурсу. Методологія дослідження базується на комунікаційній граматиці. Згідно з цією концепцією під ідеологією розуміють відносно-постійну сукупність оцінкових поглядів відносно об'єктів культури. Головну складність для дослідників ідеології становить той факт, що сукупність ідеологічних поглядів часто лишається не вираженою вербально. Майже завжди дискусія сконцентрована на певних об'єктах дійсності, а ідеологічні погляди лишаються прихованими. У дослідженні продемонстровано метод виявлення прихованого контенту та репрезентовано частину результатів великого дослідження, заснованого на дебатах у польському парламенті протягом 2005–2007 років. Головна мета дослідження — виявити, чи політики певної партії притримуються однієї ідеології або все ж таки існує політична розрізненість на польській політичній арені. Така форма контакту, як дебати, передбачає різні, іноді полярні погляди учасників комунікації, висловлені одночасно, які ставлять за мету переконати співрозмовників і в багатьох випадках використовують оціночну аргументацію. За типологією мовних актів у комунікаційній граматиці уміння висловлювати оцінку об'єктові дійсності відноситься до емоційно-оцінного складника. Аналіз емоційно-оцінних мовних актів дозволяє визначити власне об'єкт культури та його цінність. В результаті можна побудувати збірну характеристику об'єкта завдяки висловленим оцінкам. Така характеристика й формує ідеологію.