Rafał Zimny Przemysław Żukiewicz¹

THE EMOTIONALITY OF JAROSŁAW KACZYŃSKI'S LANGUAGE VERSUS THE EFFICIENCY OF THE POLITICAL MESSAGING: A POLITOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

Introduction

Dealing with linguistic methods in the field of political science research meets a number of problems. The controversy seems to be essentially about whether political science and linguistics have the same or – at least partly shared – scope of research which would justify mutual support from one discipline to another. And even if, intuitionally, this point of view seems to be true – language is still the basic means used by politicians to struggle for votes of electors – it is not commonly agreed by political science researchers, who are on the opposite side of those linguists who describe the political language. In the classical dissertation on political science research by Andrzej J. Chodubs-ki (2006: 118) one cannot find methods based on the linguistic model. Instead the author lists such methods and procedures as: observation, interviewing, enquirying, obtaining personal documents, collecting institutional documents and obtaining data what proves his bigger respect for methods and techniques used in sociology, history and jurisprudence than for ones preferred in linguistics.

¹ Dr Rafał Zimny specialises in Polish linguistics. Department of Stylistics and Linguistic Pragmatics, ul. Jagiellońska 11, 85-067, Bydgoszcz; e-mail: rzimny@ukw.edu.pl. Dr Przemysław Żukiewicz specialises in political studies. University of Wrocław; e-mail: przemyslaw.zukiewicz@gmail.com

The authors of the presented paper don't share this idea. We are of the opinion that research carried out within such a "young" (at least in Poland) discipline as political science mustn't exclude one of the most important factors of political life which is the language of politics. We are also aware of the limitations in exploring this particular phenomenon – which is condensed in the colloquial and intuitional statement that "politicians say different and act differently" what can be often heard from the lips of unskilled and untrained receivers of political life. According to that – the language of politics (politicians?) isn't worth any academic attention because it's spurious, doesn't reflect reality and its inclusion into any research could confuse assessments stemming from for example methods of behavioral study.

However we do support the approach of those researchers (both linguists and political science specialists) who can see compatible or even complementary elements in the two disciplines represented by us. In the context of the relationship between linguistics and political science Stefan Rittel (2003: 25) highlights in his work two possible points of view. Linguistic research should then focus "on observation of lexical stock, attribution and stylistic changes, in which linguistic notion apparatus is used to form discursive evaluation [...], functions of language are individualised and efforts are made to define communication in the terms of addresser grammar and grammar for hearer"2. On the other hand, political science that has no autonomic notion apparatus should concentrate on measuring the efficiency of numerous manipulative operations that are designed to provide a following for a political system (Rittel 2003: 25). One of the reasons for the presented discrepancy in treating linguistic techniques in the field of political science research may be the very immensity of the latter. In some of its subdisciplines there's in fact no real need to apply linguistic paradigm because their objects of interest are political doctrines, public institutions or international relationships. Nevertheless it is easy to notice that proportionally large part of political science subdisciplines just cannot do without the results of linguistic investigation. We think here of such branches as: political marketing, theory of political leadership and - having also its representation in political science discourse - communicological trend.

It is our aim to point out in the article the main areas where linguistic methods may be applied in political science analysis and to pay attention to the pragmatic advantage of this type of research procedure. The material elaborated in the paper comprises six official pronouncements of Jarosław Kaczyński, Polish ex-Prime Minister, the leader of Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) party, that were held during election conventions before precipitated parliamentary elec-

² All translations by the authors.

tion in 2007: 22nd of September in Rzeszów, 23rd of September in Lublin, 29th of September in Szczecin, 30th of September in Warsaw, 6th of October in Łódź, 7th of October in Kielce³. We paid a special attention to emotionality of the message, following Philip Converse's assumption that these are emotions what causes irrational behaviour of electors' majority, both in long- and short-time perspective. In the first case the emotional attachment to a political party and its leader or leaders gives an elector persistent hints about whom to support on election day without necessity of rational evaluation of argumentation or political programmes. On the other hand, in short-time perspective emotions release situationally motivated factors that lead electors to *swing vote* effect (Skarżynska 2005: 86-87).

As mentioned above, we consider it necessary to include linguistic methods into those particular areas of political science that deal with ways of political message construction and are set on measuring its reception by potential electors. We do mean here the domain of political marketing and social communication. Our approach is presented in details in Table 1.

Table 1. The place of language in articular areas of political science knowledge.

Area of exploration	Functionality of language in a given area of exploration	Basic theoretical topics
Political marketing	Language as the basic component of a political leader's image	Ways of creating the image of a political leader
Psychology of politics	Language as the means of expressing emotions	Affecting of a political leader to followers
Media knowledge	Language as a way to attract media attention	Reciprocal relations of a political leader and media
Political oratory	Language as the means of persuasion and manipulation	A political leader's competence in rhetoric and eristic

Source: own elaboration.

Having distinguished particular subdisciplines as well as having displayed their relationship with the language of politics is a question of methodological significance only. This is nothing but a simple truism to claim that acts of research work, being carried on in the separate fields of political science, complement one another because it's an obvious demand to expect from a political market researcher to know basic laws ruling – let's say – the psychology of a crowd. The last column in the table depicts in turn possibilities of use of the tools mentioned in research devoted to political leadership.

³ All the material has been excerpted from a video form available at the official website of Prawo i Sprawiedliwość: www.pis.org.pl.

1. Language as the basic component of a political effigy

Marek Jeziński (2005: 121), referring to Dan D. Nimmo and Robert L. Savage's typology, claims that political image consists of three components: cognitive (knowledge of a candidate), affective (emotions generated by him/her), performative (attitudes toward a candidate). One can hardly imagine constructing such an image without regard to linguistic aspects/data. We mean here the broad concept of language - being the sum of verbal and non-verbal communiques influencing reception of a politician by electors-to-be. Acknowledgement of the significant part played by both notional (through language) and figurative thinking in structures of political thinking places language competence in high position in the ranking of all the skills that should be at the disposal of an efficient political actor (Fras 2005: 61-62). The important position of language in the process of creating a political party's or a particular political leader's image is also marked with a fact corroborated through research that an appropriate selection of information present in specially prepared speech may be of influence on the presence of some substantial topics in election campaigns. This is the way to create some problems that are to be reference points for evaluation of each candidate who solicits votes from electors. Those who compete during election must naturally assume an attitude towards the subject of campaign imposed by their opponents, "even if they don't find it crucial for their future policy" (Skarżyńska 2005: 226). It is through the language how politicians may influence which categories of perception will be activated in electors' minds, what consequently determines the general construction of pre-election discourse. And "the party which could dictate the discourse leading to better perception of its candidate has bigger chance to win" (Skarżyńska 2005: 243). According to Maciej Mrozowski (2001: 23) such a discourse describing any important sphere of social practice is produced by every community involved in that practice through its position within the society, its experiences and its exclusive interests. Therefore a linguistic analysis may be the basis for attempt to outline the borders and the specifity of communities which are referred to (or are wanted to be reffered to) by single politicians. And the other way round: the more creators of political images are aware of the specified social groups' experience, the more they are able to choose and fit appropriate set of verbal or non-verbal acts of behaviour, which would lead the candidate they work with to election success.

In the case of Jarosław Kaczyński's speeches during the above mentioned election conventions in 2007, a linguistic analysis can help in forming the hypothesis being the answer to a widely discussed problem in the theory of po-

litical leadership: is it political leaders who create their followers' opinions using as much as only well-known in social psychology authority principle (Cialdini 1998: 191-213) or – according to psychoanalitic paradigm – being perceived by a political leader as their pre-father (Pałka 2005: 79-85); or the other way round – does the political leader's success depend mainly on his ability to detect and appropriately interpret society's expectations (such is Barbara Pabjan's elucidation of Andrzej Lepper's successes – 2003: 149)? Experiments and empiric research done so far don't let form the explicit answer to that question.

In the president of PiS's speeches one can distinguish seven categories of enemy: 1. bribery and corporation collusion, 2. oligarchs – affranchised post-communist management, 3. Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform) and its leaders, 4. lawbreakers, 5. postcommunism, 6. neighbouring countries – Germany and Russia, 7. the media. If we compare the above list to public opinion research, carried out before the beginning of the election campaign, we would clearly see that among categories enumerated by ex-Prime Minister there is only one (the media) that can be comprehended as the act of creating a new enemy, antipathy to which could unite potential PiS's electors. All the other dangers enumerated by Jarosław Kaczyński were already in that time strongly represented in Poles' minds. Let us exemplify that with the question of bribery which was one of the axes of the election campaign in 2007. Jarosław Kaczyński spoke on this subject often and in the very categorical way⁴:

No plans, no economic undertakings, political programmes will bring any result, if we here in Poland don't stop this bribery and corporation system (Kielce, 7th October 2007).

(...) there is no idea, no plans, only different plots are established (...). So in short words – there was no aim. This kind of policy was nothing more than a function of this bribery and corporation system which we have in Poland (Łódź, 6th October 2007).

The forthcoming election is the chance for us. The chance to – once for all, with no continuation – leave off the system of corporations, bribery, privileges in Poland (Szczecin, 29th September 2007).

⁴ No more than a week before the election Centralne Biuro Antykorupcyjne (the Central Anticorruption Bureau) disclosed overheard telephone talks of Platforma Obywatelska's M.P. Beata Sawicka which seemed to prove that she let herself be bribed with the sum of 500 000 zlotys.

(...) because, Ladies and Gentlemen, where there's bribery, there's also an oligarchy that later influences state's power, where there's bribery, there's organized criminality (Warszawa, 30th September 2007).

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen! Corporational-corrupt system is something what may be compared to a sack of stones. (...) Only it is us, Poles, who are carrying that sack on our backs and constructing the IVth Republic is nothing else but throwing it away (Lublin, 23th September 2007).

And what Poles' attitude towards bribery is, shows the table below:

Table 2. In your opinion do we meet acts of bribery in Poland? (Answers in per cents)

	November 1999	April 2002	January 2003	August 2003	August 2005
Very often	43	54	57	68	67
Rather often	41	32	32	25	27
Rather seldom	5	7	5	2	3
Very seldom	1	0	1	1	0
I have no opinion	10	7	5	4	3

The source: TNS OBOP, 4th-8th, 25th-29th August 2005, N=1004/1003.

The data presented above show that Polish society treats bribery as a real and common phenomenon. It is necessary to notice that the indicator of treating bribery as a frequent criminal act has remained almost the same for a couple of years (see the data in the Table 2). We do believe that it entitles us to assert that presenting by Jarosław Kaczyński the question of bribery as the crucial problem in today's Poland was just a mirror reflection of society's moods but did not change in any significant way the Poles' attitude towards that problem.

Basic language analysis together with a focus on sociological data let us draw in that case such a conclusion: if a public speech of a politician tending to be a leader must be the confirmation of the value of the whole community he would like to represent (Collinson 2006: 180; Goffman 1981: 75), one cannot exclude that the politician will use the knowledge of prevailing social moods to construct his/her political message. So he/she would endeavour to supply the political market with the product which is expected from him/her by recipients (in this case – electors). Any further research on the subject would rather exclude the influence of the other variables for the construction of a specific political message.

The linguistic analysis turns out to be helpful in a similar way when we set attention on the ways of announcing of Jarosław Kaczyński's speeches because they allowed one to see which particular features of the political leader were especially exposed in the election campaign by PiS's "think tanks". The phrases used to announce the speech are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3. Phrases used by comperes announcing Jarosław Kaczyński's speech

Language	The place of convention						
expression	Rzeszów	Lublin	Szczecin	Warszawa	Łódź	Kielce	
The Prime Minister	+			+		+	
The Prime Minister of the Republic			+				
Mister Prime Minister		+	+		+		
The President of the Council of Ministers	+						
The Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Poland						+	
The Chairman of Law and Justice			+				
The Leader of Law and Justice	+					+	
The Leader [= lider] of upstanding Poland	+						
The Leader [= przywódca] of the Fourth Republic					+		
The Leader of the Fourth Republic⁵						+	
The one who led us to victory		+					

The source: own elaboration.

The analysis of data shown in Table 3 indicates the fact that in the announcements of Jarosław Kaczyński's speeches what was especially exposed is the fact that he formally held offices rather than the fact that he held them in particular institutions or political structures. Ephemerical, slogan-like, detached from the

⁵ In Polish *lider* and *przywódca* are synonyms.

reality designations in turn were eschewed. That is why the most effective representation was gained by the qualifications like *premier* (*The Prime Minister*), *prezes* (*The Chairman*) and *lider* (*the leader*), and only accidentally *the Fourth Republic* or *upstanding Poland* were mentioned.

2. Language as a way of expressing emotions

In the introductory part we pointed out the reasons why affects play such a significant role in political activities. The corroborations of this point of view are the experiments of American researchers who gave evidence that TV programmes pervaded with emotions beget physiological processes stimulating recipient's definite brain structures in the same way as it is done by natural everyday life proceedings (Skarżyńska 2005: 321). This is to mean that a spectator watching through a TV screen the performance of the particular politician is able to live out the same emotional states as if he/she were watching him/her live. The great popularity of various conceptions of emotional intelligence – revealing that emotions are stronger than intellect because in crisis situations the limbic system takes the bigger part of control over the whole mind (Goleman et al. 2002: 45) – obliged researchers of political phenomena to pay more attention to those aspects of politicians' behaviour (especially those non-verbal), which stir the audience most.

This approach is determined also by the reason that through emotions one can ravish the crowd most easily which cannot be done through intellectual message. This is what Max Weber called "the dictatorship relying on exploiting the masses' emotions" (Weber 1998: 87), Tomasz Witkowski beholds this phenomenon as the remnant of dictation of "non-cogitative following the herd" (Witkowski 2005: 56), and Mirosław Karwat – establishing the relationship beetwen the efficiency of emotional message and the charisma of a leader – is convinced that such a state "perfectly cures the masses' complexes because the cult of a commander or a prophet does not have to be the humiliation of an everyman – compensation for him is the participation in group megalomania which is compelled and embodied by The Chosen One" (Karwat 2001a: 131).

In political science research on charisma, or rather – as theoreticians of emotional intelligence want it – on emotional resonance (consonance) between a leader and his followers, it seems necessary to conceive any leader's public performance as a political text (Szklarski 2006: 226) and to pay attention not only to verbal aspect of the speech but also to all non-verbal components building its symbolic contents and the aura of sublimity or rituality of a particular event.

For example: during PiS's election conventions the president of the party, Jarosław Kaczyński, pushing through the cheering crowd shook men's hands and kissed women's. He ususally tried to do it by turns – passing alternately from one side of the corridor "made of" his bodyguards to another without disturbing the rhythm of the walk and without delaying his entry onto the stage what was intended to make impression of natural behaviour. His passing through the lane was accompanied by the noble sounds of the anthem for Olympic Games 1996.

Jarosław Kaczyński always walked up the stage using a staircase. A rostrum was always transparent but during the time of the campaign the background scenery was changing. At first it was merely blue colour with the name of the city where the convention took place, and since the pronouncement in Łódź it was replaced with the youth sitting behind the Prime Minister's back. It is reasonable to presume that this way PiS's "think tanks" tended to expose young and dynamic face of the party.

Each speech of the party leader lasted about half an hour. Their emotional dimension can be confirmed by the fact that many times the orator was interrupted with applause or scanned exclamations: "Niech żyje premier!" ("Long live the Prime Minister!"), "Zwyciężymy" ("We shall win!"), which might indicate admiration or ecstasy, and with muttering, single whistles and exclamations: "Hańba!" ("Disgrace!") when Jarosław Kaczyński was quoting or referring to words of his political opponents, which in turn might be the symptom of anger. However one needs to be prudent with such conclusions because it's impossible to determine whether the crowd's reactions weren't stage-managed.

After the speech had been finished four commonly famous PiS's canvassers – as a rule competing for votes in the district where the party meeting was held – were entering the stage. They handed flowers to the Prime Minister or plied him with bread and salt and then accompanied by the melody of OG 1996 anthem seized one another by the hand in the gesture of victory and raised their grasped hands. The audience often chanted the song "Sto lat" ("A hundred years").

3. Language as a way to attract media attention

Mass media experts often point out different phenomena in the media space that determine the way of perceiving politics and politicians and *ipso facto* make

⁶ Literally this Polish song is a wish for someone to live out a hundred years. It is sung usually to celebrate someone's birthday or success.

a given leader win or lose the election. Media legitimisation is among such phenomena. The classical legitimisation theories laid the main press on the institutional dimension of the acceptance being granted to political system parts from the society. So reference was made to ideological legitimisation (the assent to the values forming the foundation of the system), structural legitimisation (assent to the norms forming the political regime) and personal legitimisation (assent to the people holding the public offices) (Sobkowiak 1998: 156). Today significantly bigger part is played by media legitimisation – much more important has become the ability "to be in the media", to sustain and take care of one's own popularity and attractiveness. Being displayed by the media in positive context enlarges the probability of election success, while the absence practically makes it impossible (Fras 2005: 46).

The consequence of that trend is the change of language which is used by politicians to communicate with each other and with society. They are trying to adjust to everyday situations, so more and more often they give up the special terminology, official elocution and political rhetoric, preferring the common parlance and colloquial expressions. The intermingling of the public and private languages in the political space is called conversationalisation of the media language (Mrozowski 2001: 63; Fras 2005: 102). Its effect is – according to researchers – the fact that "sentences consisted of three words, without a verb, intellectually patronized by slogan expression, references to football or clichés from TV series" (Roberts 2004: 16-17) are nowadays the material for political oratory.

Changes of the media let researchers formulate new paradigms or to distinguish newer and newer categories intended to describe that part of social life. Marzena Cichosz (2003: 14) even lists the features of the new communicative style in politics, appearance of which is connected with the changes of the media. Those features are – among others – the increase of personalization of politics, attention to moral values of a candidate, avoiding controversial programme contents, amateurs pervading the political life, individualisation of democracy, the growth of professionalism in preparing election campaigns, bigger awareness of the crucial role of the media in the process of political communication.

The variables mentioned by M. Cichosz are worth paying attention to because the analysis of Jarosław Kaczyński's speeches during parliamentary election 2007 campaign seems to deny most of her assumptions. If then the election success were only dependent on adjusting campaign strategy to the logic steering the media today there wouldn't have been the space left in PiS's leader's speeches for references to history or intellectuals of similar ideological profile and for evidently professional speeches and notions, not to mention the very duration of speeches – they lasted about half an hour each which is much longer than it is commonly alleged by media theoreticians. It is also incongruent with the logic

of today's media not to let the predominant Polish TV info stations (TVN24 and TVP Info) to film and report the PiS's president speeches. The only possibility of live transmission was to use the vision from the organizers' cameras.

4. Language as the means of persuasion and domination

The importance of language in the democratic discourse is underlined by almost all theoreticians of politics. Adam Chmielewski (2001: 27) is even of the opinion that in contemporary world the struggle between countries, different groups of interest or particular elements of a political system was transferred from the sphere of combat to sphere of symbolic debate what results in replacing the main weapon of combat – a sword – with the main weapon of debate – a word. What's interesting in the quoted researcher's considerations – alongside the changes of political rivalry forms there is no change in inequality of accessibility to the means that just enable it. As not everybody could wield the sword so not everybody can have the high communicative competence (Chmielewski 2001: 27).

Likewise in the case of media language there are big controversions among the researchers dealing with persuasion and rhetoric as to the efficiency and propriety of applying certain rhetorical mechanisms that might bring support for a candidate. And it must be admitted that practicians working with politicians need considerations of that sort very badly. There are theoreticians who highlight the efficiency of simplicity and clarity in presenting phenomena by politicians (e.g. Banasik 2002: 35), while the others (e.g. Perelman) suggest the efficiency of enthymeme provided that implied premises do not disable recipients to understand the communique. This is what Chaim Perelman states: "an orator doesn't have to – like a logician – mention all the links of his reasoning: he may leave unexpressed those premises that are obvious to everybody (...). Nevertheless it is undoubted that in order to provoke the impression of presence it is useful to prolong emphasis on questions which are not problematic" (Perelman 2002: 51).

The interesting experiment based on the application of the linguistic method in the political science research was the investigation of American academics on the charisma of a few selected presidents of the USA. As one of many components of a political leader's charisma they listed his/her over-average aspiration for the widely comprehended social change. To estimate objectively if a given leader really endeavours to change the *status quo* researchers analysed the verbal aspect of the presidents' speeches and – making use of statistic method

– defined how many times and in which contexts the word "no" was uttered. It appeared that in most cases the presidents used the word "no" just in the context of actually functioning parts of the social system or in the context of up-to-date trends in both inner and foreign policy. So due to this criterion it was easy to judge if an exemplary leader by contesting inherited political reality tried in fact to bring social changes into life or directed his attention on administration only, which should be treated as management rather than leadership (Fiol et al. 1999: 453-455).

From a number of Polish researchers it was Mirosław Karwat who presented - in his study on perfidy - the interesting set of criteria to judge a certain political performance. They are as follows: "the safe (...) set of ambiguous words; innuendoes; (...) the questions that would rather be assertions or prompts, and captious trapping questions; (...) the specific eloquence of the snake-the tempter, who neither admonishes nor dictates to do anything but rather »widens one's horizons«, »opens one's eyes«, uncovers the choice, shows the charms, allurements and enticements, suppresses hesitation and inhibition, stimulates desire, euphory or rancour" (Karwat 2001a: 57). In Karwat's opinion – following those criteria – one can easily distinguish the honesty of intentions and authenticity of a message from the "bigoted overexpression" which shows in the fact that "words and sentences mean more to an addressee and influence him/her stronger than it should result from their literal sense; this is why an addressee's deductions and reactions are equally categorical and obvious as obvious is the fact that one cannot prove their real force in acts of individual reception" (Karwat 2001b: 57). In Jarosław Kaczyński's speeches one can see the following signs of the bigoted overexpressive style:

1. Innuendoes:

The 21st of October is not going to be, as some people consider, the new 4th of June '89. Definitely not, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is going to be the new 13th of December '81. That's why, Dear Ladies and Sirs, we have no choice. We have to win. To win not just a bit but to win completely (Rzeszów).

Let us ask: is LiD (The Left and Democrats)⁷ from the East or from the West? Let us ask, Ladies and Gentleman, if this initiative group was sent – on the turn of '41 and '42 – from Moscow or from London? Let us ask: Whose interest was in that Poland was ruled by PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party)? (Lublin)⁸.

LiD – a centre-left political coalition in Poland, established in 2006 and dissolved in 2008, concentrating four social-democratic and social-liberal parties.

⁸ PZPR – the communist party in Poland of the 1948 to 1990 period and by all that time factually in power.

2. Questions that are prompts or assertions:

Millions of Poles are patriots. Just such natural and obvious ones, having that – as one may say – from the very childhood, with mother's milk; spontaneous patriots (Warszawa)⁹.

A special role in this field must be attributed to the co-operation between the State and the Church, the Catholic Church (...). Why must it be so? This is because that in Poland the Church is the holder of the only common system of values (Rzeszów).

3. Eloquence of the snake-the tempter, which induces nobody to do anything, but widens one's horizons:

It must be recalled what was happening during the time when KLD (Liberal Democratic Congress¹⁰) – and today's PO is just KLD (...) – when KLD was in power¹¹, or was rather an ally seizing power, when KLD created the ideology of that time (...). Must be recalled those inconsiderate privatisations leading to eradications of enterprises. Must be recalled the idea of privatisation through bankruptcy, what led hundreds or even thousands of enterprises to have been bankrupted on purpose (Szczecin).

Some concluding remarks

On the basis of an analysis of the particular political leader, Jarosław Kaczyński's behaviour during the events he created in the public space (election conventions), we have tried to show the functionality of applying linguistic methods to political science research. Approaching election conventions as a political text has allowed us to reveal four fields of research – political marketing, the psychology of politics, the theory of media functioning and political oratory – where the language of politics is the basic material and the conceptual apparatus of linguistics seems to be one of the best tools to describe it. In

⁹ The Polish original is fallacious and so is the translation.

¹⁰ The liberal party in Poland in the period of 1990 to 1994 when it merged with the Democratic Union (Unia Demokratyczna) into the Freedom Union (Unia Wolności).

In fact KLD was never in power as an independent, individual political subject. Some of its members held governmental offices in 1991 and 1993 in the two coalitional cabinets. It is not possible to find out if it was just a mere Jarosław Kaczyński's slip of a tongue or "the mistake" he made on purpose to let free the audience's negative feelings towards the mentioned party.

our opinion linguistic explanations bound with other methods used in political science (system analysis, case study, basic statistics, etc.) allow a researcher to be "out of" the fields of particular subdisciplines and subsequently enables him/her to form the overall theory elucidating a particular political phenomenon and its system role in the public space. Our paper refers to the phenomenon of the PiS's leader support/followership, however research that is to be eventually succeeded might be devoted to any other phenomena or people.

REFERENCES

- Banasik, A. 2002. *Jak uwodzą politycy? Język marketingu politycznego w kampanii wyborczej* '97. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Chmielewski, A. 2001. Media etyka polityka. Przyczynek do politycznej archeologii mediów. In: I. Borkowski and A. Woźny (eds). *Nowe media nowe w mediach*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum.
- Chodubski, J. 2006. Wstęp do badań politologicznych. Gdańsk: University of Gdańsk.
- Cialdini, R. 1998. *Wywieranie wpływu na ludzi. Teoria i praktyka*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.
- Cichosz, M. 2003. (Auto)kreacja wizerunku polityka na przykładzie wyborów prezydenckich III RP. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Collinson, D. 2006. Rethinking followership: a poststructuralist analysis of follower identities. *The Leadership Quarterly* 17, 179-189.
- Fiol, C. M., D. Harris and R. House. 1999. Charismatic leadership: strategies for effecting social change, *Leadership Quarterly* 10, 449-482.
- Fras, J. 2005. Komunikacja polityczna. Wybrane zagadnienia gatunków i języka wypowiedzi. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Goffman, E. 1981. *Człowiek w teatrze życia codziennego*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Goleman, D., R. Boyatzis and A. McKee. 2002. *Naturalne przywództwo. Odkrywanie mocy inteligencji emocjonalnej*. Wrocław-Warszawa: Jacek Santorski Wydawnictwa Biznesowe.
- Jeziński, M. 2005. Wizerunek polityczny jako element strategii wyborczej. In: B. Dobek-Ostrowska (ed.). *Kampania wyborcza: marketingowe aspekty komunikowania politycznego*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 115-132.
- Karwat, M. 2001a. Charyzma i pseudocharyzma. In: T. Bodio (ed.). *Studia politologiczne*. Vol. 5: *Przywództwo polityczne*. Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, 126-176.
- Karwat, M. 2001b. O perfidii. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Muza S.A.

- Mrozowski, M. 2001. *Media masowe. Władza, rozrywka, biznes.* Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra Jr.
- Pabjan, B. 2003. Ucieczka od konsensu praktyki komunikacyjne Andrzeja Leppera jako narzędzie uprawiania polityki. In: B. Sierocka (ed.). *Przełom komunikacyjny a filozoficzna idea konsensu*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Oświatowe, 149-165.
- Pałka, V. 2005. Wewnętrzny krąg władzy w myśli S. Freuda. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Perelman, Ch. 2002. *Imperium retoryki. Retoryka i argumentacja*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Rittel, S. 2003. Komunikacja polityczna dyskurs polityczny język w przestrzeni politycznej. Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej.
- Roberts, A. 2004. *Hitler i Churchill. Sekrety przywództwa*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie.
- Skarżyńska, K. 2005. Człowiek a polityka. Zarys psychologii politycznej. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- Sobkowiak, L. 1998. Legitymizacja polityczna. In: A. W. Jabłoński, L. Sobkowiak (eds). Studia z teorii polityki. Vol. 2. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 149-162.
- Szklarski, B. 2006. Przywództwo symboliczne: między rządzeniem a reprezentacją. Amerykańska prezydentura końca XX wieku. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.
- Weber, M. 1998. Polityka jako zawód i powołanie. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak.
- Witkowski, T. 2005. Inteligencja makiaweliczna. Poznań: Biblioteka Moderatora.

ABSTRACT

The first aim of the paper is to point out the main areas where linguistic methods may be applied to political science analysis. In the authors' opinion at least four such fields may be distinguished, i.e. political marketing, psychology of politics, media knowledge, political oratory.

The material elaborated in the paper is six official speeches of Jarosław Kaczyński, Polish ex-Prime Minister, the leader of Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) party, that were held during election conventions before parliamentary election in 2007. Special attention has been paid to emotionality of Jarosław Kaczyński's message.

Next, the authors analysed in four paragraphs the role of Jarosław Kaczyński's emotional language as means of achieving miscellaneous goals, such as: language as the basic component of a political effigy, language as a way of express-

ing emotions, language as a way to attract media attention and language as the means of persuasion and domination.

By analysing the language of the particular political leader the authors tried to show the functionality of applying linguistic methods to political science research.