

Beyond Philology No. 19/1, 2022  
ISSN 1732-1220, eISSN 2451-1498

<https://doi.org/10.26881/bp.2022.1.04>

## **Attempt to reconstruct the linguistic picture of a *true Pole***

IWONA BENENOWSKA

*Received 17.08.2021,  
received in revised form 14.11.2021,  
accepted 10.01.2022.*

### **Abstract**

The attempt at reconstructing the contemporary image of a true Pole aims to obtain the basis for certain remarks resulting from the observation and interpretation of the linguistic phenomenon under study. The research paradigm of the linguistic picture of the world (LPW) was used. The sources of linguistic material were mainly the *National Corpus of the Polish Language* (in the period 1981-2020, with particular emphasis on the 20 years of the turn of the centuries) and selected Internet texts.

### **Keywords**

linguistic picture of the world (LPW), a true Pole, *National Corpus of the Polish Language* (Polish abbrev. NKJP), reconstruction, features of a Pole

## **Próba rekonstrukcji językowego obrazu *prawdziwego Polaka***

### **Abstrakt**

Celem tekstu jest próba zrekonstruowania obrazu *prawdziwego Polaka*, aby uzyskać podstawy do poczynienia pewnych uwag wynikających z obserwacji i interpretacji badanego zjawiska językowego. Wykorzystano paradygmat badawczy językowego obrazu świata (JOS). Źródło materiału językowego stanowił przede wszystkim *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (w cezurze czasowej 1981-2020, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem 20 lat przełomu wieków), a także wybrane teksty internetowe.

### **Słowa kluczowe**

językowy obraz świata (JOS), prawdziwy Polak, *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (NKJP), rekonstrukcja, cechy Polaka

The text aims to reconstruct the image of a *true Pole*, providing a basis for specific interpretations of the research outcomes. The research paradigm of the linguistic picture of the world (LPW) was used. The sources of linguistic material were mainly the *National Corpus of the Polish Language* (with examples from the years 1981-2020, with the predominance of the 20 years at the turn of the centuries), and Internet texts.

The *National Corpus of the Polish Language* (NKJP) is an indispensable source of linguistic material for researchers of contemporary Polish. Not only can linguists use it, but also specialists in other fields of humanities or computer science. Poles badly need this large linguistic corpus, balanced in terms of genre and subject matter, the online treasury of Polish (as the project's creators call it)<sup>1</sup>. The reference corpus of Polish con-

---

<sup>1</sup> Other nations, such as the British, the Germans, the Czechs, and the Russians also have national corpora.

tains about one hundred thousand words. Due to their technical possibilities, Corpus search engines (for NKJP data – PELCRA) enable efficient browsing of text resources. For this purpose, they use advanced tools taking the variety of Polish words into account and analysing sentence structures. The possibilities of finding concordances, indicating collocations, choosing sorting or grouping options, narrowing the search to occurrences of matches in texts of a given functional type, title, or publication date turn out to be excellent facilitation for the researcher. Moreover, the selected example can always be detailed bibliographically, or the cited passage can be expanded (right menu), gaining a broader context. It allows isolating typical uses of words and constructions, studying their meaning and function, observing the language evolution, etc.<sup>2</sup>

## 1. Introduction

The word *Pole* is not recorded by all dictionaries, and they define it emphasising the origin and territorial affiliation:

- a person of Polish nationality, a resident of Poland, a citizen of that country (USJP)
- a person of Polish nationality  
Usage notes: Depending on the circumstances of usage, the word may also mean a person having Polish citizenship or residing in Poland or even an athlete playing for a Polish team, regardless of his/her nationality.  
subject qualification: names of persons regarding their origin and territorial affiliation (WSJP)
- someone who comes from Poland (ISJP)
- a citizen of Poland (SJP net. 6)
- a person born in Poland, a Polish citizen (SW net. 7)

---

<sup>2</sup> For more see: [nkjp.uni.lodz.pl](http://nkjp.uni.lodz.pl) (accessed: 10.05.2021).

In many dictionaries, e.g., *Dictionary of the Polish Language* (*Słownik języka polskiego*) (SJPSz) edited by Mieczysław Szymczak, *Dictionary of Contemporary Polish Language* (*Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego*) (SWJP) edited by Bogusław Dunaj, *New Dictionary of the Polish Language* (*Nowy słownik języka polskiego*) (NSJP) edited by Elżbieta Sobol, *Popular Dictionary of Polish Language* (*Popularny słownik języka polskiego*) (PSJP) edited by the latter, *Practical Dictionary of Correct Polish Language Not Only for Young People* (*Praktyczny słownik poprawnej polszczyzny nie tylko dla młodzieży*) (PSP) edited by Andrzej Markowski, there is no such entry. Maybe in line with the principle: a horse is a horse is a horse / what is the horse everyone sees (in Polish: Jaki jest koń każdy widzi).

Meanwhile, we know from history that in the First Republic of Poland, the term *a Pole/a free Pole* referred exclusively to the nobility as *Patris Patriae* (= *Ojcowie Ojczyzny*) (cf. Opaliński 1995: 344). The privileged position of the nobility in society was abolished only by the March Constitution of 1921 (Article 96). Nowadays, there are at least **two** possible approaches to the problem of defining the notion of a Pole as a member of the Polish nation: 1. the feeling of "being a Pole" may be expressed by using the Polish language and treating it as the mother tongue, observing customs characteristic of Polish culture, the conviction of having common Polish roots or a sense of Polish national identity:

A nation is a permanent community of people historically formed based on historical fate, culture, language, territory, and economic life, manifested in the national consciousness of its members (Rulka 2001: 21).

2. the Polish nation consists of all Polish citizens (Poles), who feel a common heritage and good of Poland, regardless of nationality. It does not narrow the concept of nation only to Polish citizenship:

In concern for the existence and future of our Homeland, having regained in 1989 the possibility of sovereign and democratic determination of its fate, we, the Polish Nation – all citizens of the Republic of Poland [...] (Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Poland 1997<sup>3</sup>).

Why is this mentioned? Because further on, statements concerning a true Pole invoke both territorial and social criteria.

If we add the exponent of the verbal modality of *true* to the word, the meaning is modified:

The modifier 'true' – just like 'normal', 'typical', 'ordinary', 'average'; it introduces the **subjectification** of judgment, refers to a **subject** who is the instance that establishes the **norm**. To each of such modifiers one can thus add a metatextual formula: "according to the speaker", "in the speaker's view", "in my opinion", "in his opinion" (Bartmiński, Panasiuk 1993: 370; emphasis by the author).

The choice of certain aspects and the ways they are filled in impact the cognitive structure of the expression. The Pole's characterisation becomes internally structured in a certain non-accidental way. After the initial categorisation ('a person who...'), overtly relational, subjectivising features come to the fore: 'proud', 'is a Catholic', 'is a patriot', etc., followed by characteristics concerning function, location, objects used, and others.

In his/her self-characteristics (the ASA'90<sup>4</sup> questionnaire), a Pole emphasises three "canonical" features: patriotism, courage, and

---

<sup>3</sup> The cited Constitution was passed on 2 April 1997, approved in a national referendum on 25 May 1997, and came into force on 17 October 1997. The Constitution is the most important legal act in Poland, consisting of a preamble and 13 chapters, divided into 243 articles (see Preambuła – Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Konst.] (arslege.pl) (accessed: 10.06.2021)).

<sup>4</sup> Materials from a survey carried out as part of the research topic *Słownictwo aksjologiczne języka polskiego (Axiological vocabulary of Polish)*, 1990, held by the Department of Textology and Grammar of Modern Polish Language of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin.

ASA – a survey of the axiological dictionary, materials collected among students of Lublin state universities in 1990, 2000, and 2010. The respondents answered the question: What, in your opinion, constitutes the essence of the "real him" X?, where in each survey the names of values were substituted for

hospitality, in order also: honour, pride, attachment to freedom, romanticism. Moreover, contemporary Poles are characterised as a "*drunkard*" and "*peddler*", and – concerning their attitude to work – either hard-working or lazy. [...] It is worth adding, by the way, that this auto-stereotype contrasts *in plus* with hetero-stereotypes of Poles functioning abroad (e.g., for the French a Pole is 'drunk' and 'dirty', for the Czechs – 'pathetic', for the Germans – 'nationalistic' and 'unmanageable', for the Russians – 'Catholic', 'hypocritical' and 'rebellious') (Bartmiński, Panasiuk 1993: 380).

## 2. Characteristics of a *true Pole*

What image does the expression 'a true Pole' generate? Let us trace this image created in the texts of 1980s – 2020s, collected especially in the National Corpus of the Polish Language (NKJP) and other Internet sources (henceforth net.).

From the Poles' point of view (self-created image), the image of a true Pole includes such features as:

2.1. a Catholic: *Because a true Pole will always be in some sense a **Catholic**.*<sup>5</sup> [...] (NKJP 1); *A real **Catholic Pole**, on the other hand, has never accepted that there really were the Jews [...]* (NKJP 4); *We have a national **Catholicism**. These people think that a real Pole is only a Pole-Catholic who votes for their party. [...]* (NKJP 6); [...] *1989, when the Civic Committees coined the slogan that a real Pole is a **Catholic**.* (NKJP 8);<sup>6</sup> *The conviction*

---

X from the list of 100 entries selected for the axiological dictionary. For research results, see, e.g., *Język – wartości – polityka. Zmiany rozumienia nazw wartości w okresie transformacji ustrojowej w Polsce. Raport z badań empirycznych* (Language – values – politics. Changes in the understanding of the names of values during political transformation in Poland. Report from empirical research.) (Bartmiński 2006). See also the report and the list of entries – Małgorzata Mazurkiewicz (1991: 257-264).

<sup>5</sup> In all quoted passages, emphasis by the author of the article.

<sup>6</sup> The next sentence shows the dangers of such an attribution: *So, most inhabitants of Cieszyn Silesia immediately felt themselves to be second-class citizens* – the exclusion of adherents of other faiths. This is particularly noticeable in the attitude of Poles-Catholics towards the Jews. Adam Szostkiewicz writes about it in the article *Jeżus by się dziwił, co wyprawiamy* (Jesus would be surprised, what we are doing) (NKJP 11), devoted, among other things, to the activities of Father Stanisław Musiał, an advocate of Catholic-Jewish

*of one's own uniqueness is part of the identity of a **Pole-Catholic**. It is not enough to be **a Pole and a Catholic**, one must be a real Pole and a real **Catholic**. (NKJP 11); A TRUE POLE – is in principle like a **Catholic Pole**, but must have some additional features. (NKJP 21); 90 % of the Poles are **Catholics** (net. 2); [a true Pole] Should be **a Catholic**. (net. 3); **Catholic Poland**. Now mandatory for every "good Pole". [Kaczynski:] Christianity is part of our national identity. **The Church** was and is the preacher and holder of the only universally known system of values in Poland." (net. 12); The eternal call of "real Poles, real patriots" is of course "**God, honour, homeland**". And this is where the term "**God-fearing patriotism**" comes from. In this classical triad, we also have a simple equal sign by implication: a real Pole (or elsewhere: a real Irishman, Spaniard, etc.) can only be someone who believes in **God**. (net. 14); Right-wing religiosity in our country is understood exclusively as **Catholicism**. [...] A real Pole is **a Catholic** and that does it! (net. 15);*

– a defender of the Church and Christian values: And finally, a special candidate: [...] **defends the Church** [...] – in a word a 'true' Pole. (NKJP 2); You spread such filth into the world that it hurts the heart. (This is not how a real Pole acts!) In the name of the Radio Maryja Family we PROTEST VEHEMENTLY against publicly **insulting our holiness**. [...] (NKJP 10); True Poles are already jumping on me. You disrespect the Roman Catholic religion! It was his **deep faith** that made Lech reject communism and become an oppositionist, a Christian one by the way, and not a secular one like those KOR members. (NKJP 13); [...] in my opinion, this "true Pole" is the one who **listens to the priest** every Sunday and instead of using his/her reason and simply thinking on his/her own, **lets himself/herself be led** like silly lambs by his/her shepherd... (net. 18);

– cooperates with the hierarchs of the Church, rather than seeking conflict with them: [...] **the right is on Rydzyk's side**. "President Kaczyński has finally revealed who he represents. – we

---

cooperation, a member of the Polish Episcopal Commission for Dialogue with Judaism since 1986.

read in one of the letters to the editor. – First, **he liquidated the best** archbishop Stanisław Wielgus and now he **is destroying Radio Maryja and Television Trwam** headed by Fr Rydzyk. Is there really no true Pole for President in Poland?" (NKJP 12);

– is opposed to the idea of evolutionism: Well, perhaps Mr Kroll, like his prophet Darwin, has discovered monkey-like qualities in himself. If so, I am even happy to agree with that. But I see no reason why a true Pole and Catholic **should admit to these genes**. (NKJP 9)

– trusts the Catholic media: A true Pole is a **faithful listener of Radio Maryja and reader of "Gazeta Polska"**. (net. 1);

– a role model or authority in this respect are for him/her:

Lech Wałęsa: We vote for **Wałęsa**, he is a true Pole and a Catholic! – I heard. (NKJP 3a<sup>7</sup>); Mr President **Lech Wałęsa** is our only Polish saviour. [...] A true Pole, a Catholic<sup>8</sup> [...] (NKJP 5);

Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk (a founder and director of Radio Maryja, Television Trwam), Bishop Edward Frankowski (a chaplain of "Solidarity" (NSZZ "Solidarność") in 1980– 1992), Saint John Paul II: **How dare you insult and undermine such authorities as Fr. Rydzyk, bishop Frankowski, not to mention the greatest of Poles – John Paul II**. (NKJP 10)

Fr. Henryk Jankowski (a chaplain of "Solidarity", removed from the post of parish priest St Brygida parish in Gdańsk in 2004): **Because "true Poles", of course, wait only for his** [prelate Jankowski's] speeches. (NKJP 14); **Priest Jankowski** is a true Pole. **We want the President to be purely from Poland**", said the former employee of "Star" (NKJP 16);<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The subscripts *a, b*, etc. indicate that these are Internet users' consecutive statements on the same discussion thread.

<sup>8</sup> The notation of all quoted examples follows the original ones.

<sup>9</sup> It is worth noting at this point that the analysed texts also point to models of "a true Pole", e.g., Marek Edelman: Havel invariably holds **Edelman** in high esteem. When he learns that his biography is being written, he immediately writes him a short letter: "I deeply respect all that you have accomplished in your life, your attitude, your courage, and I am happy that I had the opportunity to meet you personally. You are for me **an example of a true Pole**, an authentic embodiment of what is best in Poland". (NKJP 70); Wojciech Cejrowski: **Wojciech Cejrowski** has his programme on one of the radio stations [...]. Once Mr Wojtek from Siedlce called in and was happy on air: "**I am happy that I am talking to a true Pole**". (NKJP 72).



2.2. feels strong ties with his nation (national views, sense of national identity<sup>10</sup>): Yes, a true Pole always walks and **must walk a straight and national path**. (NKJP 15); After all, I had Bohdan, who **did everything with Poland in mind**. He was truly a true Pole. [...] **I was everywhere where Poland had to be mentioned**. (NKJP 16); [Paweł] Niezgodzki is counted among the so-called "true Poles", a **nationalist current among the activists of the** ["Mazowsze"] **region**. (NKJP 18); The canon of righteous conduct in Poland is changing. Until recently, an important part of it was **the attitude to the "Polish issue"**. Today it is not necessarily so. (NKJP 19); Bodo "did not hide his right-wing sympathies. He subscribed to the weekly »Prosto z mostu«<sup>11</sup> [...] he **attended** [as befits a True Pole] **Roman Dmowski's funeral**<sup>12</sup> at Bródno Cemetery". (NKJP 20); So, who will the Poles be in ten, twenty years? When they can no longer be [...] **nationalists and, together with Dmowski, turn away from foreigners**, [...]? (NKJP 22); A true Pole is a person who is not ashamed of his country and when travelling abroad **does not pretend to be of a different nationality**. He/she does notice the faults of his/her own country, nation, but only **to draw attention to the problems**. Moreover, he/she simply **demonstrates a civic attitude** – he/she tries on his/her own, to the extent that he/she is able, to improve something in his/her immediate vicinity, his/her environment. (net. 4); He is convinced

---

There are also examples of anti-patterns, e.g., Jan Kobylanski: [...] He is the most **pompous** "true Pole" south of the Rio Grande. [...] He suffers from a mania for grandeur, questions the decisions of successive Polish authorities, undermines the competence of Polish ambassadors, fights with Polish missions, intrigues [...]. (NKJP 71).

<sup>10</sup> See in USJP: nationality – belonging to a particular nation or a designation of an ethnic and cultural community; also: a sense of belonging; national – pertaining to a nation, the whole population of a certain territory, characteristic of a particular nation, proper to it, belonging to it; identity – in relation to a community: an awareness of common features and a sense of unity.

<sup>11</sup> "Prosto z Mostu" was published between 1931 and 1935 as a Sunday cultural supplement to the ONR [Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (National Radical Camp) – author's note] affiliated daily "ABC".

<sup>12</sup> Roman Dmowski was a co-founder of the National Democracy (in other words: Endecja, national movement), considered to be the main ideologist of the Polish nationalism.

that the Poles are **a noble nation**. (net. 1); He/she is a Pole who **is not ashamed of his/her country**, who **has a sense of collective responsibility** for himself/herself and for his/her compatriots, dead, present and future. (net. 3a); [...] a true Pole **is proud** to be a Pole. [...] by his/her behaviour he/she **does not bring shame** on Poland (he/she does not steal from the state). He/she does not have to be an idealist, but he/she should know the **Polish anthem**, know the **dates of national holidays**, and **respect the national flag**. (net. 3b); [...] according to ideologists of the Macierewicz type, a **true Pole** is someone who **continues the traditions of old nationalism**. (net. 13); We want to live in Poland, where Poles live, feel Polish, are Poles in flesh and blood. [...] and **they honour the traditions of 1918, which were instilled by Piłsudski, Roman Dmowski, Ignacy Jan Paderewski**, and the communists forget about it. (net. 19);

2.3. feels a patriot,<sup>13</sup> is ready to sacrifice himself/herself for the homeland, fight for its freedom and good: [...] **every true Pole must be a soldier. Faithfulness** to the tormented homeland, "at any time and on any day". [...]. [For the last two years, he has been teaching us **love for our homeland**. He **instilled, propagated, and strengthened Polishness in us** [...]. (NKJP 24); Waldemar Lau does not feel like a hero, but only a true Pole and **patriot**. Those days nevertheless had a great influence on his further life. He lost a lot then: studies, good job, and health, but he notes only profits: recognition of those with whom he had to work, respect and a clear conscience fulfilled. (NKJP 25); He was truly a true Pole. [...] From 1974 until the end of his life, he was secretary of the AK Circle in Belgium. He **was active in many independence organisations**. At one time, he was even **a delegate of the Polish Government** in London for the Benelux countries. He was **President of the Association of Polish Veterans** in Belgium from 1988. (NKJP 17); He/she may even have

---

<sup>13</sup> According to the definition of a patriot and patriotism in USJP: a patriot – one who loves his/her homeland and nation, ready to sacrifice for their sake; patriotism – love for the homeland, one's own nation combined with the readiness to bear sacrifices for them.

quite a large fortune, but **must declare his/her willingness to sacrifice everything he/she has for the good of his/her homeland** when the need arises.<sup>14</sup> (NKJP 21); These elements of internal emigration, which we observe today, are not new in Poland. They also existed back then, and on an even greater scale. For example, one could go to a hospital to treat people, but not to the Ministry of Health for an administrative post, oh no!<sup>15</sup> Because it's not appropriate, it's not in good taste, it's unpatriotic, it doesn't suit a true Pole! (NKJP 26); The most **common variety of patriotism** assumes **unconditional love for the homeland**, which is **understood sentimentally** as a familiar landscape, original cuisine, folk customs, etc., and finally the place where our ancestors were born and lived. The sentiment is guarded by the collective of true Poles, i.e., the ethnic element. [...] However, the **pro-state patriotism**, which has a very short history in Poland, is more interesting. Representatives of this trend do not see Polishness in the graves of their ancestors, in landscapes on the Vistula or in smelling bigos (sauerkraut), but, for example... **in paying increasing taxes honestly or in paying for the bus ticket that gets more expensive every year.** (net. 15);

– opposes socialism/communism, Nazism, liberalism, etc: A true Pole, a patriot should f...ck\* **Nazism** and **communism**<sup>16</sup> [NKJP 28]; **Pilsudski was unacceptable** for the right wing. **A man with a socialist past**, desiring instead of incorporation an equal union with Lithuania and Ukraine, accused of contacts with Freemasonry and religiously indifferent – could there be anything more repugnant for "a true Pole"? (NKJP 54); [True Poles] **Speak the language of radicals, say: 'lustration', 'de-communisation', do not want a market economy.** (NKJP 6); The oft-used **liberalism**, in the connotations of the past party, **meant something extremely indecent, shameful, very, very shameful,**

---

<sup>14</sup> The next sentence, however, undermines the sincerity of the action, offering the possibility of free choice: *Has the need already arisen or not – he/she determines for himself/herself and does not suffer anyone to urge him/her to such a decision.*

<sup>15</sup> It is about not cooperating with the communist government.

<sup>16</sup> This quote also indicates intermediate traits: anti-communist and anti-Nazi.

**which does not befit a true Pole.** (NKJP 55); *On the one hand there was the [communist] government, which disgusted me, to which I had the worst possible attitude, from which I expected nothing good. On the other hand [Solidarity], a populist **wave** of ethnic emotions and **cave anti-communism.** [NKJP 49]; I saw one difference – the attitude to communism. "True Poles" from Solidarity also **represented totalitarian ideology, only in a colour other than red.** [...] the so-called **liberal circles**, whose core was the old opposition, **were squeezed out of Solidarity.** (NKJP 57); *The first element is the dichotomous division of the world into 'us' and 'you'. When "we" were progressive and fought for peace and "you" were the dwarfs of reaction and imperialists. Today "we" are the true Poles and "you" are liberals, enemies of Poland or even Europeans.* (NKJP 58); *We want to live in Poland, where the Poles live, feel Polish, are Poles in flesh and blood. [...]... and they honour the traditions of 1918, which were instilled by Piłsudski, Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Jan Paderewski, and **the communists forget about that.** [...] [The communist] Komorowski said that there will be a monument in Ujazdowskie Avenue, probably to **Mazowiecki**, you will see. **The man who betrayed Poland at the Round Table** (net. 19);**

- has a conviction that Poland is threatened by an enemy: [the Kaczyński brothers] *opened the presidential campaign in the National Museum against the background of the 'Battle of Grunwald'. The message was clear: it is we who are taking over the legacy of the victorious **fight against the eternal enemy.** (NKJP 56); [...] **the need for the constant presence of the enemy.** Once it was obviously a class enemy, now it is the enemy of the Polish nation or the enemy of the Church. (NKJP 58); [...] and 'you' are **liberals, enemies of Poland** or even Europeans. (NKJP 58); [...] *Russia and Germany, always hostile to us, and of course the Jews and Freemasons. [...] [Poland] is an unhappy nation only because of its **neighbours**, who are eternal **enemies**, and the **wickedness of allies**, who always treacherously abandon us in our time of need.* (net. 1);*
- is proud of Poland's historical role, giving the Poles special credit for saving the world: [is convinced that] *In the history of*

*the world, it is Poland that **has** always **saved it** [the world] **from perdition**. (net. 1a); On account of their **services to Humanity and having saved Europe from perdition so many times**, all True Poles should be granted special privileges and honours everywhere abroad. (net. 1b); The need to abstain from **displaying national pride** gives rise to frustration and subconscious resentment towards the whole world. (net. 1c);*

2.4. speaks Polish, recognizes this language as native: *So, call your language whatever you want, and say: "I am Polish, so **I speak Polish**". Worse if you say: "I am a real true Pole, so I give in my pure as tears language obvious proof that I am better than others". [...].<sup>17</sup> (NKJP 23); A true Pole is one who [...] Also **knows his/her own language very well and follows its rules** of spelling or grammar. (net. 4); And I will say more, a true Pole [...] **cares about the purity of his/her language** [...]<sup>18</sup> (net. 3);*

2.5. appreciates Polish culture, history, cultivates native customs, etc: *So, who will the Poles be in ten, in twenty years? When they can no longer be romantics and content with **reading Mickiewicz** [...]? (NKJP 22); [...] Włodzimierz, as befits a true Pole, rushed to greet his honoured guest. Although the **bread and salt***

---

<sup>17</sup> If the use of the mother tongue rises to the rank of a classifying factor and gives rise to a feeling of superiority in the user, it may become a factor of exclusion (and at the same time discrediting a true Pole in the eyes of others), as signalled in the next part of the quotation: *Beware! it may turn out that you are then talking ungrammatical Polish and not Polish). i.e., better than, e.g., a Silesian (who wants his/her language to be recognised as a regional language [...]).*

<sup>18</sup> One participant in the online discussion noted that this was rather a postulate, because: *Friend, You have missed some important characteristics of "a true Pole" [...]. It is not always easy to take care of the "cleanliness" of the language, too many words and phrases have become permanent in our everyday speech, e.g., TV, computer and even the Internet are not Polish words and nobody tries to convert them into Polish. (net. 3c); another was critical of other features: Hello, you wrote an ideal picture of a Pole and it is exactly the opposite, he/she knows history, which is usually hypocritical, depending on which side the wind blows, with this language it is even a pity to talk because I would have to point out every other word, national holidays are an opportunity for a riot and the flag is often a sheet scrawled with the names of villages of sports fan (net. 3d).*

in his parent's hands was replaced by a bottle of Absolute, the moment was solemn and touching. (NKJP 29); From the hands of "a true Pole", I received a leaflet from "Placówka" about the consequences of Poland's access into the European Union. [...] **"A shepherd boy behind a cow, hollyhocks by the roadside, roadside willows, children** going to school, a village in the distance", it brings a tear to the eye. (NKJP 31); Soon, true Poles spoke up, claiming that Valentine's Day is an ideologically foreign borrowing from the Americans. After all, we have our own Slavic festival of love – **the Kupala Night**. (NKJP 32); [...] there will be only "true" Poles left, **serfdom** will return, the **manors** will be rebuilt and everything will be as it was under the rule of the old, pure-blooded Poles. (NKJP 33); [...] and he/she is left with his/her companions praising **vodka, sour soup, Old Polish bigos and hussar charges**. (NKJP 34); The Parliamentary Club of the Non-Partisan Bloc in Support of Reform fully supports the draft resolution on the International Cooperative Day, advocating that our country should finally be governed by true Poles – **farmers raised in our native traditions**. (NKJP 35); And no true Pole **will swallow horse broth** or a piece of meat as he/she will "return" it and beat [...]. (NKJP 38); [...] sense of humour, **attachment to country and culture**, evoking good fun. (net. 4a); [A real Pole is one who...] **Knows** the history of his/her own country, its **culture**, and knows how to celebrate **Polish traditions** with dignity. (net. 4b); And I will say more, a real Pole [...] **knows the history** of his/her Nation (net. 3); [...] **on Easter Monday** you poured water [...], Christmas Eve dinner consists of **12 dishes** [...], there is no better party than a **Polish wedding** [...] (net. 8), "So if someone thinks it's worth being a Pole, they have to stand on the side that **defends traditional values** and wants to rebuild our reality to make it much fairer, although there has been a significant improvement here". [net. 12];

2.6. A Pole is considered only a native inhabitant of Poland (territorial criterion) or one who has Polish origins for many generations, mainly of nobility (social criterion): *First of all, he/she should have a proper family tree, i.e., be a Pole from his/her*

**fathers.** *Personally, he/she does not have to be a grandfather. (NKJP 21); [...] There were voices on other sides demanding the so-called "indigenusness", trying to convince us that **only a "native" is a true Pole**, and a "non-native" is not really so, **as if Polishness were not a spiritual but a biological and animal category to be forced, as if I wanted to renounce**, for example, **those** Polish artists **whose families came here from other nations and became Poles**, such as that half-Orman Juliusz Słowacki and many, many others, without whose work I could not live. (NKJP 50); **I am the son of a prince** and a farm girl [...]. Why, then, do you not acknowledge me and my beloved, who is also a **noblewoman**, albeit only a homestead one, but with a coat of arms... After all, I am a true Pole, and not the son of a grocer, innkeeper, or usurer. (NKJP 45); Mr President [Wałęsa] assured everyone that, in contrast to his adversaries, he has been **a true Pole for many generations**, while people of Jewish origin were publicly called upon to reveal their identity. (NKJP 47); **"Wałęsa has Polish blood and has documents to prove it"**. "Where does anti-Semitism really come from? From where certain people are hiding, and it won't happen if there is honest, open play." **The most frequently cited motive for electing Wałęsa in the previous election** – 37 percent of respondents – was that he is **a "true Pole"**. (NKJP 48a); Yes, there are some evangelicals, Jews, Orthodox Christians and Muslims among Catholics, but let's be honest – they are not true Poles according to our right wing. **They are foreign bodies**, who are not allowed to have **ethnic Polishness**. [...] I am a non-believer. Of course, this is better than being a Jew or a Tatar, and much better than being a Roma, but still not enough to be a true Pole. (net. 15); We want to live in Poland, where Poles live, **feel in Polish, are Polish in flesh and blood**. (net. 19)*

2.7. (in connection with 2.6.) has prejudices against representatives of other nations – aliens (bordering on xenophobia,<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> In the sense of dislike or hostility towards foreigners and foreign culture – according to USJP (*xenophobia*).

identifying this alienness even by name), attributes to them bad intentions, various types of actions (intrigues, conspiracies) to the detriment of Poland and/or Poles:

– towards the Jews: [...] **does not like the Jews** – in a word, a 'true' Pole. (NKJP 2); [...] *after fifty years, he decided to visit his home town. And he reads the inscriptions on the walls in Polish: "The **Jews to the gas**" and in German "**Juden raus**". What can we say when **Hitler's articles on racial purity are today echoed by the term "true pure-blooded Pole"**? And when this title of pure and true Pole is denied even to those patriotic activists of Jewish origin who, alongside others, won Poland a return to freedom [...].* (NKJP 3d); *"A True Pole" believes that the **Jews are in the lead in the editorial board**, who stole the magazine from the workers. He writes indictments on Mazowiecki and sends them around the union authorities. Where do such types blinded by fanaticism come from?* (NKJP 18); *And beautifully. A few months ago, **attacks on the 'Lithuanian' Miłosz, now on the 'Jew' Huelle.** [...] The translator of Polish literature, Renate Schmidgall, once told me about her meeting with the author of "Weiser Dawidek" as well as with Krzysztof Koehler and Maciej Niemiec: "I suddenly realised that I was talking to three Polish writers, the first of whom is called Huelle, the second Koehler, and the only true Pole in this group is ... German."* (NKJP 40); *In previous years, depending on the needs and what they preached, the most enlightened men of the Polish Church were called the **Jews on duty to beat:** Rev. Prof. Józef Tischner, Bishop Józef Życiński, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, and Pope John Paul II.* [...] *There are not many Jews in Poland, but the **attitude towards the Jews is as far from indifferent as it was before the war**, when they were a minority of more than three million. Apparently the '**Jewish problem**' consisted not so much, and in every sense not only, in the presence of the Jews as in the **attitude towards the Jews.*** (NKJP 4); *"**You Israeli lackey! Mazowiecki can rule in the synagogue, not in Poland!** [...]" – I heard. There were also others. They would come up to me and explain in a fatherly manner that true Poles do not vote on '**such a one**' (here followed a gesture of stroking an imaginary beard).*



**"The Jews want to rule Poland!** This whole government is **Jewish!**" (NKJP 3b); **the Jews steal** not only money but also time. As true Poles, we **ask our blood brothers not to let us snatch from our hands what we already possess.** There is an enemy hiding in the shadows, from behind the scenes affecting the fundamental right to birth and the sanctity of the sacrament of marriage between a man and a woman. (NKJP 46); The topic has not become outdated – according to a recent Demoskop survey, 36 percent of the public believes that **Jews have too much influence over political and economic life in Poland.** (NKJP 48b); KOR, Round Table are for them [the youth] completely indifferent terms, and yet it was our road to freedom. And here, on the one hand, Radio Maryja announces that they were not true Poles, but **some Jews** and Freemasons,<sup>20</sup> and on the other, young people are completely unmoved by that. (NKJP 19); [times before Solidarity] [...] **overt anti-Semitism** as in March 1968 [...]. In order to delegitimise the opposition as foreign to the nation, propaganda resorted to various tricks, for example quoting **Jewish names**, using various **periphrasis** such as "those who probably entered a church for the first time". Also, in frequent use was the phrase "true Poles", which party authors contrasted with oppositionists such as Adam Michnik and Seweryn Blumstein. (NKJP 42); [Bodo] "supported **the boycott of Jewish trade**". [...] he avoided contacts with the trade, as befits a True Pole [...]. (NKJP 20); Already in the second half of 1981, in the face of economic troubles and the increasingly intransigent attitude of the government, **anti-Semitic statements** began to appear, directed mainly against advisers to the movement who originated from the KOR, and in the "Mazovia" region, a group describing itself as "real Poles" undertook an open rebellion, accusing the union authorities of submissiveness to "cosmopolitans". (NKJP 51); Meanwhile, when someone said that he/she was a real Pole as opposed to "untrue Poles", that proved very useful. I was horrified for good when a large part of the Solidarity base accepted Marian

---

<sup>20</sup> According to a true Catholic Pole, Freemasons and people of other faiths constitute a (potential) threat to his/her sense of religiosity, his/her traditionally professed faith, his/her recognised values.

*Jurczyk's famous speech in Trzebiatów, in which he said that **Poland was not governed by Poles but by the Jews under changed names** [...]. A rather disgusting spectacle was taking place. **The accusation was that someone had a Jewish surname** [...]. (NKJP 49); – **How many Jews are there in Poland?** – I asked. – **Too many** – he answered. In his opinion, **the Jews predominate in the government, the Sejm and the Episcopate. President Wałęsa is a Jew who sympathises with the Germans.** True Poles, like Chairman Tejkowski, are subject to repression and political persecution. (NKJP 52b); And the aggressive "truthers" (true Poles), **demanding the blood of KOR and purging the union of the Jews?** (NKJP 27); But who is the **opposite of a true Pole**, this untruthful Pole? The answer is clear, although often not formulated directly. It is a Pole of Jewish origin or simply **a Jew**. [...] The communist authorities at one time deliberately tried to **replace a foreign-sounding surname with an indigenously Polish one**. (net. 13). In a narcissistic impulse, she added another, messianic amendment to this motto. Poland is the bride of God (Christ the King of Poland, the Virgin Mary the Queen of Poland), and the Poles – **not some insolent Jews** or other such – the chosen people. (net. 14); I went to see the film "Son of Shawl" for the second time this evening at the Muranów cinema in Warsaw. "A true Pole" was revealed in the auditorium. [...] This delightful gentleman gave a lecture this **evening on the Sonderkommando**, the ignorance of the film's director and his **despicable manipulations, and above all he exposed the conspiracy of the makers and distributors of "Son of Shawl" – a strike against Polishness. This film is anti-Polish! "A true Pole" knows what really happened in the Sonderkommando at Auschwitz-Birkenau.** Last December, at a special screening of Yael Hersonski's film about footage shot by the Germans in the Warsaw Ghetto in May 1942, "a true Pole", defending his alien civilisation by suggesting that the **Jews murdered themselves**, was revealed. [...] I think that "true Poles" are*

afflicted with a specifically Polish variety of AMD<sup>21</sup> of the moral sense. [...] The **moral panic** into which "true Poles" fall erupts **whenever the subject of the Holocaust of the Jews appears on the public scene**. (net. 17); [...] the **Jewry, headed by Michnik and Blumstein**, dressed up the youth, pseudo-youth, in Auschwitz uniforms and confronted us, because it was the so-called *antifa*, i.e., a march against fascists. Sir, how can Poles who celebrate Independence Day be called fascists? And our authorities allow **the Jews** [...] to call us fascists. (net. 19);

– against other nations, especially Germans and Russians: **against the Saxons and against the Swedes, against Russia** too. In short, against the whole world. A true Pole. [NKJP 43]; Kazimierz Lewenko from Debrzno never regretted not flying into space. Who would believe that **Lewenko is a true Pole**? [...] Colleagues from the regiment even advised him **to change his surname to one ending in "ski"**, but he decided not to do so. (NKJP 44); How can one distinguish "a true Pole"? – First of all, **by his worries**. This is an individual who is constantly and painfully experiencing the terrible problem that not everyone has yet managed to get covered in mud. So much work: receipts, files, studying CVs, looking into trousers, pouring out mud... **And here there is always a not spit "European" peeping out from behind the corner**. [...] For him [Jan Węglowski from "Nasz Polska"], **Miłosz** is not an inhabitant of the Małopolska region, because he **is not Polish** at all. "He does not feel absolutely Polish, but Lithuanian, in "Tygodnik Pow-szechny" in 1996 he officially confessed: "I would have nothing against being called Lithuanian". [...]" (NKJP 48); In the final phase of the [election] campaign the spin doctors gave the face of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights the **features of a grandfather from the Wehrmacht**. In this way Donald Tusk was perfidiously marked with the stigma of the Stranger. (NKJP 56); According to Kaczyński, Morawiecki and company, a Pole is only someone who supports their policies and conservative, Catholic ideology. **Whoever does**

---

<sup>21</sup> AMD of the moral sense is a metaphor because AMD (from the English name: Age-related Macular Degeneration) leads to damage to the retina and, in consequence, even loss of sight.

**not support, is not a Pole, and in a stronger version is a German.** [...] From this hysterical alternative: either the West or Polishness (as if we were going back three hundred years to the Saxon times and the dispute over the kontush versus the tailcoat) [...] A **statesman** is a person who **opposes the Germans.** (net. 12); to help, they invoke the noblest patriotic traditions and slogans, e.g. (this about Angela Merkel and Martin Schulz) "**no German will spit in our face**". They consider it a test of patriotism and honour to "**de-Sovietise**" and "**de-Russify**" in such a way as to neglect the cemeteries of Soviet soldiers, and in Sandomierz, Kraków or Częstochowa (no Bolshevik will be our patron saint) to remove any trace of the Red Army commanders who saved these cities with their tactical decisions. [net. 14];

– towards strangers (in general), Others, often dividing (and/or antagonising) the Poles into "us" – "them": **Selling land to strangers is a crime to me.** I want to know if the starost feels the same way? Once again, the councillor accused the starost of not acting like a true Pole. (NKJP 41); The letter was commented on by Jarosław Kaczyński, editor-in-chief of "Tygodnik" and a leading politician of Wałęsa's camp [...]. In the "Communication of the Plenipotentiary of the Centre Agreement for Pińczów and the Region" ("Gazeta", 13 XI 1990) we read: "We, true Poles, seeing what is happening in the country, must already today strive to speed up the elections. Today, we already know **who is ours** and who is not. **Power has to get into the hands of true Poles** – Christians, therefore the electoral fight will be hard and relentless – to the death". (NKJP 3c); So, who will the Poles be in ten, twenty years? When they can no longer [...] **turn away from strangers, especially the Jews.** (NKJP 22); One of them explained to me that, above all, one **should oppose selling Poland to foreigners and the settlement of the Germans and the Jews in our country.** (NKJP 52a); And yet, that is where our roots lay in the nineteenth century, where a consistent distrust of others arose, **a desire for the nation to be 'pure'** and for all true Poles to be alike. [...] **hatred of others and rejection of them** [...]. [...] everyone was to resemble one another – [...] act as members of one family. **Lack of respect for otherness** – it is

what characterises a Pole even today, and was sown then, or perhaps even earlier... (NKJP 22); I am convinced that the "Mazurek Dąbrowskiego" will survive. And even true Poles will not trace anything here, because the author of the music of our anthem is unknown. So, it is difficult to make the accusation that he was **a Freemason, a Jew, a bigamist**, or something else. (NKJP 53); We have become extremely distrustful. **We do not want to support refugees, we are afraid of otherness**. However, we are one of the few countries where there is the so-called cultural homogeneity. (net. 2); **Normal** is what is **traditionally Polish**. What is **abnormal** is what is **in the West** (net. 12); The historical mission of Poland and the Poles is: to be the Bulwark of Christianity. The **Poles' superiority** – especially moral and "evangelical" superiority – over the whole surroundings, and in Poland itself, on their own territory, **over all outsiders and strangers** – those who have settled here for generations, for centuries, and those who push their way towards us, sacrilegiously, blasphemously polluting our religious-patriotic virginity. (net. 14); [...] I have no affinity with the right wing because of the uncivil behaviour displayed by many 'true Poles' wearing black T-shirts with pictures of crowned eagles and inscriptions reading 'cursed soldiers'. I am particularly repelled by right-wing racism and anti-Semitism, i.e., **xenophobia** in the broadest sense. (net. 15); A drunken man verbally attacked **two Asian women**. Their **background did not please** the self-proclaimed "true Pole", who told them to "get the hell out of our country". [...] **Poland is for the Poles** and that they were definitely illegally here. The story was described on Facebook by Maria Cywińska, author of the blog Lumpiata. A tattooed, drunk man in a black T-shirt. No hair. The exact same guy accosted me, my boyfriend and his dad, saying that we were supposedly talking about **the Balkans** [...] he started following us and shouting after my boyfriend if he was a real Pole. He came close **with his fists clenched and told him to say the words of the Polish anthem**. That went on for a while, at the Marymont Metro stop we ran away and he was shaken by the door. (net. 16);

- sees external (coming from abroad) cultural and political threats: [*From the hands of "a true Pole" I received a leaflet of "Placówka" about the consequences of Poland's entry into the European Union.*] *And what will it be like? **Joining the Union is a mortal threat** to the Nation, the economy, "the Spirit and, of course, the roots."* (NKJP 31); [...] *the true Poles will treat the day of 13 December 2002 much worse. Patriots from the League of Polish Families consider the end of negotiations in Copenhagen, **opening the door to the European Union for Poland, as an act of national treason, selling the homeland to the Freemasons, and Targowica.*** (NKJP 69);

2.8. Reconstructing the linguistic picture of a *true Pole*, it is furthermore possible to notice certain features represented by them, which are considered:

2.8.1. as advantages:

- hospitality: *the Poles are **hospitable** and cheerful, unfortunately there are snobs.* (net. 4f); **Hospitality**, patriotism, religiousness (net. 4g); *You can learn diligence, loyalty, **hospitality** from us [...]* (net. 2);
- chivalry towards women: [...] *Major Morawski changed his tone, to "almost lyrical", adopting the attitude of a true Pole. He said that he felt **great pity for the dear ladies**', that he was also a Pole and understood their ideological motives [...].* (NKJP 37);
- the family spirit:<sup>22</sup> [*Family Affairs Minister Marian Kapera, a patriot and a true Pole, wanted in this way [by subsidising Viagra] to **increase the birth rate of the nation**, because our fertility rate is decreasing [...].* (NKJP 36); *he was never a father, at most a sperm donor, he begotten and then immediately went to the reserves, he did not take me to the seaside or to the mountains, he did not show me Częstochowa or the Częstochowa Jurassic Highlands, he did not read books to me, although it was*

---

<sup>22</sup> In the meaning of being familial: loving family, enjoying family life, caring for its development – cf. UJSP *family spirit* m. 2.

*his bounden duty, he did not teach me anything, he only gave me money, instead of catechism he brought sausages, treasures from the shop behind yellow curtains, but he never prayed for us, he **was not a true Polish father**. (NKJP 39); **Our greatest value is the family**. (net. 2); [...] **the family is an arch-Polish value** (net. 12); A typical right-wing family consists of a man – **the head of the family**, his wife – the **housewife**, and **a bunch of children**, preferably equally boys and girls. (net. 15);*

2.8.2. as disadvantages:

– predilection for coarse<sup>23</sup> jokes: [*For with the new western world there also came the new*] [...] **coarse jokes** were replaced by thin jokes about blondes [...]. (NKJP 30);

– loud, inelegant, uncultured behaviour: [...] *it is difficult to deduce anything about the appearance of a true Pole, except that he/she speaks **loudly**, often accuses, and is always right*. (NKJP 22); *All the invited guests [...], as true Poles do, laugh, "**laugh like a drain** I think". [...]* (NKJP 34); *In a crowded restaurant there was a pair of cave people with a **few-year-old savage**, who, **shouting**, dashed between the tables, **pushed and shoved** other children, and banged on all the equipment and windows with a stick in his hand. The cave-dad **with a mouth full of food was burping**, grunting, and snorting every now and then – encouraging his son to fool around. The mousy mummy only nodded her empty head with admiration and approval. At that time, in front of the restaurant, **a well-dressed middle-aged buffoon with a large dog**, obviously without a leash or muzzle, was celebrating his walk [...]. Its owner, as befits a true Pole, did not deign to clean up the poop. (cf. NKJP 62);*

– conviction of one's own right: "*True Poles*" are always – in their view – **perfectly prepared**. It's not even that they have their own books and historical fact sheets (dates, names, events and "trick questions"). **They just know, unlike everyone else who is wrong**. (net. 17);

---

<sup>23</sup> See coarse in USJP m. 5: *obscene, gross, vulgar wit, joke*.

- having complexes (consequently expecting approval from others): *This is the result of the private chimeras and resentments of a few people who are afraid of the world, **have complexes**, don't know languages. So, they tell the voters that a true Pole is out for himself/herself.* (NKJP 60); *Mr President Lech Wałęsa is the only that can save us, the Poles. [...] A true Pole, [...] a **frequent politician in the world**, an honest man, with Mr President **they count as with no one from among the Poles**, naturally excluding only the Holy Father, all over the world.* (NKJP 5); [About Chopin] *"A real" Pole [...] a **European without any complexes**, making friends with the greatest people of his era.* (NKJP 65);
- lack of knowledge of foreign languages<sup>24</sup> (perhaps partly due to a peculiar concept of patriotism and love for the mother tongue, and aversion to Foreigners): *This is the result of the private chimeras and resentments of a few people who are afraid of the world, have complexes, and **do not know languages**.* [...] (NKJP 60); [About Chopin] *A "real" Pole until the end **speaking not the best French** [...],* (NKJP 65); *The message that Kaczyński is a true Pole, was reinforced by the myth of the Warsaw Uprising and statements: I do not go abroad, I do not talk to Germans, **I do not know foreign languages**.* (NKJP 56);
- propensity to:
- \*drunkenness: [...] *a true Pole – **drunk** and anxious about the homeland.* (NKJP 22); *Does the name Piotr Cyrwus mean anything to you? [...] Suffice to say – Rysiek from "Klan", and every true Pole knows who he means. [...] However, the biggest drawback to his role as Rysiek from "Klan" is the **fact that almost everyone wants to have a drink with him**.* (NKJP 59); *He has good blood. Bright hair. No suspicion on my part. Only he **does***

---

<sup>24</sup> This allegation is increasingly overcome by contemporary opinions: The pharmacist ponders for a while, asks in **fluent English** if this is for adults. He instructs how to take the medicine and writes all this on a Polish-language leaflet – in English. One euro for a true Pole (NKJP 66); "One can certainly learn from Poles the motivation to learn foreign languages". [...] Moreover, as indicated by the ranking "English Proficiency Index 2013", **the Poles are among the ten best English-speaking nations in the world.**" – points out Anna Białous-Griffiths, a psychologist and personal development coach in the UK. (net. 2), which, however, by this type of emphasis, confirms that the trait is considered frequent/constant for a true Pole.



**not drink like a true Pole** [...] (NKJP 46); [...] *everyone is obliged to **get drunk from time to time, otherwise he is not a true Pole.*** (NKJP 64); **Strong head for drinking** :P (net. 4); *And finally, a special candidate: he does strange business, goes bankrupt and comes out on top, **drinks,** swindles [...] – in a word, a "true" Pole.* (NKJP 2);

\*criticism: [...] *there is **nothing that a true Pole cannot complain about.*** Such a manifestation of our **distrust** of everything. (NKJP 61);

\*complaining: *A true Pole **likes to complain**:-)). Although there is often no reason for it:-))* (net. 3); [...] *our vices, such as: xenophobia, combining, **complaining,** excessive directness, even rudeness. On top of that there is our eternal pessimism and criticism of others* (net. 2);<sup>25</sup> [...] **complaining** is a way to vent emotions, to tighten ties (net.8);

\*aggression: *I won't respect someone who hurts me because **I've already been ripped off once** by one who called himself "**a true Pole**": and added "that I wouldn't mess with skins".* (NKJP 63a); [...] **he will barge into her house wearing a balaclava?** only bald "true" Poles are capable of such things (NKJP 63b);

\*philistinism: *One mustn't flatter **a babbitt,**<sup>26</sup> who considers himself/herself a true Pole.* (NKJP 67);

\*negligence: *The face of a true Pole always shows a pleasant, cheerful smile. It expresses the **peace of** mind that comes from a sense of **well unfulfilled duty**...* (NKJP 68);

\*intolerance: **With time, a person** notices that the world is not black and white. He/she abandons youthful fanaticism and **learns to tolerate others.** Unfortunately, not everyone gets over it and we have the dubious pleasure of sometimes hearing about Pajak, Bubel or other true Poles. (NKJP 63); **Intolerance** was accompanied, as I said, by chauvinism. [...] (NKJP 57); *And seriously, it may be a stereotype, but I associate a Pole with a person who is [...] a bit **intolerant,** it is difficult for him/her to tolerate /*

<sup>25</sup> In this quotation, the author indicates many other characteristics, so it is only conventionally placed in this group.

<sup>26</sup> See *a babbitt* in USJP: c) contemptuously a narrow-minded person, backward, dark, limited; obscurantist.

accept "otherness", vindictive :) (net. 4); I also have bad associations with "a true Pole" and, in my opinion, it is not a nice portrait of THAT Pole. And it is a complete paradox that **a true Pole claims to be tolerant, but it has nothing to do with reality.** (net. 18); [CONTEXT: "[...] And I thank God for the fact that this rainbow in the sky cannot be burned, destroyed or used to stigmatize and humiliate others," **Stanisław Soyka** wrote on Facebook on August 12, posing with a rainbow flag. [...] Three days later, Soyka was one of the participants of the show "**1920. Wdzięczni Bohaterom**" (Indebted to Heroes), during which he performed "Tango Warszawo" (Tango Warsaw). However, the artist's participation in the TVP event did not please many **right-wing Twitter users:**] What do I see **rainbow Soyka reached out for money to TVP, recently he spit on the intolerant Polish government, but hypocrisy, money from public TV does not stink.** (net. 20a); The worst thing is that first **they spit on Poland and the Poles, and then they participate in celebrations important for the country** and still get paid for it. (net. 20b); When Soyka came out yesterday, I switched the TV channel. **His and Wyszconi's participation in this show is, in my opinion, an insult to my ancestors and other Poles fighting in this war** (to say it mildly). (net. 20c);

\*envy: A true Pole is an individual who **has envy written in his genes and passes it on from generation to generation.** It is not since time immemorial that we have a proverb about a dog in the manger. (net. 3);

\*egoism: [...] **the primitive egoism** of the modern Poles – Property is for the right wing a sanctity bordering on idolatry. The short phrase "it's mine, so I won't give it away!" defines the attitude of every true Pole to such social values as solidarity, for example. (net. 15);

\*others: **He/she hates** everyone who has a better life and does not believe in God. This is such a Polish trait. [...] **Battle-worn, eternally unhappy, grouchy.** (net. 4); For my part, I would add **Catholic hypocrisy, envy, thievery and cunning,** unfortunately [...] (net. 3); **the genes of a thief** (because in the past it was a patriot's duty to steal from the invader), **fraud and a ca-**

**reer at any price** (fighting for power, which ensured a prosperous life), rather than personal culture and honesty (net. 9); And in God-fearing everyday practice it means something else: to **exult in honour whenever someone brings errors to our attention**, whenever they expect or demand from us what is inconvenient for us. [...] And the ordinary "true Poles" have a similar sense of honour. They feel no dishonour when they **litter** their native forest, when they **burn trash** and polysterene in their chimneys, when they **do not clean up dog poop** in front of their own gate. (net. 14);

2.9. Characteristics of a Pole/Polish people that are nowadays most often perceived (as positive) by other nations, e.g., **fighting spirit, sense of independence, creativity**; [...] We usually **look for effective, inexpensive and at the same time innovative solutions**. In Great Britain, over 14 thousand Polish companies are established every year. Polish IT specialists, for instance, are among the best in the world. [...] Paweł Lajszczak of Financial Brokers said: "In general, the Poles are **very determined in specific tasks** that are given to them, they perform them meticulously and ingeniously". [...] Not only are we **eager to learn languages**, but also **any theoretical and practical knowledge**. [...] They usually do not specialise in one field. They are able to solve problems from different areas independently. Slogan: a Pole can. [...] A Pole is not afraid of any work – such a belief about our nation prevails in almost every country in the world. [net. 2].

Interestingly, among the above-mentioned characteristics (from 2.9.), there is no reference to nationality, origin (territorial and social), and religion. It proves that for other nations, they do not matter too much, and what matters is the potential (pragmatic, intellectual and social) inherent in a person.

### 3. Conclusion

From the review of about 100 texts, a polarised image emerges, which on the one hand shows that *a true Pole* is:

- a Catholic (defender of the Church and Christian values, cooperating with the hierarchy of the Church, granting great trust to the Catholic media; Lech Wałęsa, Tadeusz Rydzyk, Edward Frankowski, St. John Paul II, Henryk Jankowski, for example, were recognised as models of a Catholic understood in such a way and as authorities);
- feeling strong ties with his/her nation (a nationalist);
- a patriot (ready to sacrifice for the homeland, proud of the historical role of Poland, attributing special merits to the Poles in saving the world);
- accepting the Polish language as native;
- valuing Polish culture, cultivating native customs;
- considering only an indigenous inhabitant of Poland as a Pole (territorial criterion) or one who has had Polish origins for many generations, mainly of nobility (social criterion);
- hospitable;
- chivalrous towards women;

but also:

- an opponent of evolutionism (due to his/her religious beliefs and the idea of creationism);
- a nationalist (as an extreme of a nationalist);
- convinced of the existence of enemies of Poland;
- an opponent of socialism/communism, Nazism, liberalism;
- a person with prejudice against the representatives of other nations (called Strangers, and identifies the alienness even only by name), attributing to them bad intentions, various types of actions (intrigues, conspiracies) to the detriment of Poland and/or the Poles, especially the Jews, but also the Germans, the Russians, immigrants, people of other beliefs, religions and orientations (Others), which gives him/her grounds to divide and/or antagonise the Poles into "us" – "them";
- looking for external (coming from abroad) cultural and political threats;

- with a predilection for coarse jokes;
- behaving loudly, in an inelegant and uncultured manner; convinced of his/her own right;
- with complexes (especially when compared to other nations – representatives of the West);
- without knowledge of foreign languages;
- prone to drunkenness, criticism, complaining, aggression (especially in the defence of his/her rights and values), philistinism, negligence, intolerance, envy, egoism, jealousy, hypocrisy, feeling offended, etc.

That set of mostly negative characteristics should be complemented by elements of the contemporary hetero-stereotype (of 2018): independent, creative, inquisitive, self-reliant, hard-working (see 2.9).

The characteristics indicated in Jakub Żulczyk's article correlate with the above-mentioned juxtaposition:

The first view holds that a true Pole is a **strong, well-built, brave** grandson of insurgents. His heart is a great vessel, filled to the brim **with pride, honour, nobility, and love for the homeland**. A true **Pole buys only Polish products and without hesitation would give his life in a war with the Russians**, and for the sake of the cause he could even provoke such a war himself. By the side of a True Pole there is a True Polish Woman, ready to give birth to another True Pole at any moment, stroking his tired head and reading "**Pan Wołodyjowski**" **to sleep** after a day-long battle with the Russians, the Third Republic, the Smolensk liars, and all the rest of more or less hidden **enemies of Poland**.

The second view of a true Pole is just the opposite. According to this diagnosis, a true Pole is **middle-aged, has a big belly, a sweaty shirt, a moustache, hates everything and especially the Jews**, spends his afternoons greasing himself with **pork knuckles** while **watching 'Holiday Diaries'**, **beating children** with a belt, and **spitting** at the cathode ray tube when Donald Tusk appears on the screen. It should be added that a True Pole **steals cars, listens to disco polo** even when asleep, and **a priest** is the most important figure in his life. (net. 10)

Interestingly, some features from the bundle abstracted from the selected texts are also found in the description of the stereotype of the NATION (Żywicka 2015: 133-146). Some similarities emerge from the analysis of the ASA survey presented by the author:

- ideological/worldview – both concepts under study occupy important places in Polish culture, stemming from a sense of community;
- conceptual and cognitive one: both concepts show a predilection for (re)interpretation, or rather susceptibility to it, which was noticed by Jadwiga Puzynina, who wrote about *a nation* as an expression "particularly dependent on the political and social views of the language users, and at the same time always conceptually vague" (1997: 383).

Both notions can be considered from **different perspectives**, e.g., cultural (including religious), social (state-citizen), ideological, national (based on the so-called ethnic purity), which imply the extraction of alternative *differentia specifica* related to, among others, origin, territory, language, language, and the language of the nation. They imply the extraction of alternative *differentia specifica* related to, e.g. origin, territory, language, customs, perception of history/national self-knowledge, and sovereignty [cf. Puzynina 1998: 263] and which are not subject to multi-generational petrification, but, on the contrary, their configurations or modifications are influenced by **subjective and/or external** causal factors (e.g., migration, greater acceptance of bivalence) (cf. Bednarczuk 2009: 85).

In 1990, young people identified a "true" nation above all with its **language** and **common history**. Next, the respondents mentioned: cultural achievements of the nation, cultivation of traditions and customs, sense of patriotism, national consciousness (national bonds); they also exposed social features such as community (language, culture, goals), unity, solidarity, sovereignty (cf. Żywicka 2015: 135-137).

In 2000, the sense of **community**, which is created by society and having one's **own history**, was considered to be the most crucial in the picture of a "true" nation; ideological features, e.g., patriotism, a sense of national identity, and attachment to symbols, were more frequently emphasised, the essence of a "true" nation was associated with religion, cooperation, caring for the well-being of others, for one's own language and traditions, unity, solidarity, adding the territorial factor – areas inhabited by a given group of people (Żywicka 2015: 137-138).

In 2010, the dominant features focused around **the sense of unity and patriotism**; the value of national symbols, the important role of language, cultural heritage, and the need to cultivate traditions, customs were indicated; the impact of history on national awareness was emphasised; cooperation, solidarity, harmony, mutual help, and the influence of commonly held values and religions were appreciated (Żywicka 2015: 138-140).

The linguistic picture of a true Pole reconstructed in this way becomes the basis for further interpretations. It seems that each (new) facet enables another re-interpretation, which, however, requires additional research that will be presented in another study (this volume).

## References

- Bańko, Mirosław (ed.) (2000). *Inny słownik języka polskiego* (ISJP) Vols. 1-2, Warszawa: PWN.
- Bartmiński, Jerzy (ed.) (2006). *Język – wartości – polityka. Zmiany rozumienia nazw wartości w okresie transformacji ustrojowej w Polsce. Raport z badań empirycznych*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.
- Bartmiński, Jerzy, Jolanta Panasiuk (1993). "Stereotypy językowe". In: Jerzy Bartmiński (ed.). *Encyklopedia kultury polskiej XX wieku*. Vol. 2. *Współczesny język polski*. Wrocław: Wiedza o Kulturze, 363-388.
- Bednarczuk, Monika. (2009). "Rozumienie narodu i jego profilowanie we współczesnym języku polskim". *Etnolingwistyka* 21: 85-101.
- Dubisz, Stanisław (ed.). (2005). *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* (USJP). Warszawa: PWN.

- Dunaj, Bogusław (ed.). (2001). *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego* (SWJP). Vols. 1-2. Warszawa: Reader's Digest.
- Markowski, Andrzej (ed.). (1995). *Praktyczny słownik poprawnej polszczyzny nie tylko dla młodzieży* (PSPP). Warszawa: PWN.
- Mazurkiewicz, Małgorzata (1991). "Stan prac nad słownikiem aksjologicznym". In: Jadwiga Puzynina, Jerzy Bartmiński (eds.). *Język a Kultura*. Vol 2. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 257-264.
- Opaliński, Edward (1995). *Kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej w latach 1587–1652: system parlamentarny a społeczeństwo obywatelskie*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe.
- Puzynina, Jadwiga (1997). *Słowo – wartość – kultura*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Puzynina, Jadwiga (1998). "Struktura semantyczna narodu a profilowanie" In: Jerzy Bartmiński, Ryszard Tokarski (eds.). *Profilowanie w języku i w tekście*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 259–276.
- Rulka, Janusz (2001). *Wychowanie obywatelskie*. Warszawa: PWN.
- Sobol, Elżbieta (ed.) (2002). *Nowy słownik języka polskiego* (NSJP). Warszawa: PWN.
- Sobol, Elżbieta (ed.) (2001). *Popularny słownik języka polskiego* (PSJP). Warszawa: PWN.
- Szymczak, Mieczysław (ed.) (1999). *Słownik języka polskiego*. Vols. 1-3. Warszawa: PWN.
- Żywicka, Beata. (2015). "Obraz NARODU w świadomości językowej młodego pokolenia Polaków po roku 1989". *SŁOWO. Studia językoznawcze* 6: 133-146.

## Netography

- Preambuła – Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Konst.] / Preamble – Constitution of the Republic of Poland [Const.] (arslege.pl) [accessed: 10.06.2021]
- net. 1<sup>27</sup> = <https://www.tygodnikprzeglad.pl/prawdziwy-polak-proba-definicji/> Witold Starzewski, *Prawdziwy Polak (próbą definicji) / A true Pole (attempt at definition)*, 11.11. 2019 [accessed: 20.07.2020]
- net. 2 = <http://www.damosfera.com/7-cech-narodowych-Polakow-czyli-jacy-jestesmy....html>, *7 cech narodowych Polaków / 7 national characteristics of the Poles*, 12.12.2018 [accessed: 20.07.2020]

---

<sup>27</sup> It corresponds to designations in the text, e.g., as net.1, net. 2, etc.



- net. 3 = <https://forum.interia.pl/kto-to-jest-prawdziwy-polak--tematy,dId,2645205> *Kto to jest prawdziwy Polak?* – Interia – forum dyskusyjne / *Who is a true Pole?* – Interia – the discussion forum, 20.05.2015 [accessed: 9.09.2020]
- net. 4 = [https://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/002,003/2,12033928,Jak\\_ie\\_cechy\\_ma\\_wedlug\\_was\\_prawdziwy\\_Polak.html](https://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/002,003/2,12033928,Jak_ie_cechy_ma_wedlug_was_prawdziwy_Polak.html), *Jakie cechy ma prawdziwy Polak?* – wypowiedzi internautów / *What qualities does a true Pole have?* – Internet users' statements, 10.06.201 [accessed: 9.09.2020]
- net. 5 = [https://www.wsjp.pl/index.php?id\\_hasla=722&ind=0&w\\_szukaj=Polak+](https://www.wsjp.pl/index.php?id_hasla=722&ind=0&w_szukaj=Polak+) *Wielki słownik języka polskiego / Great Polish Language Dictionary*, P. Źmigrodzki (ed.) (WSJP) [accessed: 12.09.2020]
- net 6. = [https://sjp.pl/Polak\\_Slownik\\_jezyka\\_polskiego](https://sjp.pl/Polak_Slownik_jezyka_polskiego) (SJP) / *Polish Language Dictionary* (SJP)
- net. 7 = <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/5890/display/JPEG> *Słownik języka polskiego / Polish Language Dictionary*, J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiecki (eds) (SW), vol. 4, Warsaw 1908, p. 539 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 8 = <https://www.polityka.pl/galerie/1714300,1,18-cech-charakterystycznych-tylko-dla-polakow.read> 18 cech charakterystycznych tylko dla Polaków / 18 features characteristic only for the Poles [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 9 = <https://mazgula.pl/aktualnosci/wybory-ujawnily-wstydliwogeny-polakow/> Adam Mazguła, *Komitet Wyborczy Wyborców / Electoral Committee*, 16.07.2020 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 10 = <https://facet.onet.pl/warto-wiedziec/po-czym-rozpoznać-prawdziwego-polaka/t7lvqn1> Jakub Żulczyk, *Po czym rozpoznać prawdziwego Polaka?* / *How to recognise a true Pole?* – Onet 25.04.2013 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 12 = <https://oko.press/jeden-narod-jeden-kosciol-jeden-kaczynski/> Piotr Pacewicz, *Jeden Naród, jeden Kościół, jeden Kaczyński / One Nation, one Church, one Kaczyński*, *Oko.press* 21.07.2020 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 13 = <https://ksiazki.wp.pl/szczucie-zydem-i-moralnosc-kalego-6145577583786113g/5> Mateusz Witkowski, *Szczucie Żydem i moralność Kalego*, portal WP.pl – nawiązanie m.in. do wydania *Złej mowy* M. Głowińskiego / *Joking with a Jew and Kali's morality*, portal WP.pl – reference, among others, to the issue of *Zła mowa / Bad speech* by M. Głowiński, 16.11.2016 [accessed: 16.09.2020]

- net. 14 = <https://trybuna.info/opinie/bog-honor-dziczynna/> [no author], *Bóg, honor, dziczynna / God, honour, game*, Dziennik Trybuna 21.06.2017 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 15 = <https://trybuna.info/opinie/nie-prawica-nie-lewica-tylko-indywidualizm/> [no author], *Nie prawica, nie lewica, tylko indywidualizm?* / *Not the right, not the left, but individualism?* Dziennik Trybuna 28.06.2016 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 16 = <https://www.o2.pl/artykul/prawdziwy-polak-zatakowal-kobiety-warszawskim-metrze-6035833229742721a> Jan Muller, „*Prawdziwy Polak*” zaatakował kobiety w warszawskim metrze / “*A true Pole*” attacked women in the Warsaw metro, portal o2.pl 11.09.2016 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 17 = <https://hiperrealizm.blogspot.com/2016/01/Jacek-Leociak-Przed-czym-prawdziwi-Polacy-chca-sie-bronic/> Jacek Leociak, *Przed czym „prawdziwi Polacy” chcą się bronić?* / *What do “true Poles” want to defend themselves against?* blogspot Jewish.pl, 31.01.2016 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 18 = <http://joanna-kaffe-latte.blogspot.com/2015/10/prawdziwi-polacy.html> blogspot Joanna – *Świat według mnie* / *Joanna – The world according to me*, 17.10.2015 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 19 = <https://www.mojanorwegia.pl/video/8437/prawdziwy-polak-na-marszu-niepodleglosci.html> Moja Norwegia. Portal Polaków w Norwegii, *Prawdziwy Polak na Marszu Niepodległości* / *My Norway. Portal of the Poles in Norway, A true Pole at the Independence March*, 18.11.2015 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- net. 20 = [https://muzyka.interia.pl/wiadomosci/news-skandaliczne-wpisy-pod-adresem-stanislawasoyki-poszlo-o-tec,nId,4673512#utm\\_source=paste&utm\\_medium=paste&utm\\_campaign=chrome](https://muzyka.interia.pl/wiadomosci/news-skandaliczne-wpisy-pod-adresem-stanislawasoyki-poszlo-o-tec,nId,4673512#utm_source=paste&utm_medium=paste&utm_campaign=chrome) [no author], *Skandaliczne wpisy pod adresem Stanisława Soyki. Poszło o tęczałą flagę* / *Scandalous posts against Stanisław Soyka. It was about the rainbow flag*, Interia.pl 16.08.2020 [accessed: 16.09.2020]
- NKJP – *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego / National Corpus of The Polish Language* [http://nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/ParagraphMetadata?pid=32dc5f02515f8f99577b6dbf90c7be3c&match\\_start=423&match\\_end=438&wynik=36#the\\_match](http://nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/ParagraphMetadata?pid=32dc5f02515f8f99577b6dbf90c7be3c&match_start=423&match_end=438&wynik=36#the_match) [accessed: 10.07.2020]
- NKJP 1 = *Kultura* no. 5/500 1989
- NKJP 2 = *Gazeta Wyborcza* 2. 11.1995
- NKJP 3 = *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 26.08.1995
- NKJP 4 = Jerzy Sławomir Mac, *Wprost* no. 46, 1997
- NKJP 5 = Onet.pl – *Rozmowy / Talks* 22.09.2003

- NKJP 6 = Gazeta Wyborcza 26.06.1993
- NKJP 7 = Polityka no. 2702, 2009
- NKJP 8 = Polityka no. 2290, 2001
- NKJP 9 = Marek Harny, Zdrajca, 2007
- NKJP 10 = Usenet – pl.soc.religia, 1997
- NKJP 11 = Adam Szostkiewicz, *Jezus by się dziwił, co wyprawiamy / Jesus would be surprised what we are doing*, Polityka no. 2496, 2005
- NKJP 12 = Polityka no. 2608, 2007
- NKJP 13 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 26.09.1997
- NKJP 14 = Słowo Polskie Gazeta Wrocławska, 21. 10. 2004
- NKJP 15 = Polityka no. 2485, 2005
- NKJP 16 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 10.07.1995
- NKJP 17 = Elwira Kucharska (2008). *Siła przyciągania, czyli polskie losy / The power of attraction, or Polish fates*, Lublin: Wyd. Norbertinum
- NKJP 18 = Waldemar Kuczyński (1981). *Burza nad Wisłą: dziennik 1980-1981 / Storm over the Vistula river: diary 1980-1981*; Warsaw: Wyd. ISKRY
- NKJP 19 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 9.01.1999
- NKJP 20 = Polityka no. 2228, 2000
- NKJP 21 = Dziennik Polski, 25.11.2000
- NKJP 22 = Bronisław Świdorski (2007). *Asystent śmierci. Powieść o karykaturach Mahometa, o miłości i nienawiści w Europie / Death assistant. A novel about caricatures of Muhammad, about love and hate in Europe*, Warsaw: Wyd. W.A.B.
- NKJP 23 = Dziennik Zachodni, 24.04.2010
- NKJP 24 = Stanisław Berenda-Czajkowski (2001). *Dni grozy i łez / Days of horror and tears*, Warsaw: Wyd. Czytelnik
- NKJP 25 = Wieści Podwarszawskie no 51, 2008
- NKJP 26 = Torańska Teresa (1985). *Oni / They*, Warsaw: Wyd. Świat Książki
- NKJP 27 = Mariusz Wilk (2007). *Wilczy notes / Wolf's notebook*, Warsaw: Wyd. Noir sur Blanc
- NKJP 28 = www.forumowisko.pl, 17.04.2008
- NKJP 29 = Dagmara Póltorak (2010). *Tak trudno być mną! / It's so hard to be me!*, Warsaw: Wyd. W.A.B.
- NKJP 30 = Józef Łoziński (2006). *Holdng i reszta albo: Jak zostać bogatym w biednym państwie / Holding and the rest or: How to become rich in a poor country*, Warsaw: Jacek Santorski & Co Agencja Wydawnicza

- NKJP 31 = Wieści Podwarszawskie no. 12, 2003
- NKJP 32 = Polityka no. 2692, 2009
- NKJP 33 = www.forumowisko.pl, 9.03.2006
- NKJP 34 = Polityka no. 2627, 2007
- NKJP 35 = Sprawozdanie stenograficzne z obrad Sejmu RP z dnia 20.04.1995 / Shorthand report on the session of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland on 20 April 1995
- NKJP 36 = Tomasz Jastrun (2003). *Gra wstępna rozpisana na 62 felietony / Foreplay written for 62 columns*, Warsaw: Jacek Santorski & Co Agencja Wydawnicza
- NKJP 37 = Gazeta Ubezpieczeniowa, 2003
- NKJP 38 = Ryszard Sługocki (2008). *Na przekór i na bakier / In spite of and at odds*, Warsaw: Wyd. Branta
- NKJP 39 = Marek Kochan (2007). *Plac zabaw / Playground*, Warsaw: Wyd. W.A.B.
- NKJP 40 = Wojciech Wencel, Ozon no. 23, 2005
- NKJP 41 = Wieści Podwarszawskie no. 49, 2004
- NKJP 42 = Polityka no. 2237, 2000
- NKJP 43 = Polityka no. 2484, 2004
- NKJP 44 = Dziennik Polski, 2005
- NKJP 45 = Andrzej Zaniewski (1997). *Król Tanga / King of Tango*, Warsaw: Wyd. TRIO
- NKJP 46 = Mirosław Nahacz (2005), *Bocian i Lola / Stork and Lola*, Sękowa: Wyd. CZARNE
- NKJP 47 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 4.02.1993
- NKJP 48 = Polityka no. 2254, 2000
- NKJP 49 = Adam Michnik, Józef Tischner, Jacek Żakowski (1995). *Między Panem a Plebanem / Between the Lord and the Priest*, Kraków: Wyd. Znak
- NKJP 50 = Zygmunt Kubiak (1989). *Przestrzeń dzieł wiecznych: eseje o tradycji kultury śródziemnomorskiej / The space of eternal works: essays on the tradition of Mediterranean culture*, Kraków: Wyd. Znak
- NKJP 51 = Jerzy Surdykowski (1989). *Duch Rzeczypospolitej / The spirit of the Republic*, Warsaw: PWN
- NKJP 52 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 30.08.1993
- NKJP 53 = Gazeta Poznańska, 2001
- NKJP 54 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 8.06.1993
- NKJP 55 = Gazeta Ubezpieczeniowa, 2007
- NKJP 56 = Polityka no. 2703, 2009
- NKJP 57 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 14.12.1992

- NKJP 58 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 7.02.1997  
NKJP 59 = Polityka no. 2705, 2009  
NKJP 60 = Słowo Polskie Gazeta Wroclawska, 17.09.2005  
NKJP 61 = Gazeta Pomorska, 2010  
NKJP 62 = Akant, 2008  
NKJP 63 = www.forumowisko.pl 21.02.2006  
NKJP 64 = Jacek Kwosek, Agnieszka Budzyńska-Daca (2009). *Erystyka czyli o sztuce prowadzenia sporów / Eristic, or the art of dispute resolution*, Warsaw: PWN  
NKJP 65 = Polityka no. 2339, 2002  
NKJP 66 = Polityka no. 2514, 2005  
NKJP 67 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 25.04.1992  
NKJP 68 = Polityka no. 2685, 2008  
NKJP 69 = Gazeta Wroclawska, 31.12.2002  
NKJP 70 = Krzysztof Burnetko, Witold Bereś (2008). *Marek Edelman. Życie. Po prostu / Marek Edelman. Life. Simply*, Warsaw: Świat Książki  
NKJP 71 = Polityka no. 2651, 2008  
NKJP 72 = Gazeta Wyborcza, 6.02.1999

Iwona Benenowska  
ORCID iD: 0000-0003-1163-2778  
Uniwersytet Kazimierza Wielkiego  
w Bydgoszczy  
Wydział Językoznawstwa  
ul. Jagiellońska 11, p.5  
85-067 Bydgoszcz  
Poland  
ibene@ukw.edu.pl