SUMMARY

In my book I attempt to reconstruct the idea of Europe and European integration present in Poles' minds. The reconstruction is based on semantic analyses of linguistic data in the context of Polish and European cultures.

Until 2004, the political discourse on Poland's foreign policy was focused on the issue of Poland joining the European Union. It was the priority of subsequent Polish governments, regardless of their political programs. The accession of Poland to the EU has become the reason for forming in public opinions on Europe in general – its history, place, and relations with other continents or civilizations, as well as the place of Poland in the European civilization and in the European Union.

The public debate on the accession of Poland to the EU was followed by two events: the first one was the nationwide poll on 9 June 2003 when Polish citizens were asked: ''Do you Sir/Madam approve Polish Republic's accession to the European Union?'', (there were only two possible answers: ''yes'' or ''no''); the second event was the actual accession on 1 May 2004. The need to achieve a unanimous position on the issue divided the country into supporters and avid opponents of the idea of Poland as a member of the institutional framework of the EU. This is why I base the analysis of the contemporary discourse in chapter 3 on the data that refers to both of the opposing camps.

Over the last several years issues that can be generally called ''European'' have been gaining more and more attention of the media and the society. This is reflected in the increasing occurrence of the formant **europ**- in articles published by the leading opinion-forming dailies: *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*, and brought about the need to add new words to our vocabulary which would allow us to name, explain and judge the often elaborate issues of Poland joining the EU, or more generally – the issues of Europe's unification.

In my book, I use the methodology of the linguistic picture of the world (LPW), based on the reconstruction of a particular element of reality using language analysed and interpreted in the context of the culture where it was created and where it functions. According to Jerzy Bartmiński and Ryszard Tokarski, LPW is ''a set of judgements, more or less established within the language and expressed or implied by the meanings of words that describe objects outside the linguistic world'' (Bartmiński, Tokarski 1986; 72).

Public opinion polls, popular and often used by the media and politicians, differ from the research on LPW in that they are temporary in nature as they reflect social moods only at the time when they are carried out, so. Linguistic-cultural research, on the other hand, provides us with a more solid representation of the Polish society's political moods. The importance

of linguistic research for analyzing social phenomena was stressed by Edward Sapir, who said: ''for a researcher of the fundamental problems of human culture the knowledge of linguistic mechanisms will become more and more important as the analysis of social phenomena progresses. From this point of view – he says – we can regard language as a symbolic guide to culture.''

In the first chapter of my book, I organize the lexical material taken from dictionaries and encyclopaedias in order to form a set of features presenting a fairly broad image of Europe present in the linguistic-cultural consciousness of Polish society.

By reconstructing the picture of Europe in the consciousness of the Polish society I try to explore the myth of Europe as well as the etymology of the very name. As a result, a number of features are singled out pertaining to the myth that account for the name Europe; these are: Europe is the most important and the most valuable of all civilizations; it is chosen by god Zeus and later on by the Christian God and rules above all others. In the next stage, I trace the changes in the meaning of the word ''Europe'' in Polish language starting from 16 century, when the earliest existing records of the word come from. I use 19 meanings of this lexeme found in dictionaries and encyclopaedias, and on their basis I single out their constant elements: the recognition of Europe as a continent or a part of the world, its location, size and relation with Asia. The majority of these definitions, especially those published before 1939, is Europocentric in character. Thus, I also use the encyclopaedic definitions to find out why Europe was – and perhaps still is – viewed in this way. The third stage is the analysis of meanings found in **europ*** formations which indirectly suggest the meanings of the underlying term – *Europe.* I pay closer attention to such formations as *Europejczyk* (*European – noun*), *europejski* (*European – adjective*), *europocentryzm* (*Eurocentrism*), **euro**- compounds and semantic derivatives, whose very existence in Polish language points to the fact that the name ''Europe'' is deeply rooted in the consciousness of Poles. A lot of useful information comes form the analysis of such collocations as: *a true European, a European in every way*, or *in the European way.* On the basis of the etymological data from the word *Europe* and the myth of Europe, but first and foremost – the linguistic data, I have singled out and organized the features forming the general picture of Europe according to 3 profiles: geographical, civilizational and institutional. The first profile stresses the greatness – or rather the smallness – of the European continent and its geographical connection to Asia. The second profile stressed the civilizational domination over other civilizations, while the third one – the integration tendencies of the present Europe, its free market economy and the resulting prosperity.

ASA '90 and ASA 2000 (Bartmiński, red. 2006) – surveys carried out in the 1990's among students in Lublin – turned out to be an important source of information on the Poles' attitude towards Europe. What do the results of these surveys add to the picture of Europe? Europe is associated mainly with its culture (20% of answers in both surveys) and politics. In the first survey, however, Europe's political division was stressed, while in the second – its aspiration to unification and the international cooperation.

So, how does an average Polish speaker, a representative of Polish culture, picture Europe? I've gathered over 100 features of the term ''Europe'' which account for its general picture;

features which I find important for the linguistic-cultural aspect of Europe. This set of features is a result of an analysis of the system linguistic as well as survey data. I've grouped the features according to the three, already mentioned profiles: geographical, civilizational and institutional. I assume that none of them is marked ideologically; rather they demonstrate various points of view which depend on the context of the communication and can be represented by the same speaker. The features which account for these profiles constitute collectively a part of a common cultural base – they state what Europe is.

In the second chapter – ''Integration – Europe in selected texts'' – I deal with the issue of two of Europe's profiles in the context of integration which have been present in the Polish social life over the centuries: Europe as a stronghold and Europe as a community. I've singled out these two profiles on the basis of analysing textual materials which prove the existence of two basic points of view on this problem: international processes have been revolving around viewing Europe as a stronghold and as a community. When viewing Europe as a stronghold is a form of a judgement of reality, viewing it as a community has been only postulative in nature.

In the third chapter, I set out to find out how the historically and culturally shaped profiles of Europe are realised by means of the discourse about European integration. Europe – or the European Union, to be more precise – is showed as a stronghold by the opponents of European integration in their humorous texts, which I analyse as well as quote relevant anti-EU articles. The analysis reveals the division and conflicts of interests present in the life of Polish society, viewed by the opponents of the integration as real threats: atheization of life, moral relativism, bureaucracy, propaganda, economic decline and eventually loss on independence. The basis for all anti-EU jokes is the opposition POLISH NORMS vs. EUROPEAN NORMS: the Polish norms are shaped by our centuries-old traditions and social norms that have been verified by generations. The EU norms, on the other hand, are an artificial product of bureaucracy, never put to the test of time; they are something alien destructive that is imposed on us by force. In the political struggle, mainly before the nationwide referendum on the accession of Poland to the EU, such jokes were among the tools used by the opposition to win support.

A fragment of the book titled ''European integration in the eyes of its supporters'' contains an analysis of the metaphorical models most commonly found in the articles published by the supporters of the EU in the weekly ''Polityka''. Using the cognitive theory of metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson (1998), I wanted to take a closer look at how the linguistic picture of the EU integration is created and I concluded that this is, first and foremost, a rivalry between the countries which apply for the membership and those which are already among the members, but most of all – between Poland and the EU (metaphors using military expressions, expressions connected with sport, etc.). There are also metaphors about creating a group of people with common relations – that of a family, house, or an elite social club. European integration is also regarded as a business opportunity where the sides of the negotiations are the EU members and the applicants and the relation between them is that of barter. Europe is also represented here as a stronghold, but one which instead of fear, raises desire: you just have to be a member, whatever it takes. It is not really important that Poles are neither a partner nor even somebody particularly welcome. The only thing that matters is the very presence within the walls of that stronghold, which will provide wealth and safety.

I decided to devote a separate section of the book to the metaphor of home, present in the Polish debate on the EU, as it very often occurs in articles on political subjects, also by the words of Father Józef Tischner, who said: ''We often hear that Europe is supposed to be a *common home for all Europeans.* The metaphor of ''a common home'' is a metaphor of freedom. It therefore means that the new European freedom is supposed to be similar to the one we have in our own home, where we feel like ''ourselves in our own place'' (1998; 23). By analysing some of the statements by the Catholic Church hierarchs, following the teachings of Jan Paul II, and by the journalists from ''Gazeta Wyborcza'' and ''Polityka'' who represent the secular discourse, I tried to answer the following question: ''do Poles feel in the EU like ''themselves in their own place?''. Having analysed the metaphors, I concluded that it is the representatives of the Catholic Church who feel like hosts in the EU and they reckon that this is Poles' rightful place. On the other hand, left-wing secular journalists think that we are mere guests. Only by analysing the metaphor of the EU as a home, can we discern in the social discourse the presence of another profile of the EU – ''Europe as a community''. Such a Europe can ensure equal status for all its members, which means that Poland will also be regarded an equal. This profile can be found in the EU discourse among the Polish clergymen and in comments inspired by the teachings of the Catholic Church.

Depending on the intentions of its author, a metaphor can have multiple interpretations. The various EU profiles are present in comments by both secular and clerical authors. The clergymen regard Europe as a cultural formation, to which Poland has belonged from the 10th century. For the left-wing laymen, on the other hand, Europe is an institution – the European Union – whose member we wanted to become. Just like in historical texts, the first profile is a diagnosis of the reality while the second one is postulative in character. The lack of a common stance on the place of Poland in Europe makes the dialogue between Poles about the future of Europe difficult, maybe even impossible.

On the basis of the profiles of Europe defined in the book in the context of European integration, I tried to take a closer look at the Polish-European relations. The humorous texts and the corresponding anti-EU journalism present Europe as a stronghold: it strives to broaden its territory at Poland's expense. It is regarded as so dangerous for Poland as it used to be for the colonized countries; it is as expansive as Prussia or the Nazi Germany used to be on the territory of Poland. That kind of a stronghold raises fear in Poles and the only defensive reaction we are capable of is either total ignorance – a sign of isolation – or attack. However, fear has many faces, and is also present in the hearts of those within the stronghold – most of the EU was against the accession of new countries, like Poland. This opposition was caused by the fear that the EU labour market would be flooded with cheap workforce from the new member countries, which would weaken the Eastern Europeans' sense of security and would lower their status of living. Thus, Poland was regarded as a threat, which shows that fear was present on both sides. We can present this situation using the metaphor of ''house'' created by Father Józef Tischner in his book titled ''Filozofia dramatu'' (''The Philosophy of Drama''): ''Man builds the walls of a house. The walls become thicker and thicker in direct proportion to the fear gathering within them. The house turns into a castle, a stronghold. It is no longer just a place of living. Now its role is to dominate over the surrounding area and everyone who lives there. Now its

purpose is to raise fear. It is no longer a house – it is a warning and a threat at the same time'' (Tischner 1990; 198). Europe as a stronghold protecting the safety and well-being of its dwellers raises fear as well as is itself afraid. Its main constituent is fear. The opponents of Poland's entering such a stronghold try to create some sort of an alternative; they try to lock themselves in their own stronghold in order to start, in due time, unifying Europe – and maybe even the world – on their own. This is the message in the comments of many politicians and journalists who oppose the integration of the EU which, by denying Europe's Christian identity, is not its rightful heir, although such is its claim.

It is interesting that the EU, just like Europe from the end of XVIII and throughout XIX century – the time when Poland lost its independence – is also the object of admiration (mainly by the Left) and criticism (mainly by the Right). It seems that it is a continuation of certain traditions, heritage of the common relations with Western Europe. What is more, the Left regards the EU as the heir of Europe-the stronghold, while the Right denies it by pointing to all EU's vices, and to the fact that the EU is not yet ready to be the heir of the Europe that, among other things, saw Poland as Europe's bulwark and a bridge between the East and the West.

Depending on the point of view, Poland is regarded in the social discourse either as Europe's bulwark – a part of the EU, the stronghold, protecting the safety and well-being of its dwellers; or as the centre of Europe, its heart, a bridge between two Christian and European traditions: the East and the West. This opposition stems from the multiple interpretations of the very term ''Europe'': for some of us, it is tantamount to the ''European Union'' which Poland joined a few years ago, for others – it stands for the civilization shaped in the Middle Ages, whose part Poland has been for over a millennium. This difference is important for the role of Poland in Europe and for the power of its vote in debates on the future of the Old Continent.

Thus, we have two profiles of Europe represented by two socially based points of view. They are the following:

1. Europe is viewed as a stronghold by a realist (pragmatist) – a person whose judgements are based on reality, who takes facts into consideration, represents a commonsensical approach to the process of European integration in the institutional framework of the EU. He knows all the limitations – especially the economic ones – of this process. It is typical of EU officials (liberal discourse).

2. Europe is viewed as a community by an idealist (visionary) – a man who judges the situation as better that it really is, who strongly believes that European integration can one day engulf all the countries belonging to the European civilization – the East and the West of the continent. He knows the history of the European culture, the ideal and values he wants to realize in a common Europe. He shares the mode of thinking represented by the Catholic Church, especially that following the teachings of John Paul II (conservative discourse).

In the social discourse until 2004, the institutional Europe was regarded as a stronghold by the supporters of the EU as well as by its opponents. The former desired it as the place where you just have to be for your own benefit. For the latter it was a stronghold of fear, threatening Polish morality, economy and sovereignty.

After 2004, when Poland became a EU member, the discourse in Poland changed: now we look at the EU from the point of view of a dweller of that stronghold. However, many of us

remain still true to John Paul II's words that Europe must be regarded as a community of countries and nations which come from a common, eastern and western, Christian tradition. The ancient opposition of spirit against matter is clearly visible here: the spirit strives to unity, the matter – to division.

Translating: *Bartłomiej Czuwara*