

The Structure of Ambiguity Phenomena (Based on Cognitive Analyses of the Ways in Which Politicians Communicate)

The perception of interpersonal communication as a deliberate exchange of intentions and information governed by the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner as well as the designs of communication pragmatists¹, who would like to view this dynamic cognitive process of coding and encoding meanings in terms of fulfilling or not fulfilling the rules of communication, which are external to an individual, are very much responsible for thinking about ambiguity as a violation of the rules of good conversation.

Only the adoption of a cognitive point of view in researching and describing polysemes fundamentally changes this perspective. The perception and processing of information includes handling not only the sensory data but also memories or imagination. Because of that, the categorization is polysemic in itself, as is our thinking and, in consequence, our communication². The same specimen may either be categorized as belonging to A or to Z, depending on the influence of the previously activated categories³. Ambiguity seen from the perspective of the properties of categorization processes of the sender and the recipient (not in terms of immanent, predominantly language-specific property of the message) is no longer only a simple violation of the maxims of manner and quantity, an exception from the rules of a properly organized process of conversation, but becomes a rule of communication⁴.

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¹ Cf. A.C. Graeser, K.K. Millis, R.A. Zwaan, "Discourse comprehension", *Annual Review of Psychology* 1997, No. 48. According to the authors, fulfilling the goal of the conversation is possible only when both parties involved behave in accordance with specific, normative rules of "good communication", that is maxims and sub-maxims which govern the organization of the process of conversation.

² In this case understood as the performance of a complex cognitive task.

³ More on the subject of the influence of priming on perception and information processing e.g. in: T. Maruszewski, „Psychologia poznania”, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdansk 2001.

⁴ To emphasize the above, in this work I shall use the term COGNITIVE AMBIGUITY

The way in which politicians communicate is characterized by a particular awareness of the benefits which stem from the ambiguous nature of information handling processes. The analyses of TV interviews conducted by Peter Bull⁵ with British politicians in the years 1987–1997 explicitly show that out of all of their answers, less than half was comprised of unambiguous and direct statements. Both Margaret Thatcher and her main opponent from the Labour Party – Neil Kinnock – gave direct answers to less than 40% of questions (respectively 37% and 39%) during the election campaign in 1987. Even though during the next elections some of the participants changed, the rates of avoiding clear and concrete answers remained the same (John Major – the Prime Minister and the leader of the Conservative Party – gave direct answers to only 40% of the questions, Neil Kinnock – to 51%, whereas the leader of the Liberal Democrat party – to 63%). What is more, ambiguous answers constituted as much as 71% of all answers given by Tony Blair prior to the elections in 1997. By comparison – the analysis of the interview conducted by Martin Bashir with princess Diana demonstrated that in her case the journalist received clear answers to 78% of the questions asked, whereas Jon Snow, who interviewed Monika Lewinsky, received a concrete answer to as much as 89% of the questions⁶. What is responsible for such a strong preference for ambiguity in the way in which politicians communicate? Certainly, strategic and image-related profits resulting from ambiguous communication, especially if the political message is supposed to reach different groups of the electorate, and every recipient is intended to find something of interest.

Shifting the focus in thinking about ambiguity from the message to communication leads to specific, pragmatic consequences. If the limits of cognitive ambiguity are determined only by cognitive boundaries, both the sender and the recipient have a nearly unrestrained interpretative freedom in coding and encoding the meanings in communication. So, how is communication possible? Is its success dependent on the degree of ambiguity in any way? How is ambiguity manifested in communication?

⁵ See: P. Bull, “Slippery politicians?”, *The Psychologist* 2003, No. 16 (11).

⁶ After: W. Cwalina, „Wieloznaczność poznawcza w komunikacji”, in: „*Psychologia poznawcza w praktyce. Ekonomia, biznes, polityka*”, ed. A. Falkowski, T. Zaleśkiewicz, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 2012.

The point of view of the research, obtained results and conclusions drawn from the analysis⁷

The above-mentioned questions are answered by means of a cognitive categorial analysis of textual emanations of ambiguity, conducted in accordance with the premises of semantics of Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, as well as Ronald Langacker's grammar⁸; the analysis is performed on certain examples of communication in politics⁹. The choice of *exposé* as a potential source of categories for analysis stems directly from the programme-related nature of this type of speech, in which the aims are described, the problems (categories) are identified, and ways of their realisation or elimination (the specimen of the category) are determined¹⁰. While this article compares the concepts extracted from the *exposés* of Prime Ministers who come from two different political

⁷ The comparison of categories distinguished as part of the textual material analysis is presented in the form of a table at the end of the article.

⁸ The experiments conducted by the American psychologist Eleanor Rosch were pioneering in the field of experimental psychology; she explored the structures of categories and the nature of mental categorization processes. The results questioned the legitimacy of the classical model of cognitive category description, which assumed the existence of impassable boundaries between the terms, while perceiving every element of a category as a legitimate representative. Rosch's experiments proved that, in most cases, the human mind organizes the world on the basis of entirely different mechanisms. The majority of people participating in her experiments were inclined to consider an "apple" to be a better representative of the FRUITS category than a "nut". Likewise, a "pigeon" was perceived as more representative of the BIRD category than an "ostrich" or a "penguin". In view of the above, it was necessary to work out a description of the conceptual system which would assume a radial structure of concepts – there is a central, prominent element, a prototype of a given category, and the remaining elements are included in the scope of the concept if they are similar to the prototypical representative. It is also possible to establish the degree to which it belongs to the given set depending on its distance from the "centre". The scalarity of the conceptual system, introduced in opposition to the model based on binary oppositions, appears to be better at rendering the continuous nature of phenomena perceived in the world around us. Rosch's second important discovery concerned the basic level, which – as Maria Indyk aptly described it – "has a privileged, particular position as part of the vertical order of categorization levels". This means that DOG constitutes a category of basic level as opposed to the more general ANIMAL or more specific DACHSHUND. Relying on the concepts of prototype and basic level introduced by Rosch, American linguist George Lakoff presented a new perspective on semantic units and ways they can be studied. The rules of a previously ignored psychological aspect – rules of perception, experience, knowledge and imagination of the sender and the recipient – were included in the analysis of the meaning-making process; this meant that the assumption concerning the existence of so-called appropriate meanings had to be rejected, and the thesis pertaining to the vagueness of thinking and blending as a property of thinking responsible for the processes of categorization, both in terms of recognition and creativity, had to be accepted. Metaphor and metonymy are thus naturally ambiguous, functioning in our brains on the basis of the rule of blending, whereas the categories of our everyday thinking are metaphoric.

⁹ In connection with their tendency to prefer ambiguity.

¹⁰ Cf. Art. 154 section 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April, 1997.

camps (stenographic records of Ewa Kopacz's address on 1 October 2014¹¹ and Beata Szydło's on 18 November 2015¹² were analysed), the only aim of the author was to present as many emanations of ambiguity as possible and draw conclusions as to its nature on their basis; the legitimacy or ethical aspects of communicating through ambiguity in politics (the interpretation of these is left to sociologists, political scientists and political marketing specialists) are not considered here.

The results of the conducted analyses generally seem to lead to three conclusions:

1) The ambiguity understood as the use of polysemic categories is present in both messages, even though its intensity varies. Monosemic categories with one distinct centre and specimens concentrated around it are dominant in Kopacz's speech (11 out of 14: SUCCESS OF OUR COUNTRY, POLAND'S PROSPERITY, FOREIGN POLICY, SECURITY, PUBLIC FINANCES, HEALTHY ECONOMY, DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS, DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE, THE POTENTIAL OF THE SEA, DIGITAL REVOLUTION, CULTURE). In Szydło's address, among the categories for which the pairs of: centre and category specimen (10) were distinguished, six constitute polysemic categories (with more than one centre of the category and radial structure: CHANGE, CAPITAL, CHALLENGES, SECURITY, FAMILY, JUSTICE). In this sense, cognitive ambiguity constitutes a natural component of every communication – directly resulting from the properties of categorization processes – at a certain basic level: the structure of categories, which in themselves may be monosemic or polysemic.

2) Over the course of categorical analysis of Beata Szydło's address¹³, the presence of naturally polysemic conceptual blends was observed (3: GOOD CHANGE, ACTIVATION OF THE GREAT RESERVE, CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE); they were created as a result of blending categories whose scope was only partially defined (the scope of categories in the input space 1: CHANGE, BIG RESERVES and CHALLENGES is known, but not in the case of input space 2: GOOD, ACTIVATION and FUTURE). The degree of ambiguity rises along with the extension of the interpretative margin. Therefore, in the case of blends, we are dealing with second level ambiguity.

3) What is more, if we are dealing with a situation in which the conceptual blends are created as a result of projecting the scope of polysemic categories onto a generic space (CHANGE, GREAT RESERVES as well as CHALLENGES are polysemic categories) or as a result of projecting categories whose scope was not specified in communication in any way (as in the case of categories manifested in

¹¹ Stenographic record is available at <https://www.premier.gov.pl/realizacja-planow/expose-premier-ewy-kopacz-stenogram.html> [access: 1.03.2016].

¹² Stenographic record is available at <https://www.premier.gov.pl/expose-premier-beaty-szydlo-stenogram.html> [1.03.2016].

¹³ These kinds of blends were not observed in Ewa Kopacz's *exposé*.

the text: GREAT INVESTMENT PLAN, THE ACTUAL BREAKTHROUGH, DEEP RECONSTRUCTION, THE PROJECT OF REPARING THE STATE; no specimens were indicated for these categories), the interpretative margin extends even further. In such case we may think of a high-order ambiguity¹⁴.

Therefore, cognitive ambiguity may be manifested in communication at multiple stages: on the basic level (resulting from the polysemic nature of concepts, which have more than one centre and radial structure, but rather specific scope; the role of the recipient's creativity in processing the information is limited by said scope), on the second level (as a consequence of the polysemic nature of blends created through blending categories; the scope may be partially known, hence the role of the recipient's creativity in processing the information increases), and through the high-order ambiguity (operating with blends created through blending polysemic categories or categories whose scope is unknown – then the role of the recipient's creativity in processing the information is limited only by the boundaries of his/her perception).

The basic level ambiguity: polysemic categories

In Langacker's cognitive grammar, recognition, that is the perceived similarity between two language categories, underlies two types of categorizing relations: elaboration and semantic extension. While trying to assign a particular specimen to a category, we either place it on a continuum between hyponymic and hyperonymic extremities depending on its similarity to the typical specimen (elaboration) or, if the attributes of both specimens overlap or partially overlap, we extend the category. We may thus claim that we categorize the specimens WALL-MOUNTED, CORK, METAL by means of their elaboration to the category of BOARD, whereas CHESSBOARD – through its extension. The pattern of BOARD abstracted in the mind (out of all specimens of the category), sanctions both the prototype of the category and its elaborations (vertically and horizontally organized: WALL-MOUNTED BOARD, that is WALL-MOUNTED CORK BOARD, WALL-MOUNTED METAL BOARD etc.) and its extensions (CHESSBOARD), which significantly differ from the prototype. Both in the cases of elaboration and extension, we are dealing with a perceived similarity between categories – CORK BOARD as well as CHESSBOARD are perceived as similar, but CORK BOARD is obviously more similar to the prototypical BOARD than CHESSBOARD¹⁵.

¹⁴ The high-order ambiguity was not observed in Ewa Kopacz's *exposé*.

¹⁵ After: H. Kardela, „(Nie)podobieństwo w morfologii. Amalgamaty kognitywne”, in: „Kognitywistyka. Podobieństwo”, ed. H. Kardela, Z. Muszyński, M. Rajewski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2006.

Does this diversification of similarity affect the recognition of the specimens' belonging to individual categories? According to J. Taylor (1995/2001), in the case of monosemic categories such as BOARD, the essence of recognition is in elaboration based on the rule of prototypical organization of concepts, while the meanings of polysemic categories such as SCHOOL - are subjected to the rule of family similarity¹⁶. As long as monosemic concepts are concentrated around one centre, which focuses the elaboration and extension of categories (as in the case of the above-mentioned category TABLE), the polysemic concepts create so-called radial networks with distinct but related conceptual centres (category with two centres: SCHOOL as a BUILDING and SCHOOL as an INSTITUTION with its specimens: PUPILS, LESSONS; TREND IN ART, LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, OPINION; FORCING SOMEONE TO PUT EFFORT etc.).

The structure of defined concepts significantly differentiates the speeches of Ewa Kopacz and Beata Szydło. In Kopacz's address, the individual concepts are often perceived through the prism of one centre (POLAND'S PROSPERITY is 400 BILLION ZLOTYS IN NEW FINANCIAL PERSPECTIVE. PUBLIC FINANCES means managing TAXES, and FACING THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS means supporting CHILDCARE) with individual specimens spherically situated around it (CHILDCARE: EXPENDITURES ON BUILDING NURSERIES, PARENTAL BENEFITS, CIT DEDUCTIONS FOR ESTABLISHING ON-SITE CORPORATE NURSERIES AND KINDERGARTENS, THE ZLOTY FOR A ZLOTY RULE); in Szydło's speech we are dealing with more than one centre in each category (JUSTICE is both the JUDICIAL SYSTEM as well as social justice, that is ENSURING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES, whereas among the specimens of the JUSTICE category we will find LOW EFFECTIVENESS, CORRUPTION IN COURTS and REVITALIZATION OF CITIES or EQUALIZING FARMERS' PAYMENTS TO EU LEVELS)¹⁷.

¹⁶ Many of the doubts concerning the validity of the classical theory of concepts were indicated by Ludwig Wittgenstein in *Philosophical Investigations*. He attempted to define the concept *Spiel* (GAME) and observed that different elements of this category lack a common set of properties, which would allow one to clearly establish what a game is, and what it is not. The boundaries of this category are therefore blurred – which does not diminish its usefulness for communicational purposes. Wittgenstein observed that the category GAME is not built in accordance with the principles of common defining properties, as Aristotle thought, but on the basis of a grid of crossing similarities, analogically to the similarity of all members of a family. Some attributes of certain elements of this category are common with others, whereas some are not. However, a pool of features common to all elements of a given category or – according to classical theory – a set of so-called defining features of a game does not exist

¹⁷ It is marginal, yet interesting, that while in Kopacz's understanding SECURITY is monosemic, and its specimens (DEFENCE SPENDING, MODERN EQUIPMENT FOR THE POLISH ARMY, CONSOLIDATION OF DEFENCE INDUSTRY, CENTRE OF VETERANS) are concentrated around one centre (ARMY), in Szydło's understanding – it is polysemic (the categories of security include: MILITARY SECURITY, ENERGY SECURITY and FOREIGN POLICY).

Level two ambiguity and high-order ambiguity: polysemic conceptual blends

The mechanism responsible for the creation of new meanings, according to Fauconnier's and Turner's cognitive grammar, is the process of blending mental spaces – “conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action”¹⁸. As a result of cross-space mapping, the corresponding elements of the input spaces are linked: first by being projected onto the generic space (the common elements of two input spaces overlap), and then by adding new structures which were not initially present. Thus, a new quality is created – a conceptual blend; although it operates with contents available to cognition (in individual understanding), it simultaneously can and does go beyond what is known. Due to that fact, the same input spaces, according to Fauconnier and Turner, may lead to the creation of different blends, depending on the “scenario” evoked by the learning mind in the process of categorizing¹⁹. Blends are naturally strongly polysemic. If, in addition, they are created by projecting a scope of polysemic categories onto the generic space, or when they are created through projecting categories whose scope was never manifested in communication – then we are dealing with high-order ambiguity.

The GOOD CHANGE blend is created by projecting the contents of input space 1: CHANGE (whose scope was indicated in the *exposé*: a change in THE QUALITY OF GOVERNANCE – “no more arrogance of those in power, no more hubris”, change in the ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S WORK – by establishing new ministries – as well as the change of CURRENT POLICY) onto the generic space. The scope of the category in input space 2: GOOD was not indicated at all (what is GOOD becomes dependent on individual mental data; in other words – GOOD may have different meaning for everyone). Similarly, the blend ACTIVATION OF A GREAT RESERVE, created through projecting the contents of the category of input space 1: GREAT RESERVE, whose centre is constituted by: FINANCIAL CAPITAL, but also UNREALISED INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL OF POLISH PEOPLE, and the contents of the category of input space 2: ACTIVATION (in what way will the CAPITAL and POTENTIAL be ACTIVATED is defined individually). Because the boundaries of GOOD and ACTIVATION were not specified in any way – the categories to which the specimens belong will be determined every time by the result of a separate and individualized interpretative process.

¹⁸ G. Fauconnier, M. Turner, „Tworzenie amalgamatów jako jeden z głównych procesów w gramatyce”, trans. W. Kubasiński, D. Stanulewicz, in: „Językoznawstwo kognitywne II. Zjawiska pragmatyczne”, ed. W. Kubasiński, D. Stanulewicz, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdansk 2001, p. 40.

¹⁹ Cf. H. Kardela, *op. cit.*

Interpretative margin extends further – even opens – in the case of blends whose scope of category was not indicated in any of the input spaces: what is the PROJECT AIMED TO REPAIR? Should the STATE be understood as the institution or the citizens? How PROFOUND is the RECONSTRUCTION going to be, and what is going to be reconstructed? BREAKTHROUGH in what? What does ACTUAL mean? How GREAT is the INVESTMENT PLAN going to be, and what are we going to invest into? In the situation in which composing the meaning is performed only on the side of the sender and/or recipient, entirely dependent on his creativity, memory and imagination, we are dealing with so-called high-order ambiguity.

May the multilevelled ambiguity hamper the processes of categorization in the learning mind? What outlines the boundaries of polysemy? According to Langacker, “our mental experience is coherent by virtue of the structure we impose on it [...]”²⁰. From this point of view, the limits of human cognition would also constitute the only boundary of polysemy. The researcher observes: “A pivotal aspect of this structuring capacity is the interpretation of novel experience with reference to previous experience, which I relate to the inherent asymmetry between standard and target in acts of comparison [...] The previous experience in question can also take the form of a well-entrenched routine activated for the structuring of current sensations (as in the recognition of a familiar shape)”²¹.

Therefore, from the point of view of cognitive processing, nothing is lost due to ambiguity, even when multi-levelled. Do we gain anything, and if so – what?

On a few functional limitations of ambiguity-based communication

According to Benjamin I. Page, the author of the emphasis allocation theory of political ambiguity, the messages which are made public by the politicians are neither clear nor concrete by default. The ambiguity of their communication results, according to him, directly from the need to properly allocate the available resources (time, energy and money), conditioned both by the limitations on the sender’s side, as well as on the side of the recipient of the messages (selectiveness of coding and encoding, limitations of perceptive processes, but also that of storing information in memory)²² and from the communication chan-

²⁰ As cited in: *ibid.*, p. 195.

²¹ As cited in: *ibid.*

²² A detailed description of B.I. Page’s ideas can be found in: W. Cwalina, *op. cit.*

nel (public communication is always mediated by the media) or the context (the statements of other politicians from the same or opposing political parties). Naturally, only chosen political issues and only some suggestions for dealing with them – the less specific the less susceptible to judgement and rejection – may be communicated. Research explicitly indicates that detailed proposals in political programmes are relatively inefficient in winning voter support, and the voters themselves are often uninterested in such messages since their understanding requires an effort and an appropriate level of reference (for example, thorough knowledge of the issue at hand, law or a field of economics)²³; because of that – according to Page – politicians strategically make their statements vague, directing the recipients' free cognitive resources to general topics and easily available processes of handling them (categories such as FAMILY and JUSTICE are preferred to ENERGY UNION or GREENHOUSE GAS REDUCTION). Importantly, it is the cognitive availability of the category, and not the diversity of opinions concerning it, that is – from the point of view of effective communication – crucial, since the higher the dispersion of recipients with reference to the discussed issue, the higher the efficiency of ambiguous messages²⁴. On the other hand, according to Douglas Walton²⁵, every ambiguity should be eventually resolved if we do not want to risk losing the trust of recipients (due to the informational chaos which stems from assigning different scopes to the same categories). And while ambiguity as a communicational strategy helps politicians to prevent the polarization of judgements (concentration around one, distinctive opinion), in a situation in which the cognitive economy of participants of communication goes along with their lack of knowledge of the problem in question, using ambiguity is always connected with the risk of reducing unavailable categories to the ideological level (for example if the CLIMATE PACKAGE is discussed and recipients lack the necessary knowledge of the EU's energy policy to assess it). Then, communicating through cognitive ambiguity rather than realizing strategic or image-related goals only persuades the persuaded and does not convince the unconvinced.

²³ Cf. P. Bull, "Slippery", op. cit., but also P. Bull, "Slipperiness, evasion and ambiguity. Equivocation and facework in noncommittal political discourse", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 2008, No. 27 (4) and P. Bull, K. Mayer, "How to answer in political interviews", *Political Psychology* 1993, No. 14 (4).

²⁴ Cf. J.E. Cambell, "Ambiguity in the issue positions of presidential candidates: A casual analysis", *American Journal of Political Science* 1983, No. 27 (2).

²⁵ Cf. D. Walton, "New dialectical rules for ambiguity", *Informal Logic* 2000, No. 20 (3).

Table 1. The analysis of Ewa Kopacz's *exposé*: the comparison of distinguished categories

CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY
SUCCESS OF OUR COUNTRY	DONALD TUSK'S APPOINTMENT AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL	POLAND IN UNITED EUROPE
		7 YEARS OF CIVIC PLATFORM'S RULE
		THE BIGGEST AFTER 1989
POLAND'S PROSPERITY	PLN 400 BILLIONS IN NEW FINANCIAL PERSPECTIVE	RECORD AMOUNT IN HISTORY
		BIGGER OPPORTUNITY THAN IN THE PREVIOUS FINANCIAL PERSPECTIVE
		THE BIGGEST OPPORTUNITY IN THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II
FOREIGN POLICY	SYSTEM OF VALUES: SOLIDARITY AND UNITY IN EU	SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINE
		NO CONSENT FOR THE ANNEXATION OF SOVEREIGN TERRITORY IN EUROPE
		SUPPORTING THE PRO-FREEDOM ACTIONS IN UKRAINE
		ENERGY SOLIDARITY
		ENERGY UNION
		CUTTING PRICE MANIPULATION AND MONOPOLISTIC PRACTICES
		NEW GREENHOUSE GAS REDUCTION TARGETS
		FREE TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EU AND THE US
SECURITY	MILITARY	INCREASE IN DEFENCE SPENDING TO 2% OF GDP
		ADDITIONAL 800 MILLION PLN IN 2016
		MODERN EQUIPMENT FOR THE MILITARY
		CONSOLIDATION OF POLISH DEFENCE INDUSTRY – POLISH ARMAMENTS GROUP

CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY
SECURITY	MILITARY	THE CENTRE OF VETERANS OF MISSIONS OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY
		INTERACTION WITH POLICE AND BORDER GUARDS
PUBLIC FINANCES	TAXES	ENTRY INTO EURO ZONE POSTPONED
		THE "99%" RULE
		NEW TAX ORDINANCE
		E-TAXES SYSTEM
		TAXPAYER'S ASSISTANT
		TAX ADMINISTRATION KNOWLEDGE BASE
HEALTHY ECONOMY	SUPPORTING INVESTMENTS	CONSTRUCTION CODE
		25 BILLION ZLOTYS FROM THE RESOURCES OF BGK (NATIONAL ECONOMY BANK) FOR LOANS FOR ENTREPRENEURS
		DE MINIMIS PROGRAMME
		CRISIS RESPONSE ACT
		500 MILION ZLOTYS FROM THE EMPLOYEE GUARANTEED BENEFITS FUND
		FINANCING THE RESIDENT DOCTORS' REMUNERATION
		FARMING INCOME STABILISATION FUND
		RESTRUCTURING AND UPGRADES OF MINING
		LICENSING OF ENERGY SALE
		DEVELOPMENT OF ADVANCED COAL TECHNOLOGIES
DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS	CHILDCARE	EXTRA FUNDS FOR BUILDING NURSERIES
		CIT DEDUCTIONS FOR ESTABLISHING ON-SITE CORPORATE NURSERIES AND KINDERGARTENS

CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY
DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS	CHILDCARE	PARENTAL BENEFITS
		ZLOTY FOR A ZLOTY RULE
SCHOOL	HEALTH AND SECURITY	JUNK FOOD
		SCHOOL MONITORING
		FREE TEXTBOOKS
		STUDENT TRAINEESHIP PROGRAMME
		STUDYING ABROAD
		PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION REVIVAL PROGRAMME
SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT	?	FUNDING INCREASED TO 2% OF GDP
CONCERN FOR THE ELDERLY	HEALTH AND SECURITY	DAY-CARE INSTITUTIONS
		RETIREMENT PENSIONS VALORISATION
		WAITING LIST AND ONCOLOGY PACKAGE
		FINANCING SPECIALISATIONS FOR RESIDENT PHYSICIANS
INFRASTRUCTURE	ROADS AND RAILWAYS	IN 2014: 160 KILOMETRES OF COMMISSIONED EXPRESSWAYS
		IN 2014: CONTRACTS FOR ANOTHER 300 KILOMETRES
		IN 2015: 250 KILOMETRES OF COMMISSIONED EXPRESSWAYS
		IN 2015: CONTRACTS FOR OVER 500 KILOMETRES MORE
		IN THE YEARS 2014–2020: CONSTRUCTION OF 1770 KILOMETRES OF MOTORWAYS
		IN THE YEARS 2014–2020: 35 RING ROADS
		93 BILLION ZLOTYS OF INVESTMENTS

CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY
INFRASTRUCTURE	ROADS AND RAILWAYS	COMPLETE NETWORK OF MOTORWAYS: A1, A2, A4 AND EXPRESSWAYS; S3, S5, S6, S7, S8, S17
		WARSAW RING ROAD READY
		REGULATIONS IN RAILWAY TRANSPORT
		TRAVELLING FROM GDANSK TO WARSAW TAKES 3 HOURS
		TRAVELLING FROM WROCLAW TO WARSAW TAKES 3 HOURS 40 MINUTES
		TRAVELLING FROM CRACOW AND KATOWICE TO WARSAW TAKES 2 HOURS
SEA POTENTIAL	SEA AS A WINDOW ON THE WORLD	NEW TRAINS WORTH 6 BILLION ZLOTYS
		INCREASING THE CAPACITY OF THE POLISH HARBOURS
DIGITAL REVOLUTION	UNIVERSALITY OF THE INTERNET	INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS
		NATURAL DISASTER NOTIFICATION SYSTEM
CULTURE	AVAILABILITY	CHEAPER MUSEUM AND THEATRE TICKETS
		WIDER OFFER OF BOOKS IN LIBRARIES
		FREE LESSONS IN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS
		FREE ACCESS TO BOOKS, CONCERT AND THEATRE PERFORMANCES RECORDINGS THROUGH THE INTERNET
		EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME OF BUILDING MODERN PATRIOTISM AND HISTORICAL AWARENESS

Source: own work.

Table 2. The analysis of Beata Szydło's *exposé*: the comparison of distinguished categories

CONCEPTUAL BLEND	CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY
GOOD CHANGE	CHANGE	OF THE WAY OF GOVERNING	HUMILITY/WORK/TEMPERANCE/PRUDENCE
			NO MORE ARROGANCE OF THOSE IN POWER, NO MORE HUBRIS
		ORGANIZATION OF THE CABINET	ESTABLISHING NEW MINISTRIES
		CURRENT POLICY	FRUITS OF DEVELOPMENT FOR EVERYONE
ACTIVATION GREAT RESERVE	RESERVE	FINANCIAL CAPITAL	EUROPEAN FUNDS
			BANK RESOURCES – LTRO SYSTEM
			ENTREPRENEURS' SAVINGS – INVESTMENT INCENTIVE
			STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE STATE DEVELOPMENT BANK
			ESTABLISHING "THE INVESTMENTS OF POLAND"
			ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE-OWNED COMPANIES INVESTMENT FUND
		INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL OF POLISH PEOPLE	COOPERATION OF SCIENCE WITH BUSINESS
			NATIONAL FORUM OF ENTREPRENEURS
			VOCATIONAL EDUCATION TAILORED TO THE ACTUAL NEEDS OF THE LABOUR MARKET

CONCEPTUAL BLEND	CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY
ACTIVATION GREAT RESERVE	RESERVE	SUPPORTING ENTREPRENEUR- SHIP	CIT RATE REDUCED FOR SMALL BUSINESSES
			ELIMINATION OF BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES
			DOUBLE INVESTMENT ALLOWANCE
			NATIONAL FORUM OF ENTREPRENEURS
CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE	CHALLENGES	BREAK OUT OF THE MIDDLE INCOME TRAP	ACCELERATE THE GROWTH RATE
		THE FOUNDATION OF DEVELOPMENT: INVESTMENTS AND INNOVATIONS	REINDUSTRIALISATION OF THE COUNTRY: ENERGY, CHEMICAL AND ARMAMENTS INDUSTRIES
			STRENGTHENING THE MILK AND AVIATION VALLEY
			GROWTH OF NANOTECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES
	SECURITY	MILITARY	EXPANSION OF ARMED FORCES
			STRENGTHENING NATO'S EASTERN FLANK
			USA AS THE GUARANTOR
		ENERGY	ECONOMY BASED ON COAL
			OIL AND GAS SUPPLIES GUARANTEED
			GAZOPORT'S EXPANSION
FOREIGN POLICY	"SUBJECTIVE" ATTITUDE		

CONCEPTUAL BLEND	CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY	
CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE	SECURITY	FOREIGN POLICY	SOLIDARITY IN PROVIDING SUPPORT DURING EMERGENCY SITUATIONS	
			ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY	
			CONTACTS WITH THE POLISH COMMUNITY ABROAD	
			INTEGRATION WITH EU	
	FAMILY	WORK		THE PLAN TO CREATE LARGE NUMBERS OF NEW JOBS
				THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NETWORK OF KINDERGARTENS
		PAY		PACT ON INCREASING WAGES
				GETTING RID OF JUNK CONTRACTS
				INCREASING LABOUR DEMAND
		HOUSING		CHEAP APARTMENTS ON STATE OWNED PLOTS
		HEALTH CARE		ECONOMIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH CARE
				SWITCHING THE ROLE OF DOCTORS
				A PROGRAM TO INTRODUCE DENTAL AND MEDICAL ROOMS AT SCHOOLS
		JUSTICE	JUDICIARY (UNFAIR)	THE POOR WITHOUT SUPPORT FROM LAW FIRMS
TAXPAYERS SEVERLY PUNISHED FOR INATTENTION				

CONCEPTUAL BLEND	CATEGORY	CENTRE OF THE CATEGORY	SPECIMEN OF THE CATEGORY
CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE	JUSTICE	JUDICIARY (UNFAIR)	CHILDREN TAKEN AWAY FROM PARENTS
			LOW EFFECTIVENESS AND CORRUPTION
		SOCIAL (ENSURING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES)	SOCIAL CHALLENGES (REVITALIZATION AND RENOVATION OF ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE)
			FARMERS' SOCIAL SECURITY PROJECT
			PROTECTION OF POLISH LAND AGAINST UNCONTROLLED BUYOUT
			EQUALIZING FARMERS' PAYMENTS TO EU LEVELS
			EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES OF CHILDREN FROM RURAL AREAS (WINDING UP SCHOOLS)

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The Structure of Ambiguity Phenomena (Based on Cognitive Analyses of the Ways in Which Politicians Communicate)

(Summary)

The paper presents the ambiguity phenomena in terms of cognitive categorization and blending processes. The analyses of politicians' programme speeches, based on Lakoff's and Langacker's semantics and Langacker's grammar research, result in describing the ambiguity phenomena as sender's or receiver's mental concepts rather than relating it to linguistic properties of the message. Moreover, a cognitive point of view in the research on ambiguity reveals its multilevelled structure, which stems from the polysemic nature of mental categories and blends.

Keywords: ambiguity, cognitive phenomena, mental categorization, cognitive grammar, cognitive semantics, multilevelled ambiguity.