HOW (UN)FREEDOM IS BEING DEVELOPED:
THE LINGUISTIC WORLD OF ONE POLITICAL PARTY IN SLOVAKIA CONCERNING LIBERALISM[1]

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Abstract: In the globalised world connected via communication technologies and social media, this paper endeavours to understand how politicians succeed in influencing people's linguistic worlds through their public communication. The patterns in politicians' precise verbal usage convey intended connotations and redefine how people naturally experience the expressions concerning their conceptual knowledge associated with words. The paper thus suggests adjusting the schema of lexical meaning based on the biology of cognition, which acknowledges the uniqueness and diversity of how people understand received expressions and convey various contents in communication.

Key words: subjectivism, egolinguistics, linguistic world, political discourse, propaganda, far-right populism, liberalism

1. INTRODUCTION

In a perfect world, one would have invariably experienced the freedom of speech in everyday communication as the principles of liberal democracy define it. Everyone would have treated cautiously the information and thoughts they consider vital to address to avoid any potential social (or legal) penalty. After all, people bear responsibility for their actions. Consequently, expressed thoughts can be no exception, especially those aimed against human rights of others. Although the scientific knowledge proving any ideal (perfect) state of anything is unattainable due to its subjective nature – what one considers flawless, others may see differently – just realizing what the ideal state looks like provides an essential perspective in everyone's daily life.

Impulses from media discourse based on statements such as *I have the right to express my opinion freely* gradually initiate social reality, in which one can say anything as if there were no demands for expertise or adequate skills in a concerned

field. Particularly, meanings in findings delivered by scientists or experts often face questioning and mockery from politicians with no expertise who pursue their goals (cf. the issue of COVID-19 disease discussed in public). Some politicians are keen on using even eristic argumentation to gain any political point. Misinterpretation and disinformation are thus standard measures for many of them in their populistic rhetoric. They employ "simple and direct language" (Kreis 2017), sometimes using "humorous overstatements" (Montgomery 2017) to deliver a crystal clear message for everyone throughout the society despite the costs of possible loss in the factual accuracy it claims. To direct recipients' attention toward the course of their choice, they "provide simplified answers to quite complex issues" (Mudde – Kaltwasser 2017, p. 118). By ignoring the facts and raising emotions, these populist politicians shape not just the thinking of their supporters but also the public discussion about the challenging issues in general, so they abuse the social mood about them. Since such politicians benefit mainly from a polarised society to disseminate their ideology further (ibid., p. 6), they preferably instrumentalise any social issue to increase their political capital. Their precise word usage mobilises the masses by inducing specific mental representations to raise awareness of a particular issue and thus begin with influencing the recipient's worldview.

This paper, hence, endeavours to display how populism may form individuals' fundamental cognitive orientation. Specifically, it examines how communicative behaviour recognized by recipients modifies the structure of their linguistic worlds and insinuates the expected understanding of conceptual knowledge associated with words in agreement with the populists' intention. Following the subjectivistic approach, the paper analyses the public communication of the selected political party in its promotional newspaper and the Facebook posts of its most influential politicians. We subsequently confront the captured framing of liberalism gained from the reactions of their supporters in threads from analysed posts. Another finding of this paper is, therefore, to illustrate how populists misuse the freedom of speech, which goes beyond tolerable limits and sets a dangerous precedence in public communication as such by speaking indecent opinions. As the collateral outcome of such practices, besides incivility in the (online) political discourse, populists manage to modify the conceptual knowledge associated with the expressions of their supporters.

2. THE LEXICAL MEANING AS AN ORIENTATION POINT FOR HUMANS

Globalisation has affected every aspect of society's function, not excluding the field of communication and mass media. The increased amount of information delivered from the entire world demands sufficient processing, which naturally relates to mass media in democratic countries. The purpose of newsrooms is,

therefore, not just to come up with various information from colourful life but also to run fact-checking (i.e. ensuring the trustworthiness of stated claims and reliability of their sources). By systematically cultivating a piece of raw information, an author gradually specifies the message about the immediate context (what, when and where something has happened) and eventually enhances broader circumstances (why it has happened). Thus, recipients get a complete picture of what happened within a relevant framework to interpret the event globally. People afterwards evaluate the gained inference depending on their linguistic worlds. To better understand the notion of the linguistic world and its crucial role in human life, let us review some key points from the biology of cognition briefly.

As living beings, **we exist in <u>endless</u> interactions with the environment surrounding us from birth till death**. Any interaction presupposes a presence of the organization separating one unity (i.e. entity or object) from another and, at the same time, representing relations by which a certain unity exists – its structure. "For me to judge that this object is a chair, I have to recognize a certain relationship between the parts I call legs, back, and seat, in such a way that sitting down is made possible" (Maturana – Varela 1987, p. 42). H. R. Maturana and F. J. Varela (ibid., p. 43) characterized the organization of living beings as *autopoietic*, meaning their organization is self-producing.[2] By endless interaction, we indicate a sustained contact between a living being and its environment; the cease of this contact means the beginning of a living being's disintegration (ibid., p. 74). The notion of living beings' autopoietic organization has several implications that have influenced our thinking about language; we will elaborate on it shortly in our text. **(1) Autopoiesis makes living beings autonomous**; that is, "they subordinate all changes to the maintenance of their own organization, independently of how profoundly they may otherwise be transformed in the process" (Maturana – Varela 1991, p. 80). **(2) To be autonomous means to have individuality**; that is, "by keeping their organization as an invariant through its continuous production they actively maintain an identity which is independent of their interactions with an observer" (ibid.). **(3) As individuals, we not only specify our boundaries in the process of self-production, but we also determine what changes may occur in our structure as a result of our contact with the environment** (Maturana – Varela 1987, pp. 95–96). That is how the ontogeny of a particular human being appears, as "a history of structural change in a unity without loss of organization in that unity" (ibid., p. 74).

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[2] "An autopoietic machine is a machine organized (defined as a unity) as a network of processes of production (transformation and destruction) of components that produces the components which: (i) through their interactions and transformations continuously regenerate and realize the network of processes (relations) that produced them; and (ii) constitute it (the machine) as a concrete unity in the space in which they (the components) exist by specifying the topological domain of its realization as such a network" (Maturana – Varela 1991, pp. 78–79).

However, we must bear in mind that the result of interactions concerning autopoietic unities (i.e. human beings in our case) only triggers possible structural changes in them – whether they were triggered by interactions with the environment, or as an outcome of its internal dynamics. "In this way we refer to the fact that the changes that result from the interaction between the living being and its environment are brought about by the disturbing agent but *determined by the structure of the disturbed system*" (ibid., p. 96). The structure of interacting unity determines what effects will attend consequently, and how they will be perceived. In the case of recurrent interactions, the collateral outcome is a history of mutual congruent structural changes. There is always this kind of *structural coupling* with the environment until the autopoietic unity or its perturbed environment does not disintegrate (ibid., p. 75). As long as a unity does not interfere with its environment in a destructive way, the compatibility between them coming from such interaction is the source of mutual perturbation initiating changes of states on both sides. If we take a close look into the process of structural coupling, we will recognize that this process of self-change with no loss of its integrity is also known as *adaptation*. From this perspective thus, we see **the autopoietic unity as a dynamic system coping with its environment**. Hence, the inevitable consequence of structural coupling is, in the bigger picture regarding the phylogeny of species, a structural drift, also known as *evolution*. In summary, every ontogeny of autopoietic unity comes with a unique history of structural changes stemming from structural coupling with its environment; therefore, it results in a structural drift that combines processes such as *conservation* (of its organization) and *adaptation* (to its environment).

There is an exceptional structural coupling related to human beings. The plasticity of their nervous system functioning with *operational closure* (i.e. the nervous system works as a closed network, with changes caused by its active components leading to further changes in their relations) creates sufficient conditions for so-called *third-order structural couplings* (ibid., pp. 180–181). This kind of structural coupling appears between organisms with a nervous system getting involved in reciprocal structural coupling (when each one serves recursively as a medium for structural changes of the other). But what is most important, it enables them to produce co-ontogenies with mutual involvement and, thus, to constitute social systems. To maintain any social system as a social unity, one must be able to communicate with other members in coordinated behaviour; hence, in the history of human third-order structural couplings, which constitutes a culture of a particular society, a language has been evolving.[3] Keeping in mind the notion of autopoiesis, we can focus our attention back towards the concept of the linguistic world.

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[3] This brief review from the biology of cognition by H. R. Maturana and F. Varela serves also as an invitation to consider a bigger – species-specific – perspective of human interaction in linguistic research. A much more detailed overview can be found, inter alia, in Deacon 1998, or Tomasello 2019.

2.1 The linguistic world – How we (mis)comprehend a political reality

Every human being experiences the objective (i.e. extralinguistic) reality of the world by (in)direct interaction with its environment (by indirect interaction, we mean knowledge or experience obtained from communication with others, for instance, as a natural course of action in education). Our interaction with the environment is constantly (re)creating our *background*; it is our understanding of how the world works. In J. R. Searle's words (1998, p. 107) "It is this set of capacities, abilities, tendencies, habits, dispositions, taken-for-granted presuppositions, and "know-how" generally that I have been calling the "Background" (…), all of our particular beliefs, hopes, fears, and so on, only function in the way they do – that is, they only determine their conditions of satisfaction – against a Background of know-how that enables me to cope with the world". Each experience is stored in our mind not only in the form of a simple memory but also as a mental representation, which establishes an equivalent world in the human mind of an individual – the linguistic world[4] – which simultaneously shapes its ego as well. The ego represents the structure of a human being (the way it understands and views the world), and the structural coupling with its environment appears as the personal experience, which may trigger structural changes concerning mental representations of its linguistic world.

By language we therefore understand not just a system of verbalization but also an extralinguistic system of physiological forms that we experience through a certain intentional state[5] (when we are in sensory, emotional, volitional, rational or irrational touch with the world in which we exist). The system of physiological forms shapes the linguistic world of everyone (and vice versa, the ego shapes their linguistic world in agreement with their peculiar worldview). It embodies individual mental representations of intentional states obtained from prior experience and brings them back as meanings we externalise in communication. In other words, the unique linguistic world of ego concerns the matter on which L. Wittgenstein (2001, p. 89) stated: "What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence".

The prior experience plays an essential role in our thinking about the linguistic world because it gives us insight into the troubling matter: **Why does people's understanding of lexical meanings show distinctions?** Since a person in their equivalent linguistic world cannot grasp the extralinguistic reality in all its

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[4] J. Bartmiński's (2009) concept of the linguistic worldview focuses on the supra-individual language of a community, in contrast to the suggested linguistic world respecting the biology of cognition here. The linguistic world's attention leads to ontogeny's investigation of a given person and their language. It, thus, considers the autopoietic organization of human beings while not losing sight of their autonomy.

[5] We proceed the notion of intentional state in line with the J. R. Searle's concept of biological naturalism according to which "[i]ntentionality is that feature of the mind by which mental states are directed at, or are about, or of, or refer to, or aim at, states of affairs in the world" (Searle 1998, p. 64).

complexity,[6] only partial aspects of the recognized segments from its environment acquire dominant positions in the emerging mental representations.[7] Based on these dominant features, **a person sets internalized segments of reality as their mental representations into varied mutual relationships to understand (or navigate themselves in) their linguistic world**. The various configurations of mental representations thus reflect the unique structure of individual linguistic world shaped by unique experiences of a given ego. Following the language economy, different expressions (but also the very same expressions, as we will show later) refer to different mentally processed segments of reality, which the sender shares with the receiver trying to induce them accordingly. Since each text represents its author's linguistic world, each communication therefore reflects the interacting linguistic worlds of its actors (in both roles: as a sender or a receiver). Thus, to become intelligible, the interactants reciprocally present their views in communication.

For all said above, we recognize a text in conformity with F. Miko's theory on its receptive existence.[8] According to his understanding, a text exists only as an interlocutor in communication. It means there is no text without an author or a reader, who could otherwise contribute jointly to its purpose as a message to be conveyed and received. By the speech, he meant the human natural communicative behaviour in its interactive manner, i.e. how people express their intentional states through expressions in communication. Despite the Prague School of Linguistics' premise about language as an ideal model, F. Miko acknowledges text as a natural outcome in the evolution of human interaction. Language is therefore equal to speech.

The speech was indeed mainly a sound-gestural expression and had had an impulsive nature (i.e. *operability* in F. Miko's terminology)[9] in its beginning. While the other dimension of speech – expression – did gradually begin to emerge more

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[6] As we stated above, the human nervous system functions as a closed network with structural determination; therefore, the environment cannot specify changes in its structure – it may only trigger them (the individuality coming from autopoietic autonomy plays the crucial role in it, cf. the difference between causality and correlation). Biologically speaking, sensory or motor stimulation constantly disturbs the human nervous system, which must deal with them, leading to a structural change. Since the adaptability of the nervous system "lies in its continuous transformation in line with transformation of the environment as a result of how each interactions affects it" (Maturana – Varela 1991, p. 170); people, thus, grasp segments from extralinguistic reality within their personal experience.

[7] Referring to Richerson and Boyd 2008, M. Tomasello (2019, p. 7) noted the "[m]odern evolutionary theory emphasizes that organisms inherit their environments as much as they inherit their genes: a fish inherits not only fins but also water. Human children inherit a sociocultural context replete with cultural artifacts, symbols, and institutions, and their unique maturational capacities would be inert without a sociocultural context within which to develop".

[8] He developed his theory of the expression system based on the Prague School of Linguistics' functional structuralism. His theory of expressive structure in speech origins in his book *Estetika výrazu* [The aesthetics of expression], 1969. Its importance can be seen as similar to the speech act theory developed by J. L. Austin (1962) in disparate political conditions.

[9] It could deem as an illocutionary act in J. L. Austin's theory of speech acts.

efficiently as a descendant of its first dimension (Miko 1989, p. 33). The latter emerges the most noticeable in articulation; therefore, F. Miko called it *iconicity*. The language iconicity has unleashed the possibilities of how people share their linguistic worlds. They have started to express even the subtlest meaning nuances intuitively to capture the complexity of their understanding of the world; consequently, they broadly became aware of the diverse language used in society. Although people speaking the same language use identical expressions, they may understand them differently and convey by them various meanings reflecting their personal experiences and goals (cf. single-word utterances in child language, Bloom 2002).

3.   "I HATE; THEREFORE, I AM!" THE NORMALIZATION OF THE POPULIST VOCABULARY

The effort to influence someone's linguistic world is not a new idea in politics, and its procedure has been (ab)used countlessly since ancient times (Posetti – Matthews 2018 provides a brief overview). Its infrastructure, on the other hand, has become much more efficient in disseminating disinformation and conspiracy theories through society in the digital age, in which populistic politicians are more than happy to engage.

There are many ways in ideational approach on populism defining it as a discourse, language, mode of identification, political frame, etc. (Kaltwasser et al. 2017) but "all consider populism to be, first and foremost, about ideas in general, and ideas about 'the people' and 'the elite' in particular" (ibid.). According to C. Mudde and C. R. Kaltwasser (2017, pp. 9–19) populism has three core concepts: **(a) the people**, it is usually a combination of three meanings: people "as sovereign", "as the common people", or "as the nation"; **(b) the elite**, it usually concerns the establishment, the cultural elite and the media elite, always portrayed as one homogeneous corrupt group neglecting the general will of the people; **(c) the general will**, populists argue the politicians should follow the general will of the people, as they are pure and homogeneous, and any internal divisions should be rejected as artificial. Concerning this exclusionary behaviour and "the angry language" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2018) of populist politicians, incivility has emerged not only in political discourse but in (online) media discourse (Rösner et al. 2016; Kenski et al. 2020) too.

A symptomatic example of this incivility has occurred recently in Slovakia concerning how people might particularly comprehend speech stimuli from the media discourse. Some people began to employ the catchphrase *liberálny fašizmus* [liberal fascism] as an outcome of how they see social reality affairs. It has appeared in plethora of variations in Slovak public space, especially on social media, with the encouragement of certain politicians. Although the term can be considered an

oxymoron due to its antagonistic components (cf. liberalism and fascism), it would be too short-sighted to consider such an explanation satisfying. After all, people do their best in using language (as a human interactive disposition) to share meanings within their linguistic worlds with others. As "behavioural-action-oriented creatures", which coordinate their behaviour and actions (cf. Dolník 2019, p. 24), people's actions are not controlled only by logic but also by emotions (cf. the idiom *to get carried away by emotions*). Nor can a language, hence, be limited by rules of logic. The alternative conclusion engages the very nature of communication – to be expressed and understood. Language iconicity allows people to grasp lexical meanings and put them into even seemingly unlogic relations to deliver a specific message by completing a distinctive sense of applied expressions. In short, language iconicity empowers people to mentally transform the environment around them into the form of their preferences.

3.1 Speech stimuli analysis of political party's newspaper *Naše Slovensko*

The understanding benefits from knowing the context; hence, we present the public communication belonging to the political party Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko (ĽSNS) [People's Party Our Slovakia], the Slovak far-right party, in **Table 1**. We executed the content analysis of the party's public communication in their propagative newspaper distributed into people's mailboxes from 2013 to 2021. Despite the complicated conditions,[10] we managed to gather 34 issues of *Naše Slovensko* [Our Slovakia], the propagative newspaper, (2013: n = 14; 2014: n = 6; 2016: n = 2; 2017: n = 2; 2018: n = 1; 2019: n = 4; 2020: n = 2; 2021: n = 3) plus a few of their similar newspapers located in Slovak regions: *Bystrický kraj* [Banska Bystrica region] (n = 1), *Náš Bratislavský kraj* [Our Bratislava region] (n = 3), *Náš Žilinský kraj* [Our Zilina region] (n = 1), *Náš Košický kraj* [Our Kosice region] (n = 1), *Náš Nitriansky kraj* [Our Nitra region] (n = 2). We analysed the collected texts using the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak 2008, 2001) to investigate the party's narrative on liberalism presented to the broad public. Aiming at their delivered topoi, we observed their self-presentation and practice of creating antagonistic roles between the deictic centre "us" and the others "them". In other words, we investigate the central dimension of their discourse strategy: nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivization.

The content of **Table 1** serves here as a platform to convey the speech stimuli concerning *liberalism*, with which recipients of *Naše Slovensko* newspaper came

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[10] The party's leader was charged with the crime of supporting and promoting groups aimed at suppressing fundamental rights and freedoms in 2020. Party's website stopped working shortly after the accusation, and all issues of the *Naše Slovensko* [Our Slovakia] newspaper became unreachable. Although their new website offers a newspaper archive, the oldest attainable volume was issued in December 2019.

into contact. In terms of positive self-presentation, the nomination related to in-group employs two levels, noun phrases like (a) "decent people", "decent families", or "Christian values" accompanying their worldview; (b) "Slovak nation", or "our ancestors" associated with fatherland. Both conform the P. Taggart's notion of *heartland* as "an evocation of that life and those qualities worth defending, thereby stirring populists into political actions" (Taggart 2000, p. 95) (cf. category 1 in **Table 1**). Such nomination naturally creates presuppositions about the out-group (e.g. we are decent, so the others are not; when governing the state, only the opinion of true descendants matters, others do not). Furthermore, the attribute "decent" in their discourse implicitly refers to white people (in opposition to Roma people or later to immigrants). Consequently, the presentation of the out-group – *liberals* – involves two levels too, noun phrases such as (a) "sexual perverts", "homosexuals", and "transsexuals" linked to sexuality (their perspectivization narrows down the matter of gender identity into sexuality only, calling them e.g. "transformers"); (b) "liberalism", "liberal NGOs and gender ideology", or "liberal fanatics" referring to how they perceive the ideology of liberalism as such (cf. category 2 in **Table 1**).

The black-and-white tendency outlined above mirrors the distinctions between *us* and *them* in predication. They present the members of the in-group as "the defenders of traditional family and Christian values against the LGBT and gender ideology of liberals", or "the representatives of genuine Slovaks" in *Naše Slovensko* newspaper (cf. category 3 in **Table 1**). "All far-right populists parties instrumentalize some kind of ethnic, religious, linguistic or political minority as a *scapegoat* for most if not all current woes in society and subsequently construe the respective group as dangerous and a threat 'to us' to 'our' nation; this phenomenon manifests as a **'politics of fear'**" (Wodak 2021, p. 6). R. Wodak claims that far-right populist parties "instrumentalize such fear (also related to resentment and other negative emotions) to create **hope** – they promise to provide (simple) solutions to counter such fear (e.g. by "removing" the scapegoats)" (ibid.).

Regarding the politics of emotions (when range of moral emotions, such as anxiety, fear, resentment, anger, rage, shame and nostalgia, are evoked and exploited; cf. Wodak 2021, p. 46), the authors of these texts employed *arrogance of ignorance* (Wodak 2021, p. 6), the practise that appeals to common sense, intuition, resentment and anti-intellectualism, which marks a shift to a politics of emotions instead of drawing on fact-based evidence and expertise. Opposite to political correctness, such rhetoric bears marks of *shameless normalization* (Wodak 2021) – when formerly tabooed topics, wordings and impolite or shameless behaviour (i.e. "bad manners") take part regularly in shifting boundaries of the unsayable. Concerning liberalism, the texts contained such wordings as "disrupting the traditional values", "defending the paedophiles and sexual deviants", "imposing their sick lifestyles to children and youth", etc. (cf. category 4 in **Table 1**).

Table 1. The framework of the induced linguistic world in *Naše Slovensko* newspaper concerning *liberalism*

Category	Externalization
1. Noun phrases construed as elements of the deictic centre – *we*	(a) *slušní ľudia* [decent people], *slušné rodiny* [decent families], *tradičná rodina* [traditional family], *kresťanské hodnoty* [Christian values], *normálni ľudia* [normal people], *rodičia slušných detí* [parents of decent children] (b) *slovenský národ* [Slovak nation], *národ* [nation], *Slovensko* [Slovakia], *naši predkovia* [our ancestors], *národní velikáni* [national figures], *občan SR* [Slovak citizen], *skutočná opozícia* [the real opposition]
2. Noun phrases construed as elements outside the deictic centre – *they*	(a) *sexuálni uchyláci* [sexual perverts], *homosexuáli* [homosexuals], *sexuálne úchylky* [sexual deviations], *sexuálni devianti vrátane pedofilov* [sexual deviants including paedophiles], *sexuálne zvrátenosti* [sexual perversions], *sexuálni pomätenci* [sexual madmen], *transexuáli* [transexuals], *zvrhlíci* [perverts], *LGBT komunita uchylákov* [LGBT community of perverts], *buzeranti* [faggots] (b) *liberalizmus* [liberalism], *liberáli* [liberals], *liberálne mimovládky a gender ideológia* [liberal NGOs and gender ideology], *dekadencia* [decadence], *liberálni fanatici* [liberal fanatics], *liberálne skupiny* [liberal groups], *egoistický svetonázor* [egoist worldview], *pseudohumanisti* [pseudohumanists], *konzum* [consumption], *extrémni liberáli* [extreme liberals], *liberálna agenda* [liberal agenda], *liberálne media* [liberal mass media], *liberálne šialenstvo* [liberal madness], *najextrémnejší liberáli* [the most extreme liberals]
3. Verb phrases construed as markers of *us*	*Odmietame registrované partnerstvá, adopciu detí homosexuálmi aj propagáciu sexuálnych úchyliek* [We reject registered partnerships, the adoption of children by homosexuals, and the promotion of sexual deviations]. *Vedieme boj za slušný život* [We fight for a decent life]. *Výchovu postavíme na tradičných národných a kresťanských princípoch* [We set the education on traditional national and Christian principles]. *Postavíme Slovensko nad diktát Bruselu* [We will put Slovakia over the commands of Brussels]. *Nechceme mať degenerovanú spoločnosť* [We don't want to have a degenerate society]. *Chránime slušných ľudí* [We protect decent people]. *Bojujeme za Slovensko* [We fight for Slovakia]. *Vystupujeme proti zvrhlej agende liberálov* [We are against perverted agenda of liberals]. *Vyznávame cyrilo-metodskú tradíciu* [We profess the Cyril-Method tradition]. *Bojujeme o charakter Európy* [We fight for the character of Europe]. *Nedovoľme liberálom, aby svojou zhubnou gender agendou otrávili Slovensko* [Let's not allow the liberals to poison Slovakia with their wicked gender agenda]. *Hovoríme pravdu* [We tell the truth]. *Chránime život od počatia* [We protect life from its conception]. *Odmietli sme nebezpečnú LGBT a gender ideológiu* [We rejected the dangerous LGBT and gender ideology]. *Chránime tradičné hodnoty* [We protect traditional values].

4. Verb phrases construed as markers of *them*	*Prenasledujú a kriminalizujú jedincov s odlišným názorom* [They persecute and criminalize individuals with different opinion]. *Vnucujú ľuďom cudziu kultúru* [They impose a foreign culture on people]. *Obraňujú záujmy sexuálnych deviantov a iných rozvracačov tradičných hodnôt* [They defend the interests of sexual deviants and other destroyers of traditional values]. *Otvorene demonštrujú za svoje zvrátené úchylky* [They openly demonstrate their sick perversions]. *Aj prváčikov v šlabikároch učia o rozvrátenej rodine, v ktorej deti majú „dvoch oteckov alebo dve mamičky"* [They teach even the first-graders about a broken family in which children have "two fathers or two mothers"]. *Snažia sa nanútiť homosexuálne partnerstvá a osprostieť naše deti a mládež* [They try to force homosexual partnerships and make children stupid]. *Podporuje homosexuálov a transexuálov a mládeži ich ukazuje ako vzory* [supports homosexuals and transexuals and show them as role models for the youth]. *Presadzuje vzájomné manželstvá týchto zvrhlíkov a dáva im vychovávať deti* [enforces marriages of perverts and enable them to raise the children]. *Chce, aby sme odsudzovali tradičné hodnoty* [wants us to condemn traditional values]. *Snaží sa prepašovať do spoločnosti zvrátenú gender ideológiu* [tries to smuggle a perverted ideology into society]. *Snaží sa zničiť tradičnú rodinu* [try to destroy the traditional family]. *Lákajú k sebe ľudí najmä tým, že sa vydávajú za „moderných" a „pokrokových"* [They lure people mainly by pretending to be "modern" and "progressive"]. *Kádrujú hanlivými nálepkami* [They frame by derogatory remarks as in totalitarian regime]. *Rozprávajú o rešpekte a tolerancii, ale sami za pomoci prostitútok z médií prenasledujú a lynčujú každého, kto s nimi nesúhlasí* [They talk about respect and tolerance but persecute and lynch anyone who disagrees with them with the help of prostitutes from mass media]. *Presadzujú protikresťanskú politiku a žiadajú prijímanie tisícov cudzincov na Slovensko* [They promote anti-Christian policy and demand the admission of thousands of foreigners to Slovakia]. *Degeneruje, ohlupuje a robí spoločnosť bezduchou masou, ktorá sa ľahko ovláda* [degenerates the youth and make them stupid, making society an easily controllable mass without their own opinion]. *Podporujú legalizáciu drog* [They support the legalization of drugs].

Naturally, people usually do not engage in such analytical examinations during an ordinary reading of their texts. The analysis thus provides the determining speech stimuli on liberalism, and, at the same time, it reconstructs the party's ideological perspective. Moreover, all these stimuli presented above may influence receivers' backgrounds and affect how recipients further experience the lexical meaning of *liberalism* despite the established interpretation captured in dictionaries. But what makes it possible?

3.2 How propaganda makes its view meaningful and promotes it further

In picturing lexical meaning as a critical node in human orientation, F. Miko's perspective of interactive text's existence is fundamental. This is because messages in politicians' public communication do not deliver just a range of information on a specific topic. Populist politicians naturally strive to define the receivers' linguistic worlds to interpret political reality through their lenses. Thus, they endeavour to corrupt their linguistic worlds (i.e. their worldview and perception of what ordinary is) and raise emotional responses towards a challenging social issue (usually in terms of a majority against a minority, cf. the core concepts of populism). To exploit the certainty of what people trust, one must get involved with their *assimilation base* (Dolník 2018a) by which the structure of a concrete person – their ego – decides what is compatible or not with their linguistic world. Besides a linguistic world, people at the same time form their assimilation base. It enables them to maintain their homeostasis and the integrity of their egos. In the process of developing an ego, the *accommodation-assimilation activity* emerges as the autopoietic process of conservation and adaptation mentioned above.

H. P. Grice (2002) clarifies the nature of human interaction culture by the cooperative principle. Following this kind of pragmatic aspects in communication, and autopoiesis mentioned above, J. Dolník (2013, pp. 361–365) defines the accommodation-assimilation activity to grasp human intelligibility. Regarding structural coupling, people, during an interaction with their environment to keep up with the world's dynamics, modify either themselves (meaning, the shape of their linguistic worlds) by the accommodation part of this activity or the way they understand the environment's setting by the assimilation part of that activity. The aftermath from the interactions with an extralinguistic ground must, naturally, take part in how someone's ego experiences the meanings of expressions on a linguistic basis and vice versa. That is how objectivity emerges in communication; nobody could otherwise understand a word. Thus, if one wants other people to believe their interpretation of political reality, adequate stimuli must be provided. Postulating convincing impulses with enough persistence, one can modify someone's judgement, even with entirely fabricated information. In conformity with J. Dolník's concept of accommodation-assimilation activity, the sender thus adjusts their message anticipating the structure of the receiver's linguistic world (i.e. their knowledge, interests, needs, etc.) to secure the best condition for conveying their perspective. In other words, while pursuing their own goals, the sender assimilates the receiver's linguistic world (assimilation part) by stylizing the content of a message (accommodation part).

Finally, the accommodation-assimilation activity plays a fundamental role in how a person experiences the meaning of a recognized expression. According to J. Dolník's theory (2018b), the human expression reception works in two modes. **(1) Non-rational mode** relates to the state when an individual understands the meaning of a recognized expression impulsively (i.e. effortlessly). **(2) Rational mode** links to

the state when an individual's understanding of the recognized expression requires extra effort, hence, interprets the expression. The former mode links to *behavioural lexical meaning*, and the latter relates to *actional lexical meaning*. Therefore, the stimuli person's ego accepts become part of its linguistic world, which defines how the ego experiences meaning in non-rational mode when it impulsively understands perceived expressions as behavioural lexical meanings.

In our approach to the meaning, as subjectively experienced by individuals based on their background, we keep in mind F. Miko's claim – each word, each mean and each procedure is the bearer of a certain expressive quality, even several of them, that is, a set of expressive qualities that subsume all elements of language and text. There are then no "non-symptomatic" or "neutral" means (Miko 1989, p. 70). In our understanding, the set of expressive qualities reflects the linguistic world of a particular person and the way of their externalization obtained from mutual communication with others. The structure of the linguistic world and its externalization is subject to natural cultivation during human life; it concerns gaining new experiences and knowledge. Since human behaviour and actions are changeable, thus, how people experience a lexical meaning within their linguistic worlds must be subject to dynamics too.

Although people are constantly exposed to various speech stimuli in communication, the outcome – which of those stimuli the ego recognizes and accepts eventually – depends on their assimilation base. We, therefore, compare the party's speech stimuli regarding liberalism with the authentic reactions of Facebook users in the following section to show how propaganda may alter the conceptual knowledge of its followers.

3.2.1 Public communication of selected politicians on Facebook

The purpose of message depends on its operability by which an author appeals to recipients. People who create messages like those analysed above only rarely unveil their intended goals explicitly, especially in politics. Instead of declaring their opinions on minorities openly and risking social or legal sanctions, they put necessary speech stimuli into their public communication as a statement of their values and thus remain seemingly pro-democratic politicians (cf. their usage of attribute "decent" as the marker of "white people"). This *far-right populist perpetuum mobile* (Wodak 2021, p. 25), enables them to continually violate publicly accepted social norms without getting into serious trouble. Such modus operandi has appeared in many analyses of populistic public communication (e.g. inter alia, Judis 2016; Wodak 2017; Wodak et al. 2021), pushing the limits of the sayable, making a platform to claim anything, no matter the trustworthiness of it, and getting public attention to utilise. Using stereotypes to raise emotions is a standard propagandistic procedure because of its *suggestive deontic effect* (Dolník 2013, p. 323) – a stereotypical image preserves the compelling impact on an individual as an

imperative: "When it is generally accepted, I simply have to behave in this nature". Propagandistic authors, consequently, anticipate the fear evoked by their texts to stimulate recipients' ego-defence reactions they may abuse.

We reviewed the public communication of M. Uhrík and M. Mazurek (two former members of ĽSNS, and currently the leading members of Hnutie Republika [The movement Republic] since March 9th, 2021), on Facebook from 2018 to 2022. As in the previous analysis, we focused on their framing of *liberalism*, but additionally, we followed the authentic reactions of the recipients from the comments related to the politicians' posts. Due to the enormous number of comments, we set a limit of the first 250 comments, after which we ignored the rest. The content analysis consists of 99 posts[11] on Facebook regarding *liberalism* (2018: n = 16; 2019: n = 33; 2020: n = 34; 2021: n = 16), in which we analysed the speech stimuli in confrontation to responses in comments using DHA combined with "socio-cognitive" approach in CDA of T. A. van Dijk (2001). We attempted to find out how party supporters' linguistic worlds mirror the presented framing of liberalism. While the party to which both politicians belong has changed, their narrative about liberalism remained the same.

We offer one of the analysed posts in following section, which M. Mazurek published on January 18th, 2020 on Facebook:

(1) *ĎAKUJEME VŠETKÝM KOŠIČANOM ZA NÁDHERNÚ ÚČASŤ!*
Aj keď si budú liberáli písať, ako nás neuveriteľne v Košiciach prečíslili a na fotkách tretinu našich sympatizantov zaraďovať do davu „protestujúcich", tak si to netreba všímať.
[THANK YOU TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF KOŠICE FOR THE WONDERFUL PARTICIPATION!
Even if the liberals will write about how they incredibly outnumbered us in Košice and included a third of our sympathizers in the crowd of "protesters" in the photos, there is no need to pay attention to it.]

(2) *Títo Trubanovi narkomani kopú z posledného a musia si na naše mítingy voziť autobusy osadníkov* 🙂 *Okrem toho, že prídu a správajú sa ako zmyslov zbavení, sú neuveriteľne vulgárni a plní nenávisti a agresie, tak ešte dôjdu s nechutne hanobiacimi transparentmi, kde neurážajú len nás, ale dokonca aj Pannu Máriu.*
[These Truban drug addicts are losing their steam. They brought busloads of settlers to our meetings.🙂 In addition to coming and behaving as if they have lost their senses, they are incredibly vulgar and full of hatred and aggression, they also come with disgustingly defamatory banners, where they not only insult us but even the Virgin Mary.]

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[11] M. Uhrík erased many of his earlier posts on Facebook; so we collected only 7 posts concerning liberalism in the period we covered.

(3) *Na takéto akcie perverzných a protikresťanských fanatikov chodí ešte aj predseda protikresťanskej strany KDH Lojzo Hlina, naozaj veľavravné...*
[Even the leader of the anti-Christian party KDH Lojzo Hlina goes to such events of perverse and anti-Christian fanatics, really eloquent...]

(4) *Podarilo sa nám usporiadať takýto neuveriteľný míting v druhom najväčšom meste Slovenska, kde nás prišlo podporiť minimálne 800 ľudí a naviac sme dokázali tak vystrašiť liberálov, že museli zmobilizovať všetkých vajdov na okolí.*
[We managed to organize such an incredible rally in the second largest city of Slovakia, where at least 800 people came to support us, and what's more, we scared the liberals so much that they had to mobilize all the gypsy leaders in the area.]

(5) *Nielen, že svojim správaním jasne presvedčili všetkých prítomných, aby nás volili a nepripravili nás ani o jediného voliča, no naviac nás neuveriteľne teší fakt, že si musia takto trápne dokazovať, ako nám vedia „obsadiť" míting.*
[Not only that their behaviour clearly convinced everyone present to vote for us and did not deprive us of a single voter but we are also incredibly pleased by the fact that they have to prove to themselves in such an embarrassing way how to "hijack" the meeting for us.]

(6) *Toto sa však robí iba stranám, ktoré sú suverénne najsilnejšie. A keďže narkomani na svoje mítingy nedostanú ani 20 ľudí, musia chodiť na tie naše. Na mítingy strany, ktorá ide vyhrať voľby! A to aj s pomocou týchto trápnych komparzistov, vďaka ktorým máme špičkové mediálne pokrytie našich akcií* 🙂 *P.S. my ich naozaj neplatíme... Túto reklamu a to neskutočne primitívne správanie nám hlupáčikovia nijak nefakturujú* 🙂
[However, this is only done to the parties that are sovereignly the strongest. Since drug addicts can't even get 20 people to their meetings, they have to go to ours. To the meetings of the party that is going to win the elections! And even with the help of these embarrassing extras, thanks to whom we have top media coverage of our events 🙂
P.S. we really don't pay them... The fools don't invoice us for this advertisement and this incredibly primitive behaviour.]

We summarize its macro-propositions as:
M1 We are an influential political party with actual reach.
M2 The immoral liberals are terrified of our ability to mobilize people.
M3 We are genuine Christians.

At the level of local meanings, the author creates M1 mainly implicitly by claims such as "we managed to organize such an incredible rally (…) where at least 800 people came to support us" and "we scared the liberals so much that they had to mobilize all the gypsy leaders in the area" (both in paragraph 4) or "this is only done to the parties that are sovereignly the strongest" (paragraph 6). He builds their positive self-presentation by emphasizing the party's achievement in mobilizing people and, at the same time, positions themselves in the role of a victim whose rally was under attack. Liberals were the aggressors together with "settlers" (i.e. Roma people), whereas they intended to hijack the rally. The author uses this perspectivization in his favour to point out that such attempts are conducted only against the most influential parties. Therefore, the party he belongs to is powerful. Moreover, in paragraph 2, he questions the impact of liberals on people implying they are desperate, and hence they brought Roma people to the rally to do a dirty job.

In opposition to M1, the author constructs M2 (i.e. the negative presentation of their opponents) directly, calling them "Truban's drug addicts"[12] (paragraph 1) and "perverse and anti-Christian fanatics" (paragraph 3) who behave "incredibly vulgar" and are "full of hatred and aggression" (both in paragraph 2). By perversion, he refers to homosexuality that is, according to them, against the values of Christianity. The second phrase of paragraph 2 is delivered in a way that one cannot tell if it refers to liberals or the Roma people mentioned at the end of the previous phrase as "settlers". But either way, the aftermath is the same – to denigrate liberals because the author's framing suggests that liberals brought Roma people to the rally since these "settlers" do nothing but exploit the social system (to see this perspectivization on Roma people, one must know other texts beyond this sample, cf. the meaning of "decent people" above). To minimize any impact of liberals' effort at the rally on potential voters, the author mocks their attempt and calls them "embarrassing extras", thanking them for "top media coverage" of their events (both in paragraph 6). Liberals thus get the description of naïve and incompetent fools (cf. "drug addicts can't even get 20 people to their meetings, they have to go to ours" in paragraph 6). The last nota-bene comment is one of those "humorous overstatements" that M. Montgomery (2017) articulates concerning populism.

Lastly, the author builds M3 as he delineates the "perverse and anti-Christian" behaviours of liberals (paragraph 3). Additionally, A. Hlina's[13] Christian values are challenged there, to whom he addresses familiarly as Lojzo and calls his party anti-Christian since he joined the side of liberal protesters at the rally. Besides, the author places his party in the role of true Christians by accusing his opponents of insulting the Virgin Mary at the end of paragraph 2.

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[12] M. Truban was a leader of the opponent party at the time.
[13] A. Hlina was a party leader of KDH (Christian democratic movement) at the time.

The analysed text hits its recipients differently depending on a specific amount of common ground that the recipients share with him to see his message. The interdependency between meanings from the local coherence of perceived text and how meaningful they appear to recipients at the global level causes the distinction in people's perception, which we strive to seize here. We, therefore, review the responses in Facebook threads related to the examined post above. Concerning space limitation, the illustration of content analysis consists of 7 comments in the following section.

(7) *A.H.G.: Banda fetakov a uchylakov je už tak zúfala že ide aj cez mŕtvoly a sľubuje hory doly len aby mala voličov.* 😳 *Ale my sa nedáme a stranu ĽSNS* 🇸🇰💪 *v februári volíme.*
[A bunch of junkies and perverts are already so desperate that they let nothing and no one stand in their way and promise the moon just to have voters. 😳 But we will not give up and we will vote for the ĽSNS party 🇸🇰💪 in February.]

(8) *A.H.G.: MD to je váš názor a neviem o čo vám ide ale trepete dve na tri a určite nebudem voliť takú stranu ako je ps-spolu, kde je samý uchyl, fetak a akože kresťan.* 🙄🤦‍♀️🏳️‍🌈
[MD, it's your opinion and I don't know what's your point but you're talking nonsense. I will definitely not vote for a party like PS-Spolu where there are only perverts, junkies, and wannabe Christians]

(9) *M.S.D.: Nevsimat si fetakov a buzerantov na co to je dobre, robim s 4 ciganmi a sami my povedali ze idu volit Kotlebu, ze nebudu volit fetakov a tych co im chcu brat deti a davat vychovavat buzerantov!!!!!!!!ved ludia ani nevedia co su slnieckari a je mi luto tych co idu s davom oviec a tvrdia ze ste fasicti alebo ze idete so smerom........*
[Don't pay attention to junkies and faggots, what is it good for, I work with 4 gypsies and they said that they had been going to vote for Kotleba, they won't vote for faggots and those who want to take their children and let them raise by bums!!!!!!!! people don't even know what the *slnieckari*[14] are and I feel sorry for those who go with the crowd of sheep and claim that you are fascists or that you go with the SMER[15]........]

(10) *J.V.: Milan, treba organizovať obdobne mítingy, keď ich bude mať liberálna mafia..Treba nechať vyrobiť transparenty s preškrtnutými penismi s nápisom STOP PS/SPOLU - STOP KOKOTIZMU . Treba ukázať tým liberálnym mafiánom, že ich zastavíme.*

[14] The pejorative term *slniečkari* refers to people open to different cultures, religions, or nationalities.
[15] The SMER–SD is a Slovak party.

[Milan, similar rallies should be organized when the liberal mafia will have them... Banners with crossed out penises with the words STOP PS/SPOLU - STOP MORONISM should be made. We have to show those liberal mafia that we will stop them.]

(11) *O.M.: Voliť LGBT liberálov je čire šialenstvo.Ved zo svojim programom nemôžu bez podporí USA a iných zlocinných podvodníkov uspieť, liberáli znamená zločinné zoskupenie fanatikov uchylov a doslova bláznov, toto zoskupenie je jednoducho nevolitelne, a treba to zakázať.*
[Voting for LGBT liberals is pure madness. They cannot succeed with their program without the support of the USA and other criminal fraudsters, liberals are a criminal group of fanatics, deviants, and literally fools, this group is simply unelectable, and it must be banned]

(12) *M.M.: JĎ ty podporuješ LGBTI? Už keď dvaja chlapi budú vychovávať nejaké dieťa čo s neho vyrastie? Kotleba ide proti tomu lebo je to proti viere a kresťanstvu. Jaký on je nacek a fašista a neviem čo ešte. Že v minulosti niečo urobil zle tak ho teraz treba odsúdiť na trest smrti či akú máš predstavu? A ty komu prejavuješ podporu LGBTI?? Zmeň si titulnú fotku za dvoch mužov alebo si daj svoju foto ako transka aby vedeli že ich podporuješ. Hnus*
[J.Ď., do you support LGBTI? If two guys are going to raise a child, what will grow out of them? Kotleba goes against this because it is against faith and Christianity. What a fascist he is supposed to be? He did something wrong in the past, so now he should be sentenced to death, or what do you think? And… who do you show LGBTI support to?? Change your cover photo to two men or put your photo as a trans woman so they know you support them. Disgusting.]

(13) *T.T.: N.N. radšej mužov v ženských šatách? Radšej politikov prednášajúcich na školách o pozitivach užívania drog.? Radšej LGBTI? Americké základne? Rodič jedna, rodič dva? Nie.!! Radšej LSNS*
[N.N., do you prefer men in women's clothes? Do you prefer politicians lecturing in schools about the positives of drug use.? Do you prefer LGBTI? American bases? Parent one, parent two? No.!! Better it'll be LSNS]

Although there is no explicit mention of the LGBTQ+ minority in M. Mazurek's Facebook post, his supporters engaged this minority in their reactions to address liberals. That is the distinction between local meanings of used expressions in the text (i.e. the microstructure of text perceived by an outsider who cannot recognize the author's linguistic world yet) and its global perception of an insider within the macrostructure of their linguistic world. The politician does not have to express

everything explicitly because he assumes his supporters will understand his speech stimuli based on the common ground. As a result, the linguistic world of M. Mazurek's supporters appears to be corrupted by his party framing. Concerning sexuality, they call them "perverts" (paragraphs 7, 8), "faggots" (paragraph 9), or imply that being a liberal means "men in women's clothes" (paragraph 13) who "want to take their children and let them raise by bums" (paragraph 9). Moreover, they commonly decrease the LGBTQ+ community to gay men and transexuals (e.g. lesbians are rarely, if ever, mentioned). Other phrases such as "liberals are a criminal group of fanatics, deviants, and literally fools" (paragraph 11) and "liberal mafia" (paragraph 10) suggest that liberals force others to live according to them under some threat. This framing of "radical liberals" follows back speech stimuli like, for example, "extreme liberals" found in *Naše Slovensko* newspaper (cf. category 2 in Table 1), which supports our assumption about propaganda that alters the conceptual knowledge of its followers. If we consider that people tend to evaluate information with a bias in favour of their own existing beliefs – when they interpret ambiguous or mixed information by them, they resist information leading to cognitive dissonance (Nyhan and Reifler 2019, p. 225) – the invoked linguistic world mirroring in supporters' comments cannot be unexpected. Since similar speech stimuli were present in all analysed posts, they echo in followers' comments speaking of liberalism as an ideology of perverts, LGBTQ+ people, drug addicts and so on.

4. DISCUSSION

Since autopoiesis makes people autonomous, by giving them their individuality, the way they communicate with each other bears the very same feature. Although every person forms their linguistic world through their interactions with the environment (including other people around them), its actual structure depends on the person's ego. That concerns the unique representation of liberalism involved in expressed linguistic worlds of analysed politicians' supporters, which contradicts the established meanings such as "ideology, a political doctrine emphasizing individual freedom" or "openness to more radical changes, new opinions and respect for differences in various areas; great tolerance towards someone, something different from tradition, especially Christian, antonym conservatism" both defined in *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* [Dictionary of the Contemporary Slovak Language], (2011). The individuality of everyone, represented by their egos, causes distinctions in how people understand the same expression, as the person's ego controls their assimilation base. The ego decides which speech stimuli it recognizes and allows them to influence the structure of its linguistic world through accommodation-assimilation activity. Though there is an established way for how an ego experiences particular meaning, adequate stimuli may modify this behavioural lexical meaning in the ego's linguistic world. Especially when, from the receiver's perspective, the

sender's expressive usage contradicts the behavioural lexical meaning of the receiver tied with recognized expressions. The receiver's ego, therefore, needs to employ a rational mode of expressional reception and interpret the uncertain phrases to understand them. We found such adequate speech stimuli in the analysed public communication concerning liberalism. The persistent narrative about "the sick ideology of LGBTQ+ perverts, which disrupts the traditional values, religion and the national sovereignty together with EU and NATO" is redefining the meaning of liberalism in the linguistic worlds of this narrative's supporters. The suggestive deontic effect of received framing contributes to the cause, particularly in such echo chambers as these politicians create. In the end, autopoiesis enables the human ego to decide which triggering stimuli from its environment will impact its linguistic world. Therefore, if liberalism is set in someone's worldview as "the sick ideology of LGBTQ+ perverts", they will experience this meaning of liberalism accordingly in their linguistic world despite any conflicting argument.

This plasticity of the linguistic world regarding how people may experience the same expressions in the same context differently leads us to revise our approach to lexical meaning as such. The subjectivistic perspective in suggested theoretic framework of linguistic world nudges us to consider people's individuality in our investigation. We must therefore recognize even other layers of lexical meaning, which make any communication understandable but, at a same time, they rationalize people's understanding of the world. That brings people the certainty and explains their behaviour and actions following their linguistic worlds. Becoming intelligible in communication requires much more than acknowledging the denotative layer of lexical meaning. As we mentioned above, **language as a human interactive disposition does not work just on rules of logic because the language iconicity empowers people to put their entire world into words to convey their view**. Since the catchphrase *liberálny fašizmus* [liberal fascism] got us thinking about lexical meaning differently, **Figure 1** portrays our schema of lexical meaning that takes into notice the individuality of people and respects the uniqueness of their linguistic worlds.

**Figure 1.** The outline of lexical meaning in linguistic world

Though we consider the denotative layer of lexical meaning as its baseline in communication, it is not the only crucial attribute in human understanding. The denotation presents only the tip of the iceberg, which a human being explicitly perceives by their senses, but the rest is observable upon scrutinized look at the message a sender conveys. Hence, from the subjectivistic point of view, denotation provides merely an initial perspective. It navigates an ego through its linguistic world so people can understand the recognised expressions. On the other hand, the connotative layer relates to the ego's vivid experience, which makes it more demanding for an observer to recognise it at first glance but provides valuable insight since it echoes an ego's individuality. All knowledge, experience, hopes, beliefs, etc., that ego has acquired defines a person and affects how they experience lexical meanings in communication. In our understanding, language iconicity allows people to blur the boundaries between lexical meanings and utilize them as actional lexical meanings in order to achieve various goals. To sum up, all layers of lexical meaning are equally essential in investigation to come to an accurate conclusion. In factual text analysis, one cannot rely solely on the denotative layer of meanings manifested in the text since valuable evidence may lie underneath, more reasonably enlightening its author's motivation. By observing the authors' language iconicity, which reflects their subjective experience, one can better understand the reason for their choices in expressions.

Figure 2 shows the semantic network regarding the lexical meaning of liberalism as captured in the analysed texts in *Naše Slovensko* newspaper and public communication of M. Mazurek and M. Uhrík. The meaning of liberalism has two main directions in their usage, towards homosexuality, or the West. There is a compound between homosexuality and gender ideology always tied to sexuality within their understanding of liberalism. That, together with drug legalization and openness to other cultures, makes, according to their framing, liberalism against traditional values and Christianity. In the second direction, the liberalism is an import from the West, which promotes it via the European Union, and NGOs. Those play the crucial role in defending the gender ideology and homosexuality. The West also means NATO, the fundamental opposition of Slovak interests in relation to Russians. The European Union invites immigrants into Europe, among others Christianity-threatening Muslims.

The persistent propaganda on what liberalism means and how it threatens "decent people" in Slovakia seemingly influenced the linguistic worlds of propaganda followers, who expressed themselves in analysed comment sections. All the suggested speech stimuli there concerning liberalism (cf. Figure 2) appear to have found the echo in the structure of the lexical meaning the supporters experience and deliver through the expression *liberalism*. Our findings thus indicate the possibility of altering a pattern of how people understand lexical meanings by modifying their structure, which people do not necessarily speak about explicitly but

externalize it in communication. After all, generating an actional lexical meaning for an audience works on the same principles as a linguistic world evolves upon (because the accepted actional lexical meaning by ego eventually becomes its constituent as a behavioural lexical meaning). The intention of authors, which reflects the used speech stimuli in the texts, is essential for adequate language iconicity conveying a message appropriately. Its successful execution assures that the intended effect makes the phrase "liberal fascism" meaningful and well expressed in the linguistic worlds of the followers. Yet, the reaction depends solely on the ego of everyone involved and how each ego controls its assimilation base.

Figure 2. The semantic network of the expression *liberalism*
in the propaganda linguistic world
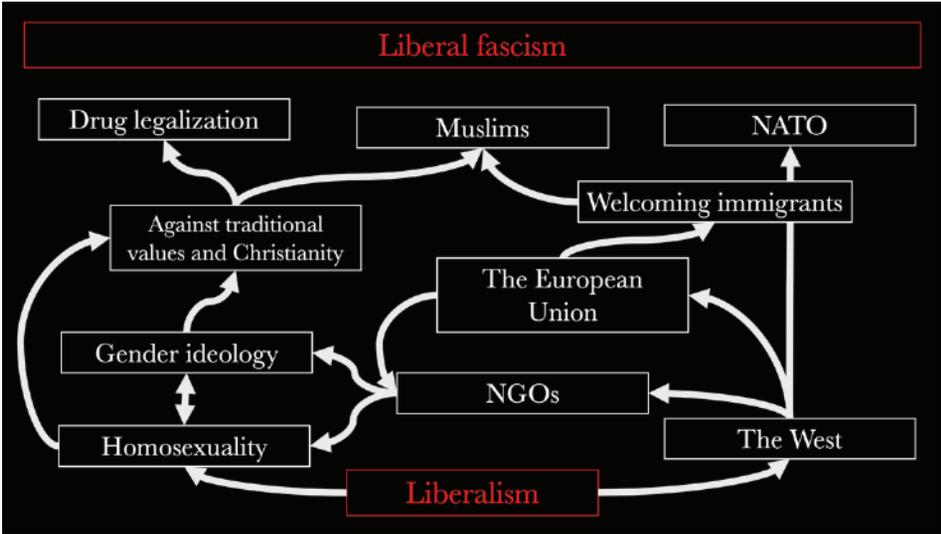
5. CONCLUSION

The egolinguistic perspective followed in our paper forced us to modify our thinking about the lexical meaning, which better reflects human diversity in how people understand received expressions and express themselves through them in communication. The schema of lexical meaning based on the biology of cognition must not neglect the principles involved in creating and maintaining the linguistic world in which an ego works. Taking into account human uniqueness and diversity as people experience lexical meanings, thus means to not lean merely on the interpretations of lexical meanings captured in dictionaries while judging the message of texts. People can discriminate, threaten or bully others even by seemingly neutral (i.e. not utterly hateful) expressions. It is not a secret that the disinformation

related to extremism and far-right populism is rising in the whole V4 region and flagrantly attacks the very fundamental liberal democratic principles. Therefore, while assessing a text for hate crime, one must put the idiolect of the author before the vocabulary descriptions found in dictionaries since one can primarily find the denotative layers of expressions there. To counter hate speech, discrimination, xenophobia or other crimes perpetrated by use of language, one should better understand what is happening within our linguistic worlds to secure the freedom of speech in terms of liberal democracy.

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R e s u m é

AKO SA BUDUJE (NE)SLOBODA: JAZYKOVÝ SVET JEDNEJ POLITICKEJ STRANY NA SLOVENSKU V SÚVISLOSTI S LIBERALIZMOM

V globalizovanom svete pretkanom komunikačnými technológiami a sociálnymi sieťami sa táto štúdia usiluje pochopiť, ako politici svojou verejnou komunikáciou postupne vplývajú na jazykové svety svojich recipientov. Analýza komunikácie sledovanej strany odhalila istý vzorec v externalizovaní významu *liberalizmus*, ktorým jej členovia navodzujú recipientom potrebné konotácie, pričom sa nimi usilujú nanovo definovať spôsob, akým recipienti prirodzene prežívajú význam slova *liberalizmus*. S ohľadom na pojmové znalosti späté so slovami tak politici svojou verejnou komunikáciou vplývajú na sémantickú štruktúru slova *liberalizmus* v jazykových svetoch recipientov, ktorá sa im vyjavuje v podobe tzv. behaviorálneho významu. Štúdia preto navrhuje korigovať perspektívu v nazeraní na lexikálny význam, aby zohľadňovala jedinečnosť a rôznorodosť ľudí v ich spôsobe, akým rozumejú jednotlivým výrazom a ďalej nimi v komunikácii sprostredkúvajú rozličné obsahy. Pri konštruovaní takej perspektívy autor vychádza z biológie poznania H. R. Maturanu a F. J. Varelu a egolingvistiky J. Dolníka.