Title

Inclusive Language in Polish Media: A Corpus Linguistics Approach to Analysing Gender-Neutrality in Left-Wing and Right-Wing Publications

Authors

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Introduction

The aim of this study is to compare two types of Polish media texts in terms of inclusive language. The assumption is that left-wing leaning texts will feature more expressions of such language; an additional aim is to check whether more right-wing leaning publications also contain inclusive language features, and if yes – to what extent.

Polish is a language rich in gender-specific grammatical forms, with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and many verbs carrying explicit gender information. This characteristic poses challenges for inclusivity, particularly when addressing or referring to groups of people. Traditionally, the masculine form has been the default, which has led to concerns about exclusion and representation. In response, there is a growing trend towards more inclusive language practices. Efforts to promote inclusivity range from avoiding gendered forms altogether to using both masculine and feminine forms in communication. Additionally, there is a push towards adopting new grammatical structures that are gender-neutral and inclusive, especially for non-binary individuals.

In light of these linguistic shifts, there is a rising demand in the business and non-profit sectors for workshops and training sessions on inclusive language. These educational initiatives aim to foster environments that are respectful and acknowledging of all gender identities. Concurrently, academic and practical research into inclusive language is expanding, offering new insights and strategies for addressing the challenges associated with gender in communication. This growing body of work not only informs policy and practice but also contributes to broader discussions about equality and diversity in society.

The employment of gender-inclusive language has ignited considerable debate across the political spectrum. Individuals and groups with left-leaning ideologies generally advocate for its use, recognizing the importance of inclusivity and representation in language. On the other hand, many authors and publishers with right-wing or conservative affiliations are often critical of these changes, preferring to adhere to traditional language structures, which typically default to masculine forms.

This study aims to examine the hypothesis empirically that mainstream publishers with left-wing orientations are more inclined to adopt and use modern, gender-inclusive forms in their publications compared to their right-wing counterparts. By analysing the language used by these publishers, the study seeks to provide insights into how ideological leanings might influence linguistic choices and the broader acceptance of gender-inclusive language practices within the publishing industry.

Corpus details

A corpus of text from two publishers has been compiled using the Sketch Engine tool. The texts were uploaded using Sketch Engine's Text from Web feature, and individual links were scraped using a Python script that utilizes the Beautiful Soup library, a package designed for parsing HTML and XML documents. This method allows for efficient extraction and manipulation of web data for linguistic analysis.

The first subcorpus is made of the right-wing media outlet "Fronda" texts, with ca. 61,840 words. This publisher is considered conservative and right-wing¹. This subcorpus consists of ca. 62,000 words.

¹ <u>https://www.fronda.pl/a/portal-frondapl-wiceliderem-portali-prawicowych,17318.html</u> [DOA 21.12.2023]

The second subcorpus consists of articles published by "Oko.press", an independent outlet focusing on investigative journalism, political and social issues, with a left-leaning profile². It consists of ca. 75,500

The average length of a "Fronda" article is about 4 times smaller than the average length of "Oko.press" articles. Hence, more articles were added to reach an acceptable balance of tokens coming from both outlets.

Tokens167,522Words136,921Sentences10,438Paragraphs4,518Documents182

In total, the corpus consists of around 137,500 words.

Keywords

1. Keywords for each subcorpus

When analysing keywords for each subcorpus, notable distinctions emerge. In the case of "Fronda", a clear conservative orientation is evident, with a significant emphasis on topics related to religion. This emphasis on religious subjects stands out in comparison to the reference corpus of conventional Polish. However, there are no indications of inclusive language in the keywords associated with "Fronda".

²

https://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/artykul/ruszyl-serwis-oko-press-patrzacy-na-rece-wladzy-w-redakcji-dzi ennikarze-z-gw-polityki-tvn-i-tok-fm

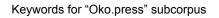
reference corpus: Polish Web 201	9 (plTenTen19) (items: 7,882)							
Lemma	Lemma		Lemma		Lemma		Lemma	
1 paruzja ····	21 kosiniak-kamysz		41 brescii	•••	61 printy	•••	81 ursulą	•••
2 lavmag ····	22 nierząd		42 opętanie		62 zorganizowanej		82 śledź	
3 damazy •••	23 bosak		43 adventus		63 frankowy	•••	83 medycznie	
4 kpo •••	24 dropshipping		44 gądecki		64 krasnodębski		84 kep	
5 exposé ····	25 chanukowy	•••	45 samospalenie		65 gawkowski	•••	85 liberiusz	•••
6 expose ····	26 antykościół	•••	46 okultyzm		66 aborcja	•••	86 egzorcyzm	•••
7 guadalupe ····	27 hołownia		47 iuris		67 donald	•••	87 niekontrowersyjny	•••
8 eugeniczny ····	28 salij	•••	48 leyen	•••	68 braun	•••	88 miziński	•••
9 prestashop ····	29 tekieli		49 witomiński		69 roraty		89 g7	
10 adwent ····	30 egzorcysta		50 wróżbiarstwo		70 amy-jill		90 niepłodność	
11 piżama •••	31 ekpc		51 libicki	•••	71 kwaczkow		91 zbawca	
12 fronda ····	32 levine		52 cbśp		72 ułaskawić		92 prokreacja	
13 traktatowy •••	33 marika		53 księga powtórzonego prawa		73 gundiajew		93 wiatrakowy	
14 izajasz ····	34 wstawienniczy		54 kłeczek		74 verlinde		94 synagogalny	
15 strickland •••	35 etpc		55 złorzeczyć		75 becciu		95 elastanu	
16 screenshot ····	36 tusk		56 podkomisja		76 dziemianowicz-bąk		96 cyryl	
17 szynkowski ····	37 kosiniaka-kamysza	•••	57 nowacka	•••	77 kotula	•••	97 obrzydliwość	•••
18 bodnar ····	38 antykościoła		58 parenthood	•••	78 kpł	•••	98 ugandyjski	
19 chanuka •••	39 wróżbita		59 planned		79 uganda		99 kisić	
20 nagłość ···	40 heschela		60 kiszony		80 dropshippingu		100 jaspers	

Keywords for "Fronda" subcorpus

Conversely, when examining "Oko.press", the presence of inclusive language becomes evident even within the keywords themselves. Notably, there is a prevalence of feminine forms of human nouns, particularly in titles, such as "socjolożka", "psycholożka", "pastorka", "wicenaczelna", and "redaktorka". This suggests that these feminine forms appear more frequently in "Oko.press", indicating a deliberate effort to use gender-inclusive language that includes women. Additionally, the presence of the word "uchodźczy" is notable, as it is part of the osobatyw (for explanation of this term see next part) construction, such as "osoba uchodźcza", which is a typical employment in inclusive language.

This analysis underscores the distinct linguistic and editorial approaches of these two media outlets, with "Fronda" leaning towards conservatism and religiosity, while "Oko.press" demonstrates a commitment to inclusive language, particularly in the recognition and representation of women.

oko 🔻 🗙										ୟ 🛓 💿 = (⊙ ☆
SINGLE-WORDS 🗸	MUL	TI-WORD TERMS 🗸									
reference corpus: Polish Web 2019 (plTenTen19) (items: 8,818)											
Lemma		Lemma		Lemma		Lemma		Lemma		Lemma	
1 facebookuudostępnij		18 bodnar	•••	35 mównica		52 kosiniak-kamysz	•••	69 dadaj		86 aws	
2 newsudostępnij		19 neosędziów	•••	36 pressilustracja		53 psycholożka	•••	70 publicystka	•••	87 pochopień	•••
3 twitterzeudostępnij		20 balawajdra	•••	37 jewhenija	•••	54 rozsierdzić	•••	71 nikita		88 dziesięciominutowy	•••
4 plfot		21 kyryło	•••	38 pastorka		55 tusk	•••	72 langer		89 zgwałcić	
5 balawajder		22 neo-krs	•••	39 wicenaczelna	•••	56 kucharskail	•••	73 orlen		90 dwutlenek	
6 hołownia	•••	23 zuchowicz	•••	40 wicenaczelny	•••	57 pressil	•••	74 afpfot	•••	91 wrzosek	•••
7 press		24 gigaton	•••	41 azyl	•••	58 emif	•••	75 neosędziowie	•••	92 dwutygodnik	•••
⁸ dziadosz		25 uchodźczy	•••	42 praworządność	•••	59 nahida	•••	76 kirche		93 ścigaj	
9 mirys		26 rusłan	•••	43 cecilia	•••	60 zaskoczy	•••	77 nettetal	•••	94 iga	
10 obajtka		27 exposé	•••	44 wotum	•••	61 kucharska	•••	78 switłana		95 redaktorka	
11 berenda		28 przyłębskiej	•••	45 asyl	•••	62 poręba	•••	79 konarzewska		96 ołeksandra	
12 ziobro		29 czarnek	•••	46 porzycki	•••	63 pilecki	•••	80 konstytucjonalista		97 donald	
13 kamińs		30 obajtkiem		47 charkowski	•••	64 omnia	•••	81 fm		98 szynkowski	
14 anhelina		31 ziemiec		48 antyprzemocowa	•••	65 błaszczak	•••	82 dubliński		99 miesięcznica	
15 kopertowe		32 dziuba		49 isw	•••	66 polityczka	•••	83 bamf		100 słuchalność	•••
16 stambulski		33 morawiecki		50 obajtek	•••	67 etpcz	•••	84 lesbos			
17 rmf		34 socjolożka		51 genderowy	•••	68 współzakładał	•••	85 dwutygodniowy			
	Rows per page: 100 ▼ 1-100 of 1,000 I< < 1 /10 > >I										



jechałam do tych "okropnych" osób **uchodźczych** i chcę im poma s>Po przeżyciach z obozu dla osób **uchodźczych** nauczyłam się m twój "przeskok" z obozu dla osób **uchodźczych** do szkoły.</s>

Example of concordances for the collocation "osoba" + "uchodźczy"

2. Use of the lemma "osoba" – focus of WordSketch analysis

One of the most common ways to refer to a group of people in Polish in a gender-neutral way – avoiding both non-inclusive default masculine forms, and gendered terms made by adding feminine forms – is to use the so called osobatywy³. These are expressions based on the word "osoba" ("person"), usually followed by an active adjectival participle. The usage of such expressions might be an indicator of attempts at inclusive, gender-neutral language.

³ <u>https://zaimki.pl/osobatywy</u>

The lemma "osoba" was found 262 times, 74 in "Fronda" texts (28%), and 188 times (72%) in "Oko.press".

O oko.press ając z trollami czy hejterami, tak naprawdę nie rozmawiam z nimi, tylko pokazuję osobom czytającym, jak rozbrajać nienawistne komentarze i jak weryfikować fakty – mówi
O oko.press nim doświadczenia?</s><s>Alina Czyżewska*: Z czasu, gdy byłam w obozie dla osób uchodźczych, na Lesbos.</s><s>To były wakacje 2017 i 2018 roku.</s><s>Pisak

Since the words "osoba" might be used naturally without it being an attempt to construct inclusive expressions, it is worth noting that this lemma is found as a part of an osobatyw expression in "Fronda" texts as well. This might indicate the growing popularity and naturalness of its usage.

2 🔲 🛈 fronda.pl ine z użyciem środków całkowicie bezpiecznych dla ludzi w każdym wieku, w tym	osób	starszych czy małych dzieci, a także zwierząt domowych. <s>Mowa o pyretroi 🖺</s>
3 🔲 🛈 fronda.pl raw bez konieczności przemieszczania się po całym mieście. <s>Wygoda dla</s>	osób	podróżujących w celach biznesowych – hotele w centrum są często wybierane ze 📡
4 🔲 🛈 fronda.pl ziennie rano serwowane są bufetowe śniadania. <s>To doskonałe miejsce dla</s>	osób	szukających komfortowego zakwaterowania w dogodnej lokalizacji blisko centrum 📡
5 📋 🛈 fronda.pl ych lub już niepotrzebnych książek? <s>W dzisiejszych czasach coraz więcej</s>	osób	poszukuje okazji, by wzbogacić swoje domowe biblioteczki o kolejne tytuły, nie wy 🦷

A more in-depth analysis of this case will be presented later in the active adjectival participle section.

WordSketch, Collocations and Concordations

2. Reader addressing (second-person singular and plural)

One of the many instances of grammatical forms including gender information is direct speech and addressing (most likely the reader) in the second-person singular and plural; while the present tense remains gender-neutral, the past tense morpheme does mark gender, too.

In an attempt to find these, a search for such forms, a search of verbs ending with "-eś" and "-aś" was performed. The latter gave no results; the former gives four hits (one of them a false find). Two of them were found in the "Oko.press" subcorpora, one in Fronda; all seem to be, however, citations.

 1
 ① oko.press >Przecież jesteś młodym, silnym mężczyzną.</s><s>W Polsce mówi się, że powinieneś zostać i walczyć o swój kraj".</s><s>W listach opisywałam to, co usłyszałam – na r

 2
 ② oko.press śł ofiar, a nie wokół bohaterów, inaczej niż na przykład Litwa, w której każda
 wieś ma
 muzeum ruchu oporu.</s><s>A my chodzimy do Kamienia Katyńskiego albc

 3
 ③ oko.press regularnie kontrolowane.</s><s>Jeżeli jesteś oskarżony o handel ludźmi, to
 powinieneś mieć
 zakaz prowadzenia takiej działalności w przyszłości.
 sec.s.s. To samo dotycz modycz modycz modycz modych m

Similarly, the search for second-person plural verbs in the past tense resulted in only one hit for the masculine form "-liście", which turned out to be a citation. No results were found for the feminine "-łyście".

Likewise, a search was made for the compound future form "będziesz" and "będziecie", which might include gender markers ("będziesz robił"). The results were all citations (mostly from the Bible).

In another try to look for gendered addressing expressions, a search for vocatives was made, in an attempt to find expressions like "czytelniku" ("dear reader"). This search turned out to be inaccurate, with Sketch Engine marking over 400 various forms as vocative, but falsely; a manual check showed not a single vocative directed at the reader.

121	i) ok	ko.press Z	najnowszyc	n informacji w	ynika, że nie ty	le chodzi o	oddzielny res	ort, ile biuro	ministry	ds.	. równości przy Kance	elarii Prezesa Ra	ady Ministrów. </th <th>/s><s>"Kpina :</s></th> <th>z polskich 🐚</th>	/s> <s>"Kpina :</s>	z polskich 🐚
122	i) ok	oko.press :y	rlko zmiana f	agi narodowe	j jednego kraju	ı na inną. <th>s><s>Okupac</s></th> <th>ja to tortury,</th> <th>deportacje</th> <th>e, pr</th> <th>orzymusowe adopcje,</th> <th>zakazy identyfik</th> <th>acji, obozy filtra</th> <th>cyjne, masow</th> <th>e groby.<!--</th--></th>	s> <s>Okupac</s>	ja to tortury,	deportacje	e, pr	orzymusowe adopcje,	zakazy identyfik	acji, obozy filtra	cyjne, masow	e groby. </th
123	i) ok	oko.press a	iruszać porz	ądek światowy	i dyktować sw	voje warunki	i. <s>Jeśl</s>	i wygra, inni	dyktatorzy	y pój	öjdą w jego ślady.<∕s>∙	<s>I otrzymamy</s>	świat, w którym	n życie będzie	niebezpie 🕞
124	i) ok	oko.press :y	rlko zmiana f	agi narodowe	j jednego kraju	ı na inną. <th>s><s>Okupac</s></th> <th>ja to tortury,</th> <th>deportacje</th> <th>e, pr</th> <th>orzymusowe adopcje,</th> <th>obozy filtracyjne</th> <th>, masowe groby</th> <th>y.<s>Trwa</s></th> <th>ały pokój tc 下</th>	s> <s>Okupac</s>	ja to tortury,	deportacje	e, pr	orzymusowe adopcje,	obozy filtracyjne	, masowe groby	y. <s>Trwa</s>	ały pokój tc 下
125	i) ok	ko.press te	əlniczkom i (zytelnikom "p	ożywienie dla	myśli" – ana	alizy, wywiady	, reportaże i	multimedia	a, kt	tóre pokazują znane t	ematy z innej st	rony, wytrącają	nasze myślen	ie z utarty 👕

This might be because of the very nature of the text compiled, where directly addressing the reader is not common, not because of the risk of exclusive language use, but rather due to the neutral, informative way of writing news articles.

3. _ and / characters

Another way of using inclusive language, especially in written texts, is the use of the / and _ characters. There are many ways of incorporating these characters:

- a) nauczyciel/ka or nauczyciel_ka (masculine lemma + character + feminine morphem)
- b) ginekolog/ginekolożka (rarely: ginekolog_ginekolożka, especially if the feminine morphem changes the stem of the lemma)

The search for the underscore character yielded no results.

The search for the slash character provided several results, mostly in the context of actually dividing some information (for example in signatures or metadata). However, there were two contexts in which the slash was used for preserving gender inclusive language:

Zwłaszcza że – jak już nie raz podkreślaliśmy – średnie zarobki nauczycielek / li w gminie liczy się razem z nadgodzinami, co – dodajmy – wydaje się sprzeczne z pilnowaniem... . </s><s> I piszemy o błędach poznawczych, które sprawiają, że jesteśmy bezbronni wobec kłamstw. </s><s> Tylko czy naprawdę jesteśmy? </s><s> Nad tym też się zastanowimy. </s><s> Wyłączną odpowiedzialność za wszelkie treści wspierane przez Europejski Fundusz Mediów i Informacji (European Media and Information Fund, EMIF) ponoszą autorzy / autorki i nie muszą one odzwierciedlać stanowiska EMIF i partnerów funduszu, Fundacji Calouste Gulbenkian i Europejskiego Instytutu Uniwersyteckiego (European University Institute). </s><s> Rocznik 1976. </s><s> Od dziecka przeglądał encyklopedie i już mu tak zostało. </s><s> Skończył anglistykę, a o naukowych odkryciach pisał w "Gazecie Wyborczej

Both instances occured in "Oko.press".

4. Active adjectival participle

← `	N Ø N
a_mo	difier
dawać	•••
poszukiwany	/ …
popadać	•••
odchudzać	•••
chory	•••
wróżyć	•••
głosić	•••
skazać	•••
działać	•••
znać	•••
przebywać	•••
żyć	•••
wrogi	•••
odpowiedzia	lny …
pozostały	•••
św.	•••
powołać	•••
realny	•••
żywy	•••

WordSketch for "osoba" + a_modifier in "Fronda" subcorpus with concordance examples.

In right-leaning publications such as "Fronda", the classic usage of adjectival participles like "osoba dająca" and "osoba poszukiwana" demonstrates an adherence to traditional language structures. These forms, indicative of the language's long-standing traditions, underscore the inherent flexibility and adaptability of Polish

language constructs. Despite criticisms from conservative media that contemporary forms of inclusive language, or osobatywy, are a form of "newspeak", the prevalent use of classic "osoba" + adjectival participle constructions in these outlets highlights that such structures are not novel but deeply ingrained in the Polish language. The presence of phrases like "osoba chora" (sick person) further illustrates that the language has long utilized the "osoba" + adjective/participle format to describe various human conditions and behaviours.

< [→] If	× Ø •	wet odwagi pozwać mnie jako osoby prywatne . <s>Wolel</s>
a_modifie	er	/ch sprawach?>>Jestem osobą prywatną i nie mam pow
prywatny	•••	wiedzieć, że nie do końca jest osobą prywatną , ale Balawajde
tys.	•••	
doznawać	•••	szkole? <s>Co słyszą osoby uczniowskie ?<</s>
uczniowski	•••	>Mówię o hejcie ze strony osób uczniowskich ,
hejtujących verb	•••	
czytać	•••	ś ludziom, którzy – zdaniem osób hejtujących –
małoletni	•••	
pełnić	•••	y i prywatne wiadomości od osób hejtujących .<
szukać	•••	
obcy	•••	(raczania kompetencji przez osoby pełniące funkcje publi
konkretny	•••	zeń jako prokurator. <s> Osoby pełniące najwyższe fu</s>
oszukać	•••	
krzywdzić	•••	-
dotknąć	•••	ι przyjmującego, jak i dla samych osób migrujących – ι
ubiegać	•••	
zgłaszać	•••	
wywodzić	•••	

WordSketch for "osoba" + a_modifier in "Oko.press" subcorpus with concordance examples.

In contrast, progressive outlets like "Oko.press" leverage osobatywy to forge new paths in linguistic inclusivity. By introducing forms like "osoba uczniowska" and "osoba hejtująca", they actively engage language as a tool for societal change, pushing the boundaries of linguistic norms to reflect and promote inclusive values.

This innovative use of language signifies a broader cultural shift toward embracing and celebrating diversity.

The osobatyw form is only part of possible inclusive structures, some of them posing problems as new grammatical forms of following words are more and more popular.

A clear example is the mentioned earlier "osoba" or "osoby", followed by an active adjectival participle. By using this expression, the feminine gender of the particle is matched to the gender of the lemma "osoba", which in itself is as inclusive as it gets. An example would be "osoby hejtujące" or "osoba czytająca".

The challenging aspect of these forms is that not only a participle can be used, but also adjectives, and some of them tend to be newer forms of neologisms constructed specifically for gender inclusivity. Some such examples are "osoby uczniowskie" or "osoby uchodźcze", where the usual default masculine forms would be "uczniowie" and "uchodźcy".

Osobatywy vs. simple strucutre: "osoba" + adjectival participles

In Polish, the distinction between osobatywy and simple adjectival participles reflects nuances in how language is used to describe individuals and their roles or actions. Understanding the difference between "osoba uczniowska" and "osoba ucząca się" can provide a clearer insight into these nuances.

Osobatywy (e.g., "osoba uczniowska"):

- Osobatywy are a specific construct in Polish where "osoba" (person) is combined with a noun or adjective to describe a person's role, characteristic, or identity.
- In the example of "osoba uczniowska", the word "uczniowska" is an adjective derived from "uczeń" ("student"). It describes the person as having student-like qualities or as affiliated with students, possibly reflecting a broader or more abstract student identity rather than a direct action.
- The term "uczniowska" does not directly come from an active verb but rather from a noun, giving it a more static and identity-focused connotation.

Simple structure: "osoba" + adjectival participle (e.g., "osoba ucząca się"):

- Simple adjectival participles are more straightforward, typically formed by combining an active verb with the noun "osoba" to describe someone currently performing the action.
- "Osoba ucząca się" literally translates to a person who is learning or studying. Here, "ucząca się" is a participle form of the verb "uczyć się" (to learn or to study), directly indicating an ongoing action or state.
- This form is more dynamic and action-oriented. It specifies the activity the person is engaged in at the moment, focusing on the action rather than the identity or affiliation.

Osobatywy can be both created with adjectives stemming from nouns ("osoba hejterska") or in a pattern similar to simple adjectival participles ("osoba hejtująca"). Some of the modern ways of creating osobatywy arose in the Polish language as a linguistic adaptation to more fully express the complexities of identity and condition beyond active participation. Not every "osoba" ("person") is actively engaged in an action at every moment, and thus, these constructions allow for the description of a person's more enduring properties, status, or situations. For example, "osoba studencka" conveys not just the action of studying but a broader student identity or status, encompassing aspects like belonging to a student community or being in a phase of life centred around education.

The use of the newer constructions ("osoba uczniowska") in "Oko.press" and the lack of it in "Fronda", with only classic constructions, indicate that the intention of the writers of both titles differ. One is to be more inclusive, the other is simply to write according to the rules of the Polish language, without any ideological agenda behind it.

1	🛈 oko.press iając z trollami czy hejterami, tak naprawdę nie rozmawiam z nimi, tylko pokazuję	osobom	n czytającym, jak rozbrajać nienawistne komentarze i jak weryfikować fakty – mówi 👔
2	① oko.press : nim doświadczenia? <s>Alina Czyżewska*: Z czasu, gdy byłam w obozie dla</s>	osób	uchodźczych, na Lesbos. <s>To były wakacje 2017 i 2018 roku.</s> <s>Pisała 🐚</s>
3	oko.press <s>Opowiadałam o osobach, które poznałam.</s> <s>Co zatem tak rozpalało</s>	osoby	hejtujące? <s>Hejt dotyczył głównie tego, że ja – polska dziewczyna – pojech: 🐚</s>
4	🕕 oko.press tyczył głównie tego, że ja – polska dziewczyna – pojechałam do tych "okropnych"	osób	uchodźczych i chcę im pomagać. <s>Treść relacji nie miała znaczenia.</s> <s td="" 👕<=""></s>
5	🛈 oko.press 'm nikt nie odczuwa strachu. <s>A jak to wygląda w szkole?</s> <s>Co słysza</s>	osoby	uczniowskie? <s>Powtarzane od lat: "Masz być taka czy taki jak inni, nie możr 📄</s>

Another use of "osoba" occurs to avoid the gendered "ktoś" and "ten" pronouns.

In the Polish language, the use of traditional adjectival participles and the innovative osobatywy highlights a linguistic evolution reflecting societal values. Classic

structures like "osoba dająca" in conservative publications adhere to traditional norms, emphasizing the language's historical continuity, while progressive outlets like "Oko.press" adopt osobatywy (e.g., "osoba uczniowska") to foster inclusivity, reflecting a broader cultural shift towards embracing diversity. This linguistic adaptation, which includes the use of gender-inclusive particles and neologisms, signifies a dynamic interplay between maintaining linguistic heritage and embracing societal changes, thus showcasing the flexibility and responsiveness of the Polish language to changing social dynamics.

5. Other forms of inclusivity for further research

Our corpus, encompassing only a fraction of the press, does not capture the entire scope of inclusive language forms present in general press discourse. Further research into the topic of inclusive language forms in Polish would greatly benefit from an enlarged corpus that encompasses a broader range of press and linguistic sources. Expanding the corpus would likely reveal a more comprehensive array of innovative structures, such as "-szcze", "-rze", "-cze", "-o", "-um", and ".*łom", and provide deeper insights into their prevalence and usage. With a larger and more diverse dataset, researchers could more accurately assess the impact and evolution of these inclusive forms within the Polish language, contributing to a better understanding of linguistic trends and societal shifts towards inclusivity.

Summary

The analysis highlights a notable contrast in linguistic inclusivity between "Oko.press" and "Fronda". "Oko.press" demonstrates a strong commitment to inclusivity through the use of various strategies, while "Fronda" adheres to a more conservative linguistic approach. This divergence in their editorial stances and linguistic choices underscores the significant difference in how they embrace inclusive language. Additionally, our initial assumption that left-leaning media would utilize more inclusive language than their right-leaning counterparts was validated, even though the extent of this difference was not as pronounced as initially anticipated.

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