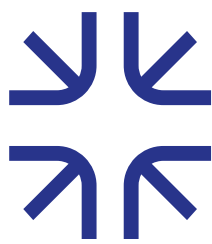




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Donald Trump's political campaign rhetoric. A cognitive study

Abstract: Politicians recruit conceptual metaphors, as these means enable them to talk about abstract political problems in terms of more tangible and commonplace entities. This study aims to explore linguistic aspects of Trump's presidential campaign and is conducted in light of premises derived from Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor Theory. The selected speeches were analyzed using a corpus research tool, i.e. Metaphor Identification Process was implemented. Donald Trump's campaign speeches were retrieved from internet sources. The period from January 24th, 2015 to October 20th, 2016 was chosen for compiling the primary corpus of 20 speeches. The qualitative analysis indicates that the President used metaphorical expressions frequently. The author of the article enumerates some grand metaphorical themes underlying Donald Trump's campaign speeches.

Keywords: Donald Trump, campaign speeches, conceptual metaphor, MIP, discourse.

1. Background information

Donald Trump's presidential election in 2016 gained the status of one of the most warlike and controversial campaigns in the history of the modern United States (Lakoff 2017). For this reason the aspects of Donald Trump's political message has attracted the interest of a great number of linguists who aim to examine it. Trump's presidential campaign sparked interest throughout the world as it ended with Donald Trump's victory. To the astonishment of many people, the businessman and political outsider who represented the Republican party won against the politically experienced Democrat candidate, Hillary Clinton. Thereby, on January 20th, 2017, Donald Trump became the 45th president of the United States of America.

There is little doubt that the success of Trump's campaign is to a large extent a matter of his unprecedented rhetoric. Donald Trump arouse strong emotions as his political remarks are controversial and geared at presenting him as a tough opponent. Indeed, Donald Trump's election campaign was full of bold remarks that may be compared to verbal attacks on the opposing candidates.

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The objective of this study is to examine linguistic strategies embedded in Donald Trump's portrayal of other candidates. The article, however, especially investigates how the interrelatedness of conceptual metaphors and discursive strategies shaped Donald Trump's political campaign discourse. The research intends to examine how language enabled Trump to delegitimize Clinton's credibility and it shows in what way Trump transmitted his ideology.

For the purpose of investigating the effectiveness of Donald Trump's campaign rhetoric, a compilation was chosen of ten speeches made by Donald Trump ranging from January 24th, 2015 to October 20th, 2016. This time span provided the possibility to examine Trump's election campaign rhetoric and arrive at generalizations concerning his electoral political discourse. All of the President's speeches analyzed in this paper were retrieved from internet sources.

Trump's campaign speech given in New York City on June 22nd, 2016 and his nomination speech delivered on July 21st, 2016 were singled out. These two speeches were chosen for detailed analysis because they are the most commented on of Trump's speeches that include bold and controversial remarks. These speeches provided an array of interesting linguistic aspects which facilitated observations. In order to avoid potential confusion concerning the methodology of the research, the following notation will be used: NYCS stands for Trump's New York City Speech given on June 22nd, 2016. Correspondingly, NAS is an abbreviation for Nomination Acceptance Speech delivered by Donald Trump on July 21st, 2016.

2. Research methodology

Before embarking on the analysis of Donald Trump's rhetoric, subject matters such as speeches, audience and addressee have to be commented on. The analyzed speeches were written in advance, but they were delivered in a spoken form. The purpose of the message was to persuade Americans that Donald Trump should become president. The addressor is the Republican candidate for presidency, namely Donald Trump. The addressee concerns all potential voters, i.e. Republican supporters and some undecided individuals.

At this stage, the governing procedure of the following research will be described. Firstly, the speeches underwent the process of thorough reading and, as a result, the main features of Trump's election discourse were identified. Next, I turned to the framework of conceptual metaphors. I decided that firstly I should check whether Trump employed verbal metaphorical expressions in his campaign speeches. To facilitate the study, the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) was implemented as a research tool. Analysts who employ the MIP should not assume the existence of metaphors in advance. Metaphor scholars analyze linguistic expressions and decide which metaphorical item shows a contextual meaning that is not consistent with the basic meaning. The

metaphor researcher has to detect whether there is some correspondence between the two meanings. Only at this point can conceptual metaphors be classified and grouped according to their common domains. Finally, systematic correspondences between conceptual domains were explored, followed by the grouping of metaphors according to the meaning detected in each example of metaphor usage.

3. Metaphors and discourse turn

Before George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), metaphor research was disregarded and largely ignored for many years. Indeed, traditional scholars treated metaphor with suspicion and disdain. Plato (5th – 4th century BC) and Hobbes (1651) are representatives of the empiricist tradition. Scientists criticized poets for using metaphorical, figurative language. Metaphorical expressions were identified as serious mistreatments of natural language that should be eschewed (see Grey 2000: 2). In this particular context, metaphor was seen as distortion of truth and it was considered best that poets and playwrights abstain from the employment of metaphorical expressions. Metaphors were thought to impede understanding of external reality, and as such, convention of the times held that the truth could only be achieved by means of literal language.

However, Lakoff & Johnson's groundbreaking Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) unconditionally refuted the formerly traditional approach to metaphor studies. Cognitive linguists introduced the standard view of metaphor in cognitive literature. First of all, relatively recent research provides the reason for placing a sharp division between the literal and figurative meanings in question (Barczewska 2017: 105). Indeed, a traditional approach towards literal and figurative forms of language seems to be at odds with central premises of the cognitive standpoint. Twentieth century linguists hold the view that metaphor is a major cognitive tool that resides in thought (not merely in words). Cognitive approaches concerned with metaphor recognize its conceptual character and treat metaphor as a transmitter or guider of human feelings, actions, thoughts, contemplations or behaviors (see Górska 2008: 15).

Lakoff & Johnson extended metaphor's use beyond the linguistic level and they posited it at the conceptual level claiming that metaphors give structure to concepts. Cognitive scholars conclude that people understand abstract and diffuse conceptions in terms of more tangible and commonplace entities (see Kövecses 2002: 4). Thus, Lakoff & Johnson argued that human thinking and reasoning patterns are deeply rooted in metaphors and people use metaphors in everyday life automatically, effortlessly and unconsciously (1980, quoted after Goatly 2007: 22).

There also exist some voices that question the groundbreaking character of CMT (see Fabiszak 2005; McGlone 2007). Traditional conceptual metaphor researchers neglect the metaphors evoked by real language users in authentic situations (Kövecses 2009: 80ff.). The growth of discourse studies and social context triggered metaphor researchers to

seek authentic data, and led to metaphor researchers examining metaphors in authentic language use and real discourse (see Fabiszak 2007; Fabiszak & Konat 2013). As a consequence, scholars noticed that CMT could also be faulted for the lack of social contextual sensitivity. This discovery resulted in discourse analysts stipulating that conceptual and discourse metaphor analysis should not be conducted separately.

Nevertheless, both metaphors and discourse are extremely intricate phenomena, presenting the condition of a methodological challenge to find one suitable theory that would be compatible with each and every instance of metaphor usage in spoken discourse. Cameron, for instance, perceives discourse in its dynamics and claims that metaphors are emergent. Linguistic metaphorical expressions arise from a repetitive use of the same verbal metaphors while talking about significant topics in a specific flow of discourse (Cameron 2010: 137). It means that the metaphors which reappear within a given piece of discourse are the most salient ones. In a similar vein Müller (2008) examines metaphors in discourse.

Müller (2008) brings into focus “sleeping” and “waking” verbal metaphors. Sleeping metaphors are believed to exhibit small activation potential, whereas a waking metaphor tends to be highly activated. The analysis of both linguistic and non-linguistic (i.e. gestures or pictures) instantiations of decoding meaning determine the activation level. The more cases of metaphor reiterations or gestures may be detected in a discourse, the more conspicuous and active metaphor becomes (see Müller 2008; Górska 2014). Consequently, metaphor undergoes the process of attention foreshadowing. It signifies that waking or active metaphors serve the purpose of profiling addressees’ attention to the key features of an analyzed sentence.

Charteris-Black (2004: 20ff.) approaches metaphors from the discourse and CMT perspectives. Charteris-Black concurs that the emergence of persuasive metaphor is strictly connected with the occurrence of “semantic tensions”, i.e. incongruence between both basic and contextual meanings. The scholar also assumes that corpora would facilitate the study of metaphor. Charteris-Black (2004: 31) defines a corpus as a collection of a great number of texts that are connected with one another and concern the same subject matter. Charteris-Black advises metaphor researchers to narrow down the domain that they are going to examine and conduct a research on one specific domain; for instance, they may analyze texts on politics or medicine.

Zinken coined the term “discourse metaphor,” and defined it as a “framing device” in a particular discourse. Zinken outlines that discourse metaphors emerge from socio-cultural interactions and as such, are consequently part of a discursive reality. Discourse metaphors reflect the community’s beliefs and practices. Zinken claims that metaphors are situation and context specific (for more details on discourse metaphors see Zinken 2007).

Semino advocates the view that metaphors are genre-specific, claiming that there is a group of metaphors that is certain to reappear in a specific type of discourse genre. For instance, the metaphors in colonialist discourse differ from metaphors in education discourse (see Semino 2007).

Due to these reasons more and more researchers implement the Cognitive Discourse Analysis (CODA). CODA enables metaphor researchers to combine the framework of conceptual metaphors with discursive strategies. The proponents of CODA recognize Critical Discourse Analysis techniques which juxtapose with reoccurrence of analogical and emotionally loaded verbal structures. A successful integration of CODA allows for the examination of underlying ideologies of the speeches under analysis (see Wodak 2006).

4. Metaphors in political discourse

Metaphor scholars posit the view that because of this specific ability of metaphors, they play a special role in political discourse. They can easily promulgate particular ideologies and theories, while dismissing others. As it has been stated earlier by Lakoff & Johnson's CMT and their successors, metaphors have an ambiguous nature. They may highlight certain aspects of a given domain, but simultaneously some elements may get backgrounded. Thus, Alice Deignan (2005: 24), a researcher of metaphors in corpus analysis, adopts the view that metaphors can, in fact, "distort" reality. Wolf & Polzenhagen (quoted after Dirven et al. 2003: 268) force the view that "global ideological patterns may arise from the application of a particular metaphor and the neglect of alternative ones." Therefore, metaphor can be employed to achieve ends which may not be readily detectable at a superficial level and they may be exploited to benefit a given politician's personal aspirations.

American conservatives' (right wing) and liberals' (left wing) political language perfectly fits into the cognitive models proposed by Lakoff (see Cienki 2005: 281). Representatives of both political fractions reason about the election campaign message in terms of idealized cognitive family models. The most natural and common metaphorical model exploited in political discourse is that of the NATION IS A FAMILY. As Lakoff (2004: 5) elucidates, people tend to perceive and link large and abstract social groups (for instance 'nation') with small communities or families. Lakoff's *Moral Politics* (2002) reveals that American politics is organized in the vein of two contrastive and opposing nation metaphors; one is the Strict Father (SF) Family, and the second is the Nurturant Parent (NP) Family. Ultimately, these two models are linked by larger metaphors, i.e. the NATION IS A FAMILY, the GOVERNMENT IS A PARENT and the CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN (Lakoff 2002: 154). In accordance with the SF approach to nation, the world poses a danger to citizens. It means that vulnerable people are endangered with competitiveness and immorality. Such a crucial and vicious place evokes the immediate need for a strict father who will protect and instruct his innocent citizens. Lakoff's SF model values a traditional patriarchal family structure. As the name itself implies,

the SF imposes the vision of a strong man – a father who is able to protect his family from dangers. Father possesses the most appreciated merit of authoritative advice and strength, so the mother and children should follow the father’s instructions. The SF system voices discipline and punishment, and it promulgates that consistent moral behavior will bring prosperity.

The conceptual metaphor of MORALITY IS STRENGTH prevails in the SF model. This compound metaphor licenses the following metaphors: BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT and, respectively, BEING BAD IS BEING LOW (see Lakoff 2002: 71). Within a political domain, the SF’s metaphor of morality is strength refers to politicians whose political activity is impeccable. Thus, viable politicians are perceived as reliable leaders that will provide prosperity for a country. And as it is well-known, a rich country translates in practice to a strong country. Correspondingly, all corrupted and immoral politicians are believed to be weak and unreliable people. Additionally, the SF model takes priority over the MORALITY IS PURITY and the IMMORALITY IS IMPURITY metaphors (Lakoff 2002: 92f.). Immoral deeds and corruption will cause damage to the whole society. When it comes to the free market, the pursuit of self-interest seems to be prioritized. As Lakoff (2004: 8) concludes, it pushes the emergence of the WELL-BEING IS WEALTH conceptual metaphor. Thus, the WELL-BEING IS WEALTH conceptual metaphor implies an ideological perception of the state. In practice it means that potential national profit should be measured in terms of money. WELL-BEING IS WEALTH triggers a string of conditional sentences that inserts the “if” clause. It allows politicians to propose some actions that would foster prosperity in the country. Yet, it has to be highlighted that self-reliance stands at the center of the SF model. Therefore, the well-being metaphor, understood in terms of one of the main tenets of the SF model, refers to self-sufficient citizens of a given state. The self-reliance frame seems to favor a lack of governmental intervention into the lives and financial fluidity of citizens. Social programs are rejected in the application of the SF model to politics.

The SF president frames himself as the highest moral authority that is in power to coach people and direct their attention to certain issues. The SF president has a mission to educate other individuals and countries about what is good or moral and what is wrong or immoral. It goes together with metaphorical conceptualization of the nation as a person (see Chilton & Lakoff 1989; Musolff 2010). In turn, some neighboring countries may be metaphorically seen as friends, and other nations may be portrayed as rogue states or enemies. As the nation is personalized, America should take care of itself to remain within the framework of the health metaphor. Metaphorically speaking, America is presented as a strong and wealthy country (or person). It may be deduced that America is a mature country. Following on, this assumption implies the adult-child metaphor. It means that all other countries are underdeveloped and are worse off industrialized “children” that need America’s help. If so, it appears that America is framed

as a moral governor that is supposed to bring peace and strongly address the world's central problems.

Politicians tend to use so-called conflict metaphors (Charteris-Black 2004: 90ff.). *Raison d'être* is to evoke a physical struggle for highly valued things such as fundamental rights or freedom, or to invoke the fight against negative phenomena such as poverty, unemployment and so forth. This strategy gives rise to conceptual metaphors, i.e. POLITICS IS CONFLICT or POLITICS IS WAR. Politicians are supposed to overcome all societal illnesses. Correspondingly, Kövecses (2002: 69) enumerates the following metaphors that shape contemporary political discourse: POLITICS IS WAR and POLITICS IS SPORT. As Kövecses elucidates, the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS WAR illustrates the fact that political leaders assume the role of military leaders. Politicians' words, comments and policies are equated with weapons. The POLITICS IS SPORT metaphor is closely related to the previous metaphor. Conceptualization of POLITICS in light of the SPORT domain seems to highlight competitiveness among political parties. The POLITICS IS SPORT metaphor predicts that political elections will be a fierce political event. Candidates compete against one another and this process is reminiscent of a RACE or SPORTS EVENT.

5. Metaphors in Trump's campaign speeches

The Pragglejaz Group² (2007: 13ff.) developed a procedure for the identification of metaphors in a given context and discourse. The researchers employed the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). The MIP is a useful tool for metaphor investigators. The procedure involves guidelines which help the metaphor analysts recognize instances of metaphors in a discourse. Firstly, researchers manually dissect a given text in an attempt to decide whether there are some sentences which may be metaphorically loaded. Here, it is important to underline that scholars should never assume a pre-existence of metaphors in a text. Linguistic investigators decide upon the issue of metaphoricality by comparing meanings of linguistic expressions. They have to check a basic meaning of a given item and then they can compare it with its contextual meaning. Contextual meaning is deduced from data analysis. The phrase may be regarded metaphorical when its basic meaning differs from a situation-driven meaning.

Yet, it has to be highlighted that the MIP does not eliminate subjectivity of a scholar's individual decisions and choices. The identification procedure merely reduces the risk of potential subjectivity. Indeed, the procedure and its explicit rules do not posit a clear problem solving path. For instance, functional words pose challenges for establishing their meanings. Yet, the Pragglejaz Group does not specify if idiomatic expressions,

² Pragglejaz Group is a group of metaphor researchers. Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Graham Low, Gerard Steen, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alice Deignan, and Zoltan Kövecses are members of the group.

fixed expressions and phrasal verbs should be decomposed or whether they should be examined as one lexical unit. For the purposes of this data analysis, it was decided not to separate fixed and idiomatic expressions or phrasal verbs. Therefore, it seems that the MIP allows some space for “free” choices while considering the step of deciding whether a given word is metaphorically loaded.

First of all, the PERSON metaphor stands out in Trump’s election discourse. The overarching metaphor of the NATION/STATE IS A FAMILY underlies the presidential election campaign discourse of Trump. Trump exploits a metaphorization model of the United States as a family, where citizens are members of one big and united community. Obviously, it should be assumed that the head of this metaphorical family (i.e. nation) is the President. The NATION/STATE IS A FAMILY is subjected to further conceptualization, namely that of the NATION/STATE IS A PERSON, which seems to pervade Trump’s election rhetoric. Consider the following examples which illustrate the NATION/STATE IS A PERSON metaphor:

- (1) Then she [Hillary Clinton] let China steal hundreds of dollars in our intellectual property (...)
(NATION IS A PERSON) [NYCS]
- (2) Her [Hillary Clinton] decisions spread death, destruction and terrorism everywhere. (DECISION IS A PERSON) [NAS]
- (3) She [Hillary Clinton] supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea. (TRADE DEAL IS A PERSON) [NAS]

PERSON metaphor facilitates Trump’s presentation of America as an ill and sad person that needs a moral and reliable leader. Trump explains that he is the only person that can help America “recover” and solve its problems. Interestingly, being an active observer of American political life, Lakoff amplified the scope of the NATION/STATE IS A FAMILY. Indeed, Lakoff modified this conceptual metaphor and adjusted it to contemporary reality renaming it as the PRESIDENT IS A NATION (Lakoff 2016a). In this case study it takes the form of the TRUMP IS A NATION conceptual metaphor. On this account, Americans may be equated with the followers of Trump and the desires or hopes of the American people appear to be Trump’s needs. Thus, the phrases *America first* and *America’s interest first* begin to be linguistic manifestations of the TRUMP IS A NATION conceptual metaphor. They signify that, in fact, it is Trump’s interest that is of primary importance. It seems that the PERSON metaphor serves as a platform for Trump’s version of America.

Trump vilifies his enemies. The role of the enemy should be ascribed to Trump’s political opponent, i.e. Hillary Clinton. The FORCE metaphor and its linguistic realizations seem to introduce a war-like election campaign discourse. FORCE metaphors are denoted by verbalized forms of dynamic forces, such as *let*, *cause*, *help*, *continue*, or *stop*. FORCE metaphors serve to show the process of interaction of abstract entities (which

are conceptualized as physical objects) with external forces. FORCE metaphors usually concern exertion of force, resistance to it or impediments and problems that particular force may encounter.

The EVENTS ARE ACTIONS is a salient entailment resulting from the FORCE metaphor. Given that events originate from the exertion of external forces, it has to be concluded that events are conceived of in terms of actions. In the case of such conceptualization, an object is materialized in terms of motion that has been caused by the forceful agent. The EVENTS ARE ACTIONS conceptual metaphor accounts for the cases of reification and objectification as usually it imputes the agency to some intangible objects (Turner 1994: 162). Consider these examples:

- (4) Her bad instincts and her bad judgment (...) are what caused the disasters unfolding today (HILLARY CLINTON'S MISTAKES ARE A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE) [nas]
- (5) I have visited the cities and towns across America and seen the devastation caused by the trade policies of Bill and Hillary Clinton (POLICY OF HILLARY CLINTON IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE) [NYCS]

Selected metaphors from Trumps' election speeches lead us to the conclusion that the EVENTS ARE ACTIONS metaphor propels a reluctance towards the policy of "other" candidates (especially Hillary Clinton). Trump's rhetoric creates a negative perception of Hillary Clinton as a politician. I would even dare to say that Trump portrays Hillary Clinton and her agenda as a destructive force that will ruin American policy. It entails an obvious and self-serving inference that Trump is the only right choice in the incoming election.

The second important submetaphor of FORCE metaphors is the CAUSES ARE FORCES. Linguistic manifestations concern the aspect of motion and some external forces that seem to be in charge of moving an abstract entity. In fact, it concerns the motion of an entity from one point to another and, more to the point, it takes the form of *giving* or *taking away* a given entity or object. Given this fact, we can further conclude that the CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS, which induces potential gains or losses. Therefore, we can manipulate that metaphor and can easily deduce its entailment the ACTIONS ARE SELF-CONTROLLED ACQUISITIONS OR LOSSES. Thus, purposes are conceived of in light of obtaining desired objects and, accordingly, ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT. Let us analyze these excerpts:

- (6) She will keep our rigged system in place (LACK OF MOTION IS LACK OF CHANGE OR ACQUISITION) [NAS]
- (7) She [Hillary Clinton] gets rich by making you poor. (CAUSES ARE FORCES) [NYCS]
- (8) We can't hand over our government to someone whose deepest, darkest secrets may be in the hands of our enemies. (LACK OF MOVEMENT IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT) [NYCS]

It is clearly seen that FORCE metaphors shape political discourse. They trigger negative emotional judgments concerning opposition policy and specifically in the subject matter at hand, they created an image of Trump as a forceful agent that has the power to change things. Suffice it to mention that Trump promised to overturn all of Clinton's contracts he deemed unfavourable and create a great number of jobs. Trump promised the return to a moral path for American society and to eliminate any deviant behaviors from generally established rules.

It is also noticeable that the MORALITY conceptual metaphor underlies Trump's discourse. Moral people, in this case study, politicians, should be distinguished by their morality and praiseworthy actions. Moral politicians are seen as strong and responsible individuals that will be capable of governing the country and people. Moral and reliable leaders will overcome all potential hardships and they will lead a successful and reasonable policy. Thus, American citizens should entrust power with moral and strong politicians. This leads to the MORALITY IS STRENGTH and the MORAL POLITICIANS ARE STRONG conceptual metaphors.

Correspondingly, immoral politicians are paired with negative connotations intensified by the IMMORALITY IS IMPURITY conceptual metaphor. Immorality conjures up an image of politicians that cannot be trusted and should not be given power. Amoral politicians are seen as destructive and inappropriate candidates for being president of the United States. Amoral politicians make mistakes and their policy is full of poor decisions. In the long run, the actions of amoral politicians might destroy the entire harmony and natural order in the country. Poor management of the national budget may result in serious financial losses. Hence, the MORALITY IS STRENGTH and the MORAL POLITICIANS ARE STRONG conceptual metaphors dictate the emergence of the IMMORALITY IS WEAKNESS and the IMMORAL POLITICIANS ARE WEAK. These conceptual metaphors are illustrated below:

(9) Hillary Clinton is a world-class liar. (HILLARY CLINTON IS IMMORAL) [NYCS]

(10) Hillary Clinton's time as Secretary of State – a disgraceful performance for which she should not be congratulated, but rather scorned. (HILLARY CLINTON IS WEAK AND IMMORAL POLITICIAN) [NYCS]

(11) Then she [Hillary Clinton] let China steal hundreds of billions of dollars in our intellectual property. (CHINA IS AN IMMORAL PERSON, CHINA IS AN EVIL) [NYCS]

(12) (...) the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals. (A TRADE DEAL IS AN IMMORAL PERSON) [NAS]

On the whole, the above-discussed examples of the MORALITY conceptual metaphor show that amoral politicians should be nullified and purged from the country. The workings of the MORALITY conceptual metaphor employed in Trump's discourse lies behind an adverse social perception of Hillary Clinton's "immoral" policy. Amoral politicians (such as Clinton and her agenda) are usually selfish and they are oriented towards

self-interest so they are inclined to corruption. Their political activity is confined to their own enrichment at other citizens' cost. In that sense, we can come up with yet another conceptual metaphor, namely that POLITICS IS TRADE as it is strictly and exclusively oriented towards amassing wealth. Such politicians tend to neglect both the citizens and the country's primary needs. At this point it is of pertinence to mention the so-called "LEAK" metaphor (Lakoff 2016a). It juxtaposes with the CORRUPTION IS IMMORAL conceptual metaphor and it concerns Clinton's breach of confidential national security. Trump continuously evokes Clinton's inclination for bribery and that she sold confidential information to foreign governments.

Finally, the MORALITY IS ESSENCE yields a virtue of MORALITY metaphor. Here, MORALITY is seen as an abstract entity that is responsible for harmony and the so-called law and order. If we accept this view, then, IMMORALITY becomes a single departure or deviance from this wholeness (morally accepted and permissible social rules). Trump skillfully crafts his speeches in such a way that shows destruction has been caused by the immoral and inappropriate policy of Hillary Clinton. It is the author's opinion that in the analyzed corpus it is the lack of wholeness which is at issue in the MORALITY metaphor. It creates the need for implementation of instant action that will impede the harmful effects of moral defiance. Trump consequently emphasizes that he is the only one – he is the father – who will restore moral standards and save America.

Health and disease as source domains typically operating within the context of talking about the human body. Nevertheless, HEALTH and ILLNESS may also be applied to political and economic spheres. DISEASE and HEALTH metaphors should be scrutinized in the framework of the STATE/NATION IS A PERSON. Firstly, it is evident that a person may experience illness and then there is a necessity for medical treatment. In politics, the state assumes the role of a patient. If the state were afflicted with any disease, the government would help it. These assumptions lead to the SOCIETY IS A PATIENT and the GOVERNMENT IS A DOCTOR conceptual metaphors. Let us examine the following examples:

(13) In short, Hillary Clinton's tryout for the presidency has produced one deadly foreign policy disaster after another. (...) (CLINTON'S FOREIGN POLICY IS A LETHAL DISEASE) [NYCS]

(14) This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction and weakness. (WEAK AMERICA IS ILL AMERICA) [NAS]

The logic of Trump's employment of health and disease metaphors lies behind the possibility of creating an image of America as an ill person that suffers from serious physical pain and needs immediate help. Notably, America is threatened with Clinton's policy that is conceptualized as a disease. Consequently, HEALTH and DISEASE metaphors appear to be in a partial consonance with the MORALITY metaphor. As Lakoff (2006) notes, immoral deeds seem to spread in the same way as diseases do.

A plethora of politicians resort to SPORT metaphors. Gibbs (2017: 146) notices that Trump's language produces evidence of the employment of the phrases and words coming from boxing matches. This entails the emergence of the POLITICS IS A GAME conceptual metaphor, and subsequently, POLITICS IS A SPORTS GAME. Trump's rhetoric exploits the POLITICS IS BOXING conceptual metaphor. The domain of SPORT allows Trump to present the political election campaign as a competition which needs strong "players." Thus, the politician becomes a boxer and political events may be compared with fights in a boxing match. Consider the examples:

- (15) I am running for President to end unfairness (...). (PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS SPORT) [NYCS]
 (16) I can be your champion in the White House. (...). (BEING A PRESIDENT IS BEING A CHAMPION) [NYCS]

The WAR domain is productive and its linguistic realizations are deeply rooted in political discourse. The WAR metaphor is concretized in the form of POLITICS IS WAR. The whole presidential electoral campaign is a metaphorical fight against political opponents (in this case Hillary Clinton). Trump also exploits a combative rhetoric to prove that he is a strong boxer or soldier who will defend America and its citizens from all potential threats against national welfare and security. Mainly, Trump desires to fight against Hillary Clinton and the widespread phenomenon of corruption. He wants to counteract the effects of unemployment and help downtrodden Americans. The POLITICS IS WAR metaphor is employed in the excerpts given below:

- (17) The choice in this election is a choice between taking our government back from the special interest, or surrendering our last scrap of independence. (ELECTION IS WAR) [NYCS]
 (18) Brain William's career was destroyed for saying far less. Yesterday, she [Hillary Clinton] even tried to attack me. (POLITICS IS WAR) [NYCS]
 (19) The first victims of her radical policies will be poor African-American and Hispanic workers. (POLITICS IS WAR) [NYCS]
 (20) Hillary Clinton, who already has the blood of so many on her hands. (POLITICS IS WAR) [NYCS]

Trump crafts an image of war, hence America's land becomes a victimized battle field.

6. Discursive strategies structuring Donald Trump's campaign message

Van Dijk's advises us to analyze political speeches according to certain criteria, which he presents in the form of the so-called ideological square. The ideological square extracts the context of an analyzed text and it allows key features to stand out in political passages. To begin with, van Dijk (1997: 13) concludes that it is relevant to analyze the semantic structure of a sentence, i.e. to examine "thematic roles" and "topicalization." It

demands the analysis of agents (politicians, high officials, presidents), patients (receivers), purpose and action (passing law, persuading, legitimization). In this present usage, discourse is viewed in light of texts or speeches made by politicians. Discourse scholars must therefore involve participants (voters, interest groups, opponents, demonstrators and so forth) in a political discourse analysis.

Another way of looking at political discourse is by defining the actions and the ways of achieving intended goals and implementing certain practices, i.e. legislating or governing (van Dijk 1997: 13f.). Again, it has to be kept in mind that political discourse cannot be separated from its context as officials only speak in a political manner during particular communicative events, ranging from parliamentary sessions to electoral campaigns.

Another predicate of political jargon is the investigation of “semantic polarization.” Politicians resort to two sets of first person pronouns, which include singular and plural forms. The pronouns *us* and *our* are paired with positive evaluations, while *they* or *them* are carriers of negatively loaded meanings. The language of politicians tends to be full of long descriptions drawing on altruistic deeds of the speakers and, in reverse, there are thorough and long accounts and stories of bad actions undertaken by the opposition (van Dijk 1997: 27). Speakers are inclined to the technique of emphasizing their own good actions and dredging up all unsavory things that have been done by the opposing political party. Indeed, the use of pronouns creates a vision of solidarity or power. Pronouns may easily change meaning and shift the perspective, depending on given circumstances and context (Bloch 1975: 207). The analysis shows that pronouns employed in political speeches indicate responsibility for actions. The first plural pronoun *they* enables Trump to place Hillary Clinton as the focal point of responsibility.

The usage of the first person plural pronoun *we* inserts the notion of community and solidarity with listeners. Addressing pronouns such as: *we*, *us*, *our* or *ours* posits the speaker and listener in the same space and bonds their mutual understanding. Most importantly, it also fosters the feeling of trustworthiness. The advantage of plural pronouns is the fact that politicians may reject responsibility for adverse decisions. It is especially useful while making controversial decisions or taking radical measures. Using first person singular pronouns *I*, *me*, *myself*, or *mine*, however, helps politicians to indicate their commitment and interest. As it may be easily observed, first person pronouns tend to be employed while talking about success and positive actions (Beard 2000: 45). Nevertheless, an orator has to be acutely aware of the choice of pronouns as the overuse of first person singular pronouns may, in fact, create a negative vision of the speaker. In this manner, a politician may be framed as a person who boasts about their deeds and disregards other people. As Bloch (1975: 206) maintains, pronouns can manipulate social reality and assume “a masking functions in the verbal strategies; that is, they may be used to hide, or seek to promote, a particular mediated version of social reality.”

Donald Trump resorts to discursive strategies to gain the support of the public. First of all, Trump exploits the technique of legitimizing himself as a credible president-to-be of America by creating an image of a strong leader. He implements assertions that are full of statistical information and inform Americans about national problems. Interestingly, Trump offers immediate solutions to these problems. As Cap (2008: 24) signals, these solutions may be reckless and controversial; however, Americans will accept them. Trump embraces an argumentative discourse in a skilful way. In the beginning, he expresses plain facts and later on starts to introduce future plans and speculations. In this scenario, even Trump's predictions are unconsciously accepted as facts by the addressees.

It seems that Donald Trump communicates his objectives and goals in an extremely conscious and deliberate manner. Thus, Trump's language practice may be compared to a progressive flow of well-thought out assertions. Trump leads with simple statements expressing his faith in Americans and America, and then he follows up by activating his addressee's desire for prospective goals. Finally, Trump instructs the audience on the plan he intends to implement to fulfil his promises (Cap 2008: 25). Consider the following example:

(21) I have joined the political arena so that powerful [sic] can no longer beat up on people who cannot defend themselves. Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it. I have seen firsthand how the system is rigged against our citizens, just like it was rigged against Bernie Sanders – he never had a chance. But his supporters will join our movement, because we will fix his biggest issue: trade deals that strip our country of its jobs and wealth. [NAS]

Finally, Trump also takes advantage of the first person plural personal pronoun *we*. Surprisingly, Trump's use of *we* juxtaposes with the use of the first person singular pronoun *I*. By using the first person plural pronoun, Donald Trump identifies himself with the audience. However, the first person singular pronoun singles Trump out as a "performer" of actions. Therefore, Trump positions himself as the only one who steps out to confront problems. The usage of pronouns in this way reinforces Trump's reliability and credibility, which is attested by Trump's statement:

(22) I'm with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you. To all Americans tonight, in all of our towns, I make this promise: We will make America strong again. We will make America proud again. [NYCS]

Politicians tend to manipulate the proximity of some threatening and dangerous events. Thus, they resort to the strategy of delegitimization. Trump pursues a technique of negative-presentation of others. He criticizes Hillary Clinton and continuously

marginalizes her role. Yet, Donald Trump enumerates all threats (i.e. China, the wave of globalism, unfair trade deals, ISIS, terrorism) and he seems to play with their proximity. Trump's rhetorical discourse gives Americans the impression that threats are imminent.

The strategy of delegitimization follows the insertion of the third person plural personal pronoun *they*. Consider the following example:

(23) [IMMIGRANTS] They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources. [NAS]

(24) Big businesses, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place. [NYCS]

The third personal plural pronoun aim at an adverse presentation of a political oppressor and enemies of the United States. By using *they*, Donald Trump usually points at corrupted people from Washington, foreign countries, immigrants or ISIS.

The strategy of delegitimization seems to transgress van Dijk's ideological square. One of the most blatant example of negative representation of "other" candidates is seen in this example:

(25) If I am elected President, I will end the special interest monopoly in Washington, D.C. The other candidates [sic] in this race has spent her entire life making money for special interests – and taking money from special interests. [NYCS]

Donald Trump resorts to the discursive strategy by ascribing positive self-evaluation and negative evaluation of other candidates. The account of a politician's moral deeds stands in sharp contrast to Hillary Clinton's political steps. The recruitment of such a technique allows Trump to vilify the policy of Hillary Clinton.

7. Conclusion

A close reading of the selected speeches shows that Trump employs a plethora of discursive techniques in his presidential campaign message. More specifically, positive self-presentation and vilification of other candidates reappear within Trump's discourse and, consequently, discursive strategies allow Trump to legitimize his message. The analyzed data explicitly show that a great number of conceptual metaphors occur in the speeches delivered by Donald Trump in the course of his presidential election campaign. The study also shows that Trump resorts to conceptual metaphors that underlie people's comprehension of abstract concepts. It may be concluded that Donald Trump uses highly conventionalized and well-entrenched metaphorical expressions that evoke simple conceptual metaphor structures. Donald Trump uses vocabulary from everyday domains and it makes his message more accessible and easier to process

and understand. Trump frequently resorts to PERSON metaphors. They allow the statesman to depict America as a living person. Additionally, these metaphors highlight the significance of context. Donald Trump frames America as a metaphorical person. In this particular case, America assumes the role of a child and consequently the presidential candidate prompts the need of a father or a leader. Trump consistently refers to domains of HEALTH and ILLNESS to show that both America and its citizens physically suffer and need help. The research demonstrates that Trump's rhetoric reflects the main features of the Strict Father model. Trump conceptualizes America as a person and recruits MORALITY metaphors. Due to the implementation of said MORALITY metaphors, Trump paints a contrast between his own moral policy and the immoral and disloyal political steps of Hillary Clinton. Donald Trump also recruits a great number of SPORT and WAR metaphors. They create an image of Trump as a winner who will gain beneficial trade deals for America. Trump is a competitive and combative person, and as a parental figure he feels obliged to defend Americans and America's values. Verbal insults of other candidates prove Trump's strength. It may be concluded that language helps Trump to wield power. This linguistic discursive study indicates that metaphors underlie political discourse and human abstract reasoning. Conceptual metaphors exist in everyday speech and in time they become conventionalized linguistic expressions. Empirical research shows that the examination of language is an interdisciplinary task. First of all, understanding the meaning requires additional contextual and social information. Thus, the investigation of conceptual metaphors should not be conducted separately from corpus and discourse methodologies.

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From translation problem to translation strategy: An empirical study based on fragments of prose fiction

Abstract. The presented analyses comprise 11 examples of source text and target text fragments based on the typology proposed by Hrehovčík (2006). Each of them presents a different translation problem as well as a translation strategy implemented in order to overcome the lack of equivalence between the discussed text passages. In light of the fact that this paper does not aim to assess the work of the translator Andrzej Polkowski, with exception to his applied techniques, some comments also suggest general alternative translation procedures. Following this path, it is possible to highlight and easily comprehend differences between translation strategies and the results of their application. Moreover, each analysed fragment is preceded by a short introduction which gives insight into the theoretical foundation of the procedure.

Keywords: translation problems, translation strategies, translation procedures, translation process, learning translation.

1. Introduction

When studying translation, students learn, among other things, various translation strategies. Initially, they can be quite confused as well-known scholars approach the issue from different viewpoints, which results in a variety of types of translation strategies. Moreover, their distinct concepts have various points of reference, making them even more vague as some of them use the term *strategy*, whereas others prefer *procedure*. Nevertheless, most scholars in the field (cf. Venuti 2001: 240; Hrehovčík 2006: 44; Lörcher 1991: 8) agree on what the core task is. Thus, translation strategies are linguistic devices applied by the translator in order to overcome the lack of equivalence

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between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). In other words, discrepancies at lexical, syntactic or cultural levels between the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) result in potential translation problems. In such a case, the translator's task is to face said problems and to find appropriate solutions. A solution can, therefore, be understood as a translation strategy. The question which arises from translation procedures is not new and has been addressed by a number of scholars. In spite of this, the problem is that some researchers only provide definitions of translation strategies without supporting them with examples or suggestions on how to deal with each translation problem in practice, which could help comprehend the idea hidden behind a theoretical framework. This point of view is also shared by Fernández Guerra (2012: 6), who claims that translation procedures often overlap as they solely describe differences at the language and not the usage level, emphasizing results of translation rather than the translation process itself. If we consider e.g. an inexperienced student of translation studies, it may prove not an easy task to identify translation problems and appropriate strategies on his or her own. That is why, the main problem students face when writing their master's thesis, is that they are not always instructed on the order and ways on how to deal with text units that are to be compared. In other words, it can be claimed that there is a need for some practical guidelines which would show the path that a student should follow in order to find a solution for a particular translation problem. Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to fill this gap and show in practice how to move from a translation problem to a translation strategy. Moreover, the study aims to present the typology of translation strategies proposed by Hrehovčik (2006) in his publication entitled *Introduction to Translation*, which will serve as a theoretical foundation of the presented analyses.

2. Translation procedures or translation strategies?

A major problem in translation practice is directly related to the question of equivalence. Differences between the SL and the TL result in a lack of correspondence between language systems at word, sentence, text and discourse levels. In order to compensate for these discrepancies, appropriate tools have been developed which can be defined as techniques or strategies of translating. With regard to these notions, Hrehovčik (2006: 44) claims that these days the term procedure is commonly used and refers to particular steps taken by the translator. However, Burkhanov (2003: 170) suggests that the terms: translation procedures, techniques of translating, methods of translating, translation strategies, etc. be defined as “[...] selection of appropriate linguistic means of the target language that are intended to account for various elements of the spoken or written discourse originally conducted in the source language within the framework of mediated bilingual communication.” Thus, it can be claimed that all these terms can be regarded as synonyms, as they refer to the same activity carried out by the translator.

3. Translation problems

Translation problems are directly related to the question of equivalence being one of the central concepts in the theory of translation. When trying to analyse a target text (TT) in terms of its semantic adherence to its original (ST), the problem of equivalence is one of the basic criteria taken into consideration. Generally speaking, equivalence between texts can be understood as a level of appropriateness between a ST and a TT. Sometimes equivalence is simultaneously used with the term *translatability* which can be regarded as its synonym. According to Pym & Turk (2001):

translatability is mostly understood as the capacity for some kind of meaning to be transferred from one language to another without undergoing radical change. [...] The basic problem in most theories either for or against translatability is the relation between source-text 'expressions' (in the broad sense of articulated locutionary acts) and 'meanings' or 'senses' that are somehow held in the source language and are potentially subject to mediation with the help of reasoning or understanding. (Pym & Turk 2001: 273)

This viewpoint seems to take language as a starting point, since it describes the possibility of rendering sense and reference at the language level.

With regard to the above issue, a similar opinion is expressed by Baker (2003) who believes that translation problems are directly related to the subject of equivalence. The scholar classifies the following points of reference: *equivalence at word level, equivalence above word level, grammatical equivalence, textual equivalence: thematic and information structures, textual equivalence cohesion and pragmatic equivalence*. Although the linguist does not mention the term translation problems, she refers to difficulties the translator approaches in the translation process. In her analysis, Baker (2003: 20) discusses the term non-equivalence, which can be understood as the lack of equivalence. On the basis of this concept, it can be assumed that, in fact, translation problems result from the lack of equivalence.

Translation problems have also been thoroughly discussed by Schwarz et al. (2016: 52-56), who developed their concept on the basis of the model proposed by Nord (1991: 51). The linguists divide translation problems into four categories, i.e. language problems, cultural problems, textual problems and pragmatic problems. Taking these into account, they aim at classifying translation problems according to the context defining both theoretical and practical translation problems. Moreover, it should be mentioned that within the scope of language problems, the linguists distinguish between terminological, lexical, semantic and stylistic problems. Although the classification proposed by the scholars gives a clear overview of problems the translator may encounter in the translation process (including examples), they do not specify translation procedures

used to overcome non-equivalence, which may prove limiting for a student who is not familiar with the terminology.

On the other hand, following Hrehovčik's (2006) account, the lack of equivalence between the linguistic systems governing the SL and the TL leads to three basic translation problems:

- 1) There is no lexical correspondence at *word level* between the source text and the target text.
- 2) There is no lexical correspondence above word level: *collocations, idioms and fixed expressions*.
- 3) There is no *textual equivalence*: sorting out cohesion and coherence. (Hrehovčik 2006: 44)

All in all, it can be stated that in spite of various terminology used by the scholars, all the above-discussed attempts at defining the source of translation problems have a lot in common, as they are founded on similar assumptions. They assume, namely, that there is a lack of appropriate means present in the TL that could be employed to render the meaning and the context of an idea expressed in the SL.

4. Translation strategies

In the publication *In other words. A coursebook on translation*, Baker (2003) presented a broad spectrum of translation problems as well as strategies that can be applied in order to overcome them. Although the volume is definitely a recommendable read for translators, its high level of differentiated types of strategies and detailed examples can turn out to be an obstacle for an inexperienced translation student. Consequently, the following analyses are founded on the typology proposed by Hrehovčik in the volume *Introduction to Translation* (2006), which comprises only eleven types of translation strategies and, therefore, gives a clearer overview, especially for aspiring translators or interpreters.

Furthermore, it should be stressed that the following subsections are intended to review translation strategies applied by the translator. In order to make it more evident, each fragment under analysis is preceded by a theoretical overview which is then followed by an analytical comment on practical aspects of the given translation process; first by presenting a problem, and then the translation strategy implemented to solve it. Moreover, it should be added that the subsequent analyses² of translation processes are based on fragments of Andrzej Polkowski's Polish translation of the English prose

² The presented analyses make up a combination of different fragments of an unpublished Master's thesis entitled: *The question of equivalence in the Polish translation of the novel Harry Potter and the Philosopher's stone* which was successfully defended by the author of the article in June 2018 at the Wyższa Szkoła Lingwistyczna in Częstochowa.

fiction novel *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* (2014³) by J. K. Rowling entitled in Polish *Harry Potter i Kamień Filozoficzny* (2000). Finally, it needs be reiterated that this analysis does not aim to assess a particular translator’s work, and will focus solely on discussing steps taken in the translation process at large.

4.1. Adaptation

Following Hrehovčik’s (2006: 46) account, ‘adaptation’ can be regarded as a translation technique particularly suitable for a situation in which the context presented in the source language text cannot be rendered in the target culture (TC) of the translation. Thus, it can be claimed that the translation strategy aims at some kind of re-creation when two cultures in question are mismatched.

In order to overcome these problems, Hrehovčik (2006: 46) suggests using the following adaptation techniques:

transcription of the original: a part of the ST can be reproduced word-for-word;

omission: a part of the ST is not translated;

expansion: some extra information is added either in the main text or in footnotes;

exoticism: slang or dialect elements in the ST are substituted with rough equivalents in the TL;

updating: information which can be regarded as outdated or obscure is replaced by modern equivalents;

situational equivalence: some information is presented in a more familiar context than is the case in the ST;

creation: only the essential message from the ST is conveyed into a new translation unit in the TT.

Table 1. Adaptation: creation

ST	TT
<p><i>Mrs Potter was Mrs Dursley’s sister, but they hadn’t met for several years; in fact, Mrs Dursley pretended she didn’t have a sister, because her sister and her good-for-nothing husband were <u>as unDursleyish as it was possible to be</u>. p. 2</i></p>	<p><i>Pani Potter była siostrą pani Dursley, ale nie widziały się od wielu lat. Prawdę mówiąc, pani Dursley udawała, że w ogóle nie ma siostry, ponieważ pani Potter i jej żaloszny mąż <u>byli ludźmi całkowicie innego rodzaju</u>. p. 5</i></p>

The above text passage includes an example of an *exoticism* in the form of the neologism *unDursleyish*, which has been created for the purpose of the ST. Although the lexeme is understandable to the readers of the original, it could not be easily conveyed,

³ First published in 1997.

i.e. translated into the TL, as it is unfamiliar in Polish stylistic norms. Therefore, the translator decided to express the idea of the neologism, conveying only the essential message into the TT, which is a typical aspect of *creation*. However, a disadvantage of this translation procedure is that the specific flair which is essential to the atmosphere and the style of the ST is not conveyed into the TT. Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that the afore-mentioned specific literary mood has not been expressed in the TT at all, as it is rendered in other places in the text.

4.2. Borrowing

As Hrehovčik (2006: 47) states, borrowing can be a satisfactory translation procedure when there is no equivalent in the TL carrying the meaning of the lexeme in the SL. Given that they are not subject to naturalization in the TL, they are usually printed in italics. Borrowing can also be used to introduce or preserve a particular mood of the expression typical of a given TC, e.g. *glasnost*, *perestrojka*, *shaman*.

Table 2. Borrowing

ST	TT
<i>Neville was snoring loudly, but Harry couldn't sleep. He tried to empty his mind – he needed to sleep, he had to, he had his first <u>Quidditch</u> match in a few hours – but the expression on Snape's face when Harry had seen his leg wasn't easy to forget. p. 197</i>	<i>Neville chrapał już głośno, ale Harry nie mógł zasnąć. Starał się uwolnić od natłoku myśli, wiedział, że powinien się wyspać, przecież za kilka godzin wystąpi w swoim pierwszym meczu <u>quidditcha</u>, ale nie mógł zapomnieć wyrazu twarzy Snape'a, kiedy zobaczył jego zakrwawioną nogę. p. 192</i>

In the above paragraphs one comes across two quite identical lexemes both in the ST (*Quidditch*) and in the TL (*quidditch*). The only difference – the lowercased version of the TL lexeme – is the result of spelling rules in the TL. Concerning the ST lexeme and its equivalent in the TT, there are no other discrepancies to be observed. Thus, it can be claimed that the SL lexeme has been transferred into the TL with no substantial changes in its form. Therefore, the above fragment constitutes an example of a borrowing referring to the name of the game played by the students of Hogwarts, i.e. *Quidditch*.

4.3. Calque

Following Hrehovčik's (2006: 47) account, what is referred to as 'calque' can be understood as a translation technique based on literal translation. Thus, certain elements of the lexeme in the SL are literally translated word for word. Moreover, the translation procedure can be applied for purposes of foreignisation. Following Burkhanov's (2003:

179) account, calque can be also used to translate compound lexical items, language-specific collocations and names of various institutions, e.g. *Übermensch* (Ger.) – *superman* (Eng.), *skyscraper* (Eng.) – *drapacz chmur* (Pol.).

Table 3. Calque

ST	TT
'There's a <i>Ministry of Magic</i> ?' Harry asked, before he could stop himself. p. 70	- <i>Więc jest <u>Ministerstwo Magii</u>?</i> – zapytał Harry, zanim zdołał się ugryźć w język. p. 71

In the quoted text passages, there are two compound lexical items to be considered, which refer to the name of an institution that does not exist in reality. What is more, it can be observed that following the pattern of names for real ministries, the SL neologism *Ministry of Magic* has been coined accordingly. Moreover, it can be stated that the SL lexeme *Ministry of Magic* has been translated literally into the TL as *Ministerstwo Magii*. Thus, the word-for-word rule has been applied, resulting in an apparent example of a calque.

4.4. Compensation

As compensation, Hrehovčič (2006: 48) understands a translation procedure which aims at “[...] achieving a similar effect in the target text through different means of expression than those in the source text. Compensation is used with puns, alliteration, rhyme, slang, metaphor, or pregnant words.” There are four categories of compensation that can be distinguished:

compensation in kind: in order to re-create the same effect in the TT various linguistic devices are applied;

compensation in place: the linguistic effect in the TT takes place in a different place than in the ST;

compensation by merging: particular features of the ST are condensed in the TT;

compensation by splitting: the meaning carried by a word in the ST is expanded on in the TL.

Table 4. Compensation in kind

ST	TT
<p>[...], while Aunt Petunia and Uncle Vernon didn't shut Harry in his cupboard, force him to do anything or shout at him – in fact, they didn't speak to him at all. Half-terrified, half-furious, <u>they acted as though any chair with Harry in it was empty.</u> p. 94</p>	<p>Ciotka Petunia i wuj Vernon nie zamykali go już w komórce pod schodami, nie zmuszali do niczego i nie wrzeszczeli na niego od rana do wieczora – <u>prawdę mówiąc, w ogóle się do niego nie odzywali. Przerażeni i wściekli, traktowali go jak powietrze.</u> p. 96</p>

Due to the fact that the underlined fragment of the ST encloses a metaphor, embodied in the chair being empty, it was necessary either to translate it with rough equivalents, which would convey the meaning, or to use a different metaphor in the TL that carries a similar meaning. In the provided TT the latter option was the case, which, from the stylistic point of view, was a more successful procedure than the first one. Thus, the same effect has been achieved through entirely different means of expression, which is a typical feature of *compensation in kind*.

4.5. Explicitation

According to Hrehovčík (2006: 48), with the explicitation technique “[...] the translator expands the target text by inserting additional words. A more accurate definition says that it is the process of introducing information into the target language, which is present only implicitly in the source language, but which can be derived from the context or the situation.” As an example, Hrehovčík (2006: 48) refers to the Hungarian language where gender remains unmarked. Therefore, the pronouns such as *he* or *she* would be lost in translation if they were not added. In principle, four categories of explicitation can be distinguished:

obligatory explicitation occurs when there are ‘missing categories’ in the SL, such as the lack of articles in Slavonic languages which have to be added in a translation into English.

optional explicitation is dependent on discrepancies in text-building strategies and stylistic tendencies in different languages.

pragmatic explicitation is caused by discrepancies in cultures. For instance, a common name in the SL may seem unfamiliar to the recipients of the TT, so translation may require the use of an additional word in order to make it understandable.

translation-inherent explicitation, as Hrehovčík (2006: 49) states, “[...] is attributed to the nature of the translation process itself. Therefore, translations are always longer than originals, regardless of the languages, genres and registers concerned”.

Table 5. Pragmatic explicitation

ST	TT
<i>The traffic moved on, and a few minutes later, Mr Dursley arrived in the <u>Grunnings</u> car park, his mind back on drills. p. 3</i>	<i>Sznur samochodów ruszył i kilka minut później pan Dursley wjechał na parking <u>firmy Grunnings</u>, a w jego myślach z powrotem zagościły świdry. p. 7</i>

The SL lexeme *Grunnings* is an example of a proper name, unfamiliar to the users of the TL. Therefore, it was necessary to insert extra information that would clarify the concept hidden behind the expression. To do so, the word *firmy* has been added (Eng. ‘of the company/ belonging to the company’); and while it precedes the proper name there is no confusion about the meaning. For this reason, it can be claimed that the example provided above reflects the phenomenon of *pragmatic explicitation*.

4.6. Modulation

Hrehovčik (2006: 49) claims that transposition entails a change in grammatical categories. In comparison, modulation causes a change in cognitive categories, which can be understood as a shift in a viewpoint.

Table 6. Modulation

ST	TT
<i>When they left the dungeons at the end of the Potions, they found a large fir tree blocking the corridor ahead. Two enormous feet sticking out at the bottom and a loud puffing sound told them that Hagrid was behind it. p. 209</i>	<i>Po lekcji, gdy chcieli wyjść z lochów, stwierdzili, że korytarz jest zablokowany przez wielką jodłę, spod której wystają dwie olbrzymie stopy. Po głośnym sapaniu poznali, że za drzewkiem jest Hagrid. p. 203</i>

In order to identify a translation problem in the above texts it is necessary to focus on the order and range of information both passages provide. In the ST fragment, the reader finds out that leaving the dungeons, the main protagonists came across a big fir tree in the middle of a corridor. The following sentence informs the reader that the large feet sticking out at the bottom of the tree and accompanied by a loud puffing sound were a clear hint, making it easy to guess that it must be Hagrid standing behind the fir tree. Meanwhile, the reader of the TT finds out already in the first sentence that there were enormous feet sticking out at the bottom of the fir tree. The second sentence is shorter and says only that it was the sound of puffing that made them guess it was Hagrid behind the tree. This slight difference may not seem to be very glaring. However,

because some information has been placed at dissimilar parts of the paragraph, the result is a shift in the original viewpoint, which is a typical aspect of modulation.

4.7. Paraphrase

Paraphrase is a common translation strategy where the translator replaces a word in the ST by a group of words or an expression in the TT. Hrehovčik (2006: 49) states that there is also a synonymic term for paraphrase, i.e. periphrasis.

Table 7. Paraphrase

ST	TT
<i>The traffic moved on, and a few minutes later, Mr Dursley arrived in the Grunnings car park, his mind back on drills. p. 3</i>	<i>Sznur samochodów ruszył i kilka minut później pan Dursley wjechał na parking firmy Grunnings, a w jego myślach z powrotem zagościły świdry. p. 7</i>

In the fragment presented above, the word *traffic*, which refers to cars stuck in a traffic jam, for stylistic reasons has been replaced by the equivalent expression *sznur samochodów* (Eng. ‘a line of cars’). Based on this example, it is possible to claim that the passage above includes an example of a typical paraphrase where one word is replaced by an expression that is not identical to the one in the SL, but which refers to the same elements of the contextual reality.

4.8. Simplification

Another common technique applied in the translation process is simplification. According to Hrehovčik (2006: 49), there are three types of simplification:

lexical simplification occurs if there is non-equivalence at word level. Lexical simplification consists in the use of a superordinate, i.e. a word which carries a more general meaning.

syntactic simplification is a change at sentence level, e.g. the use of finite clauses in the TT instead of non-finite clauses in the ST.

stylistic simplification can be applied either in order to break up long sequences and sentences or to replace phraseology with shorter collocations.

Table 8. Stylistic simplification

ST	TT
<i>Mr and Mrs Dursley, of number four, Privet Drive, were proud to say that they were perfectly normal, thank you very much. p. 1</i>	<i>Państwo Dursleyowie spod numeru czwartego przy Privet Drive mogli z dumą stwierdzić, że są całkowicie normalni, chwala Bogu. p. 5</i>

Already in the very first words of the book we can observe that the masculine and feminine forms of *Mr and Mrs Dursley*, which refer to the names of Harry Potter’s uncle and aunt, have been replaced by the plural form *państwo Dursleyowie* (Eng. ‘the Dursleys’). The use of this technique can be explained with the need for a stylistic change in the TL and is a typical aspect of stylistic simplification.

4.9. Translator’s note

Following Hrehovčik’s (2006: 49) account, a translator’s note is used as a footnote or an endnote in order to provide additional information referring to “[...] the limits of the translation, cultural background or any other explanation”.

Figure 1. Translator’s note⁴



4 Rowling, J. K. 2000. *Harry Potter i kamień filozoficzny* [translated by Andrzej Polkowski]. Poznań: Media Rodzina. pp. 320-321.

A translator's note is one of the translation techniques applied in the Polish edition of the novel. It can be found at the end of the book, thus it is a so-called endnote (a fragment of which is illustrated above). Its role should not be underestimated, as the ST includes an abundance of proper names which very often carry hidden meanings that cannot always be conveyed in the TT and, consequently, require additional explanations. The translator's note is preceded by a short preface which explains that differences resulting from a mismatch between the source culture (SC) and the target culture (TC) had a direct impact on some steps taken by the translator in the translation process. The main part of the translator's note provides a list of words, i.e. proper names, with some explanatory information about the meaning and the context of each word. What is more, some entries are supplemented with a comment on the translation technique employed. To sum up, it can be stated that the decision to attach the translator's note in the Polish version of the novel can be considered as a very helpful step that sheds light on certain issues and increases the value of the translation as a whole. Otherwise, many aspects of the proper names included implicitly in the ST would be lost and not accessible to the readers of the TT.

4.10. Transposition

As Hrehovčik (2006: 50) states, the first step taken by the translator in the translation process is to search for a formal equivalent. If there is no equivalent word or expression in the TL, the translator has to resort to non-identical lexemes. Hrehovčik (2006: 50) claims that "transposition means rendering a second language element by syntactio-syntagmatic structures which have the same meaning but do not correspond formally (e.g. because of changes in the class of words used)." There are two main groups of transposition techniques:

Transpositions based on the shift in the morphological form of words and their syntactic function (e.g. adverbial or attributive functions of lexemes in the sentence structure).

Transpositions based on syntactic categories, e.g. the use of the instrumental or the locative in the TL.

Transposition of word classes refers to attributive functions of adjectives, different types of genitives or prepositions. In the translation process, they are often rendered as prepositional phrases, adjectives or relative clauses. *Transposition of syntactic categories* is related to the use of cases which do not exist in the TL, e.g. the locative or the instrumental. Lexemes denoting a concrete or abstract place in the locative are transferred into the nominative in the TT with some characteristic verbs (e.g. *to include*, *to contain*).

Table 10. Transposition of word classes

ST	TT
'Why <i>would you be mad</i> to try and rob Gringotts?' Harry asked. p. 69	- Dlaczego tylko <i>wariat</i> chciałby obrabować bank Gringotta? – zapytał Harry. p. 71

In the first place, it is necessary to notice that the impersonal form *would you be mad* could have been expressed in various ways in the TL (e.g. by the use of an impersonal form of a verb), therefore, one might wonder why it is not the case in the example above. It can be observed that the complex verbal phrase *would you be mad* has been replaced by a noun phrase in form of a single noun – *wariat* (Eng. 'lunatic'). In fact, both expressions carry the same meaning, although they represent different morphological classes, which results in differences on the syntagmatic level, which is a typical quality of a transposition resulting from differences in the word classes. From the stylistic point of view, however, it can be said that the applied technique was successful, as the expression is more precise and matches the Polish stylistic norms.

4.11. Transliteration

According to Hrehovčík (2006: 50), transliteration is a translation technique which is usually used in order to spell words (e.g. place names) from languages that use a different alphabet. However, it should be added that words are not always transliterated in the same way. That is why there are often various versions of the same lexeme. A good example of this practice is the name of the capital of China which used to be transliterated as *Peking*. Nowadays, the official transliteration is *Beijing*.

Due to the fact that transliteration is one of the translation procedures discussed by Hrehovčík (2006) in his monography, which constitutes a theoretical basis for this paper, and in order to give an entire overview of translation strategies, the information about this technique has not been omitted. However, it should be made clear that there could not be found any example of transliteration in the analysed fragments, as both the ST and the TT are written in Latin script.

5. Conclusions

The conducted analyses comprise 11 examples of ST and TT-fragments based on the typology proposed by Hrehovčík (2006). Each of them examines a different translation problem as well as a translation strategy implemented in order to overcome the lack of equivalence between the discussed passages. With exception to the analysis of the applied technique, some comments also suggest an alternative translation procedure. In this way, it is possible to highlight and easily comprehend differences between translation strategies and results of their application. Moreover, each analysed fragment is

preceded by a short introduction which gives insight into the theoretical foundation of the procedure.

As far as specific strategies are concerned, it can be noticed that facing the problem of an exoticism in the form of the neologism *unDursleyish*, the translator decided to use adaptation (Table 1) which resulted to some extent in a stylistic loss. To translate the name of the game played by the students of Hogwarts, i.e. *Quidditch*, a borrowing has been applied which introduced the mentioned neologism into the TL (Table 2). In the case of the name of an institution which does not exist in reality, the compound lexical item *Ministry of Magic* has been transferred word-for-word by means of a calque (Table 3). Facing the problem of a metaphor in the ST, the translator applied an equivalent expression in the TT which is an example of compensation (Table 4). A pragmatic explicitation has been applied in order to translate the name of a company which is not popular among the users of the TT (Table 5). Due to the fact that some information has been placed differently in the ST and in the TT, Table 6 provides an example of a modulation which contributed to a shift in viewpoint. Taking into account the question of style in the TL, the translator decided to use a paraphrase to render an element of contextual reality (Table 7). Stylistic reasons also explain the need for applying another translation technique discussed in Table 8. This latter case, however, shows an example of simplification. Proper names which carry hidden meanings have been explained in the translator's note at the end of the translated novel (Table 9). Referring also to the stylistic norms of the TL, the translator implemented the technique of transposition (Table 10), which resulted in differences on the syntagmatic level. Unlike all the previous translation procedures, subsection 4.11 does not deliver any exemplification as it discusses the technique of transliteration applied in spelling words from languages that use a different alphabet. Obviously, both English and Polish use the Latin script. For that reason, with relation to the chosen ST, it was impossible to present any analysis in this case.

Summing up, it can be stated that the presented text passages illustrate various translation challenges. However, the question of choice of an appropriate translation strategy was in each case very much dependent on the individual decision of the translator. Moreover, it can be claimed that a significant role here was played by the professional experience and the esthetical perception of the translator. That is why, it can be assumed that the final effect of the translation process was impacted not only by his professional training, but also by his experience and individual skills which can hardly be measured.

Finally, it should be stressed that the aim of this paper was not to assess the translator's work, but to demonstrate steps taken by the translator in the translation process.

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The *wrestling with a pig in the mud* metaphor in the service of liberal ideology: a critical analysis

*Metaphor to a politician is what sex appeal is to an individual:
a covert way of sending out messages of desirability*

Jonathan Charteris-Black

Abstract. Metaphors are used in political discourse in order to advance one particular view of the world whilst delegitimising other ideologies and belittling political opponents. The author verifies this claim by analysing the *wrestling with a pig in the mud* metaphor in light of the Critical Metaphor Analysis model and by providing broad reference to the socio-political context of the 2019 European Parliament election in Poland. Consistent with the premises of the selected paradigm, the investigation is performed at three intermingling levels. Basic categories of source domains present in the complex metaphorical structure are identified at the descriptive level. At the interpretative level, attention is directed towards mapping out correspondences between source and target domains. Finally, at the motivational level, the author identifies the ideological message and political intentions embedded in the metaphor's use.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, political discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Metaphor Analysis.

1. Introduction

Cognitive science has demonstrated that to a large degree we think and communicate by means of metaphors. This view of metaphor has now been around for almost forty years, if we take the 1980 publication of Lakoff & Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* as a sort of milestone. Due to the methodological developments of the framework referred to as the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), concepts such as source and target domains,

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mappings, entailments, invariance, topology, inference and so forth, have become familiar vocabulary for analysing not only linguistic, but other conceptual phenomena. The universality of metaphorical conceptualisation suggests that metaphor should not be seen merely as a source of knotty puzzles for readers, but rather as an enlightening and helpful carrier of meaning. Steen (2004: 1298) observes that metaphorical language may be argued to simultaneously perform linguistic, conceptual, and communicative functions in discourse. “The transition of metaphor from language to thought in the old contemporary theory is being followed today by another transition, from metaphor in thought to metaphor in language, thought, and communication” (Steen 2011: 43). The researcher proposes a three-dimensional model for metaphor, in which “linguistic, conceptual, and communicative properties of metaphor are examined as relatively independent and interacting aspects that may affect all kinds of processes in production, reception, interaction, acquisition, learning, maintenance, and so on” (Steen 2011: 43).

Metaphors are highly persistent in contemporary discourse, especially in so-called mediated discourse in which they function as fundamental persuasive devices. Political actors communicate with their voters as well as with their opponents for the most part through the mass media. It is in the media and through the media that metaphors are produced, continually distributed and entrenched. Furthermore, it is argued that these mediated metaphors conform to particular frames which are privileged over and above other frames, thereby shaping our understanding of politics. Political rhetoric cannot be reduced to metaphor alone as it is just one among many rhetorical tools used for the purpose of persuasion. However, metaphor remains important because metaphorical phrases very often become the core of argumentation.

Remarkably, the general intention of this study is to redress the air of neglect surrounding the perlocutionary potential of the complex cognitive phenomenon referred to as conceptual metaphor used in political persuasion. Though the effects of metaphorical framing are studied from various perspectives and by making use of diverse methods, the central hypothesis that metaphorical frames influence people’s political views and decisions has gained widespread acceptance in scientific circles (e.g., Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Kövecses 2006; Lakoff 2009; Mio 1997; Musolff 2004, 2010, 2014; Perrez et al. 2019). Consistent with the basic premise that metaphors are discursive devices used to “create social reality and guide social action” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 156), this paper in part investigates the possibilities of combining two frameworks: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). It is argued from a critical realist perspective that these methodologies pose different, yet complementary questions about the nature of conceptualisation and political discourse. CDA scholars methodically scrutinise the interdependence between language and social structure – real-world changes, both actual or hypothetical, are examined as an outcome of communicated linguistic impact. Drawing upon the premises of critical

thought as well as pragmatics, the Critical Metaphor Analysis (introduced by Charteris-Black 2004) aims at reducing the methodological disparity between critical analysis and cognitive linguistics. The integrated study framework provides a dual lens which can be applied to explore qualitative data, simultaneously interpreted both as mental phenomenon and discursive practice. Actually, the premises of CMT and CDA may profitably inform each other. Essentially, the Lakoffean-Johnsonian proposal opens up the possibility of tracing not only the bodily but also the cultural, historical and contextual patterns to an underlying set of metaphors.

2. Critical analysis of mediated political discourse

The term ‘discourse’ is wide enough to encompass all aspects that critical scientists aim to analyse as it includes “all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds” (Potter & Wetherell 1987: 7). Such an extensive spectrum of relevance results in an enormously large number of definitions proposed by various scholars. One of the first who substantially contributed to this issue was Michael Foucault. The French philosopher defines discourse as “an entity of sequences, of signs, in that they are enunciations (énoncés), statements in conversation” (Foucault 1969: 233).

More contemporary scientists emphasise contextual and cognitive aspects of discourse. For instance, Tyson characterises discourse as “a social language created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and place” that expresses “a particular way of understanding human experience” (Tyson 1999: 281). Van Dijk, who analyses discourse from a socio-psychological perspective, defines it as “a communicative event, including conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, face-work, typographical layout, images, and any other semiotic or multimedia dimension of signification” (van Dijk 2001: 98). Consider van Dijk’s assertion (1988: 1-2): “Developments in the study of discourse in such diverse disciplines as speech communication, cognitive psychology, social psychology, microsociology, and ethnography have shown that discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogical structure.”

Essentially, discourse is influenced by a plethora of diverse factors and realised in different forms that might be impossible to spot individually. In his article “Multimodality”, van Leeuwen states that discourse “is almost always multimodal” (van Leeuwen 2015: 447), which means that “different semiotic modes (...) are combined and integrated in a given instance of discourse or kind of discourse” (van Leeuwen 2015: 447).² As a consequence, discourse analysis should not be limited to an explicit account of structures *per se*. Still, though other modes, for instance images, may function as

² Kress & van Leeuwen, the leading researchers in the field of multimodal studies, define multimodality as “the idea that communication and representation always draw on a multiplicity of semiotic modes of which language may be one” (2001: 67-68).

rhetorical devices, the multimodal approach in CDA does not suggest that the importance of verbal communication is being downplayed. On the contrary, it is principally language that performs the function of persuading the audience and arousing their emotional response, and for this reason critical discourse analysts predominantly concentrate on verbal forms of discourse.

Consistent with the theoretical standpoint adopted in this paper, let me base this analysis on the definition proposed by Bischoff & Gazso, who view discourse as “a web of meanings, ideas, interactions and practices that are expressed or represented in texts (spoken and written language, gesture, and visual imagery), within institutional and everyday settings” (2016: 235). Since this paper is about the relationship between language, cognition and politics, let me focus on the type of interaction that has a sort of social dimension, namely political discourse, understood here as “the institutionally bound text and talk of politicians (...) produced in institutional settings” (van Dijk 1997: 20). Van Dijk emphasises that to count discourse as political, it should be ‘done’ by politicians in professional contexts: “In a more action-oriented way, we may also say that discourse is political when it accomplishes a political act in a political institution, such as governing, legislation, electoral campaigning, and so on” (van Dijk 1997: 20).

It is important to note that although van Dijk admits that politicians as authors of political discourse and other political practices are crucial in political science, they are not the only participants in the domain of politics. Thus, from the interactional perspective, it should also include other *recipients* in political communicative events such as the public, the people, citizens, the ‘masses’, and other groups or categories (van Dijk 1997).³

An important part of the political system is communication of information and mass media play a central role in this process. Media culture is still extending and developing its forms from more traditional such as newspapers, magazines, cinema, video, radio and terrestrial television to more advanced, using Coxall et al.’s terminology ‘globalized’ means, which include multi-channel satellite, cable and digital television, the Internet and other embryonic modes such as mass texting (Coxall et al. 2003: 156). Coxall et al. (2003: 156) observe that one of their major roles is to provide “the potential for (a) person to link up with other like-minded individuals anywhere in the world to create a ‘virtual’ organisation through which they can pursue political goals.” Taking a constructionist attitude, Cottle argues that “[media] representations do not so much ‘distort’ reality as productively provide the means by which ‘reality’ is actively constructed and/or known” (Cottle 2000: 10). Van Gorp (2007) provides a detailed account of how cultural frames embedded in media content (either deliberately or unwittingly) which interact with the

³ In this respect see Wilson (2015), who refers to studies (e.g., Liebes & Ribak 1991), whose authors argue that family talk about political events could also be considered political discourse.

mental schemata of individual readers or receivers, work as a bridging device between cognition and culture and thus are a fundamental part of the dynamic process whereby social reality is (re)produced, shaped and transformed. These ways of knowing and believing form the basis of the everyday, common sense ideologies which for many people are the underlying foundations of ‘truths’ about the social world they live in and the value system that should guide behaviour in it (van Dijk 1998).

Nevertheless, shaping the mental models of the recipients is not the objective *per se* – it would be meaningless if done for the sake of just doing so. From the point of view of the social actor who is engaged in such a process, it is invaluable because it may also influence future actions of the addressees. Van Dijk observes that mass media will generally focus on ‘facts’ that are consistent with elite political interests (1998: 184). Subjects that are indeed in control of a broad range of public discourses and social events are what van Dijk defines as elite institutions. Van Dijk puts it in the following words: “in modern societies, discourse access is a primary condition for the manufacture of consent, and therefore the most effective way to exercise power and dominance” (van Dijk 1996: 102). However, van Dijk stresses that sole access does not guarantee any influence over the recipients, as there are diverse forms of resistance (1995: 13): “Special access to the minds of the public does not imply control (...) Rejection, disbelief, criticism, or other forms of resistance or challenge may be involved and thus signal modes of counterpower.”

Essentially, political rhetoric is an outstanding discipline that is best-suited to go hand in hand with its counterpart, namely critical thinking – the skill that enables us to peel back the formulas, thus revealing the content of arguments resistant to manipulations, delusions, and deceptions. Critical Discourse Analysis, which has now become one of the most extensively used discourse analysis paradigms, is the model which primarily aims at uniting linguistic analysis and ideological critique. It absorbs the research achievements of many other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, ethnology, mass media, etc. The leading figures in the field are Fairclough, Hodge, Kress, Wodak, van Dijk, van Leeuwen.

Critical approach primarily assumes a dialectical relationship between language and other social elements. For instance, Fairclough explains his view of this unitary system in the following manner: “(...) language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being a site of, and a stake in, struggles of power” (1989: 14-15).⁴ Most important in Fairclough’s model (1989, 1995) is the correlation between text, interpretation, and context. The researcher distinguishes clearly-defined steps (or stages) along with the three dimensions of discourse when conducting studies

4 Fairclough’s (1995, 2001) analytical model is composed of some critical social theories, such as Foucault’s concept of orders of discourse, Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, and Habermas’ colonization of discourse, etc.

with the theory of CDA: the description stage, the interpretation stage, and the explanation stage – the general model adopted by the Critical Metaphor Analysis scholars.

Habitually, CDA viewed metaphor as an element of micro-level analysis.⁵ It is probably due to the findings of cognitive science which recently resulted in the fact that this complex issue has received appropriate attention and is no longer treated as just a rhetoric trope, but is viewed as “central to CDA since it deals with forming a coherent view of reality” (Charteris-Black 2004: 28), and is used to “persuasively convey evaluations and constitutes a potentially ideological property of texts” (Sacristan 2005: 221). Political metaphor emerges from both the physical as well as social context in which it is produced and it cannot be interpreted without the reference to personal background of discourse participants and both historical as well as situational context of use, i.e. meso- and macro-levels in Fairclough’s classification.⁶

Chilton (2004) argues that language and political behaviour should not be merely seen as instances of social practices. On the contrary, because both are fundamentally based on cognitive traits of the human mind, political discourse should be primarily understood and examined as “necessarily a product of individual and collective mental processes” (Chilton 2004: 51). Adopting a cognitive viewpoint, Chilton considers metaphor an essential part of these processes, most of which are situated beyond the area of informed voter control.

3. Conceptual metaphor and its processing

Metaphor, as a phenomenon, involves both conceptual mappings and individual linguistic expressions. However, the two must be kept distinct: “the locus of metaphor is not in the words themselves, but in our mental images and in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another” (Lakoff 1993: 203). Metaphor theorists commonly use the term ‘metaphor’ to refer to conceptual mapping, and the term ‘metaphorical expression’ to refer to the individual linguistic expression (word, phrase, or sentence) that is sanctioned by this mapping (which is what the word ‘metaphor’ referred to in traditional theories that regarded metaphors as artistic and very often deviant linguistic expressions whose meaning, if any, is reducible to some set of literal propositions). More technically, metaphor can be understood as a “cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system” (Lakoff 1993: 203) which basically “has three parts: first, a fixed conceptual

⁵ Fairclough distinguishes “three-dimension framework of studying discourse”: micro-level (at which “aspects of linguistic analysis are considered, as well as the use of metaphors and rhetorical devices”); meso-level (at which “aspects such as author of a text and its target audience” are considered); macro-level (at which “intertextual and interdiscursive elements, along with societal currents affect the given text”) (1995: 51) (quoted after Barry et al. 2006).

⁶ Personally, I am convinced that conceptual metaphor is a linking device between all of the three levels of analysis.

domain that is the source; second, a fixed conceptual domain that is the target; and third, a fixed metaphoric mapping at the conceptual level of entities, relations, knowledge, reasoning patterns, image-schemas, and schematic structure from the source to the target” (Turner 1991: 158). In the CMT model, metaphorical mapping is primary to language, which is secondary. The enormous productivity of metaphorical conceptualisation results from the unique ability of metaphor to carry over details of extensive knowledge from the source domain to the target domain.⁷ This knowledge is not only carried over to the target, but metaphoric mapping is also a means of shaping our comprehension of the target, which is probably the most important reason why metaphors are such valuable devices in political communication. According to Lakoff (2009), political debates are metaphorical competitions or even “wars on metaphors” which become routine forms of communication (both spoken and written) totally acceptable to a broader audience who more often than not accepts the role of a passive witness.

In his more recent politically focused publications, Lakoff defines conceptual metaphors as “frame-to-frame mappings across conceptual domains” and linguistic metaphors as “surface reflections of those conceptual mappings” (Lakoff 2012: 776). Lakoff primarily focuses on the effects of linguistic metaphors on individuals’ attitudes and behaviour by means of metaphorical framing understood as “selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman 1993: 52).⁸ By shaping the inferences that people make about the domains described with the help of metaphorical frames, metaphors help to organise complex information.

Framing effects of metaphor is not a marginal issue and as such should not be overlooked as a phenomenon. However, because of space limitations, let me provide the most concise account of this complex issue which obviously deserves a more serious examination. For instance, Musolff promotes the view of framing as “establishing a particular set of frames as the dominant one in the public political debate, thus setting its agenda as well as target topics and values, and influencing its outcome” (Musolff 2019: 3). Musolff argues that an account of framing in its “emphatic sense,” as advocated

7 Lakoff refers to such “carryovers” as metaphorical entailments, which are “part of our conceptual system” (Lakoff 1987: 384) and divides them into two types: ontological and epistemic. Ontological entailments result from fixed ontological correspondences, which means that entities in the target domain have systematic correspondences in the source domain. Epistemic entailments are a result of “correspondences between knowledge about the source domain and corresponding knowledge about the target domain” (Lakoff 1987: 385).

8 The issue of metaphorical framing turns up already in *Metaphors We Live By* when the authors write: “Political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms. (...) A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980 [2008]: 236).

by Lakoff, “is aimed at performing a twofold task: first, to identify and describe the existing frames for a target topic, including the emergence of a new frame and second, to diachronically analyse their discursive development through semantic-pragmatic exploitation and contestation so as to demonstrate the possible dominance of one frame or a set of frames over others” (Musolff 2019: 3). It is most important to realise that metaphorical structuring is usually partial, not total: in most cases only a part of the metaphorical concept involved fits the whole mapping. This happens because the role of particular mappings is to highlight certain aspects of concepts and hide others.

In reference to metaphor recognition, Gibbs observes that “people often comprehend and interpret metaphors without having to recognize, either consciously and unconsciously, that an expression is of a certain type (e.g. that it is a metaphor, as opposed to a literal statement)” (1992: 577). Many metaphors, which very often “resonate with latent symbolic representations residing at the unconscious level” (Mio 1997: 130), might appear invisible because we understand them straight away and effortlessly and their metaphorical character usually goes unnoticed. Mio further argues that people “comprehend or even recognize a metaphor without making any assessment of its aptness (i.e. its appreciation)” (1997: 130).⁹ However, this view is not universal. Steen observes that in “the original thesis of cognitive linguistics, (metaphor was viewed as) a matter of backstage cognition, automatically but unconsciously utilizing entrenched cross-domain mappings which have been acquired during people’s cognitive and linguistic development” (2011:59).¹⁰ Far from it, Steen claims that “metaphor may manifest itself in communication when it is used deliberately, and then it is a matter of conscious thought by challengeable metaphorical models with a predominantly social function, as an official, contested, implicit or emerging metaphorical representation of some aspect of the world” (2011: 59).

Essentially, processing metaphor has to do with the system of inferences that discourse participants (more or less) habitually implement to determine what conceptual metaphors indicate about the target domain. Maalej argues that in its varied manifestations, discourse guides us to old and new conceptual metaphors and “linguistic metaphors that trigger old conceptual metaphors are of the conventional kind, and do not require a lot of cognitive processing” (Maalej 2007: 137). In different circumstances, more immediate, local contexts can very often prime the use of particular novel metaphors (see e.g., Boroditsky 2001; Gibbs 2006; Steen 2011; Steen et al. 2017). As with entrenchment, mutual

9 A metaphorical expression can be perceived as apt or not, depending on the quality of the cross-domain mapping (for a more detailed analysis of the issue of aptness see e.g., Steen et al. 2017: 2865).

10 The most conventionalised connections are represented by primary metaphors such as AFFECTION IS WARMTH, IMPORTANT IS BIG, HAPPY IS UP, INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS, BAD IS STINKY, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS, MORE IS UP, CATEGORIES ARE CONTAINERS, SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS, LINEAR SCALES ARE PATHS, etc. (for details see Grady 1997; Lakoff & Johnson 1999).

coherence, productivity, and other aspects, metaphorical conventionality is a matter of degree. Kövecses calls the most conventional and deeply entrenched metaphors clichés (Kövecses 2002: 30). In reference to Polish discourse of politics, metaphorical clichés typically use sports, games, war, theatre, transport, furniture, and cooking as source domains for mappings (see e.g., Burzyński 2013). Some of them are so de-lexicalised that they already have the role and status of terms found in official studies, e.g., *scena polityczna*, *dziura budżetowa*, *zaciskanie pasa* (Eng. *the political scene*, *a budget hole*, *belt-tightening*).

Steen et al. argue that “(w)hen a specific concept is repeatedly used figuratively, people become familiar with the intended meaning of the metaphor, and the metaphor becomes conventional” (2017: 2862).¹¹ The investigators acknowledge the positive influence of conventional metaphors on message comprehension and they argue that conventional mappings “make a text more concrete, clear, and easy to understand” (Steen et al. 2017: 2863). On the other hand, Steen and colleagues admit that because “recipients enjoy it when a message allows them a new insight into something familiar” (Steen et al. 2017: 2862), novel metaphors have more potential to increase attractiveness and imaginativeness of the message. Due to the underlying mechanism of “affective text perception,” novel metaphors can affect people’s issue viewpoints and thus positively influence affective responses to a communicated message (Steen et al. 2017).

4. Critical Metaphor Analysis

Traditionally, most research in cognitive linguistics went on to argue that metaphorical conceptualisation arises to a significant extent, from recurring aspects of embodied experience (Johnson 1987; Gibbs 1997; Lakoff & Johnson 1999). People systematically characterise abstract ideas, thoughts, religious beliefs, political and ethical situations in terms of bodily movements, functions and experiences. Any recurrent pattern of experience is describable by means of image schemata, i.e. embodied prelinguistic structures of experience. Johnson’s (1987) and Lakoff’s (1987) analyses of the role of image schemata in cognition and language showed the ways in which the aspects of experience formed at the preconceptual level organise every dimension of our reasoning and understanding. Out of the basic bodily interactions, our schematic senses of object, balance, force, cycle, etc. become extended and modified. It is out of these basic cognitive tools that more complex cognitive models of reality are constructed.¹²

11 Consistent with the premises of the Career of Metaphor Theory (Bowdle & Gentner 2005), a shift in the mode of processing takes place when metaphors become conventionalised: novel metaphors are processed via comparison and conventional metaphors are processed by means of categorisation.

12 As a consequence, the main constraint of metaphoric conceptualisation, namely the Invariance Principle, emphasised the role of image schemata (Turner 1990: 254).

And more recently, apart from addressing other points of controversy, metaphor researchers (e.g. Kövecses 2015, 2017; Rakova 2002) have cast doubt on the underlying issue of the embodied mind approach as emphasising the role of universal bodily experience instead of the interaction of body and context and their relationship to culture. Kövecses (2017) sees context as a priming device in the production and comprehension of metaphors in discourse, where priming is understood as a phenomenon in which exposure to a stimulus, such as a word or image, influences the response to a subsequent, related stimulus.¹³ According to Kövecses (2017: 19), priming is based on the simulation of some experience in the following contexts: situational, discourse, bodily, and conceptual-cognitive. All four of these context types can be broken down into various kinds of specific contextual factors (for details see Kövecses 2015). “The metaphors based on the situational, the discourse, the conceptual-cognitive context, together with the bodily one that involves unique features of individual bodies may represent the majority of cases of metaphor use in natural communicative situations” (Kövecses 2017: 26).

Discourse metaphors are context-related verbal expressions containing a construction that evokes an analogy negotiated in the discourse community. Actually, in-depth studies of metaphors in discourse show that their use and comprehension are influenced by a large variety of contextual factors (Fairclough 1995; Barnden 2009; Charteris-Black 2004; Leezenberg 2001). Van Dijk proposes the idea that contextual content is represented by the conceptualisers as a “context model,” i.e. “a cognitive model of the situation in which such communication takes place that comprises a number of components, including the following: Setting (time, location, circumstances, props) and Happening, which consists of Actors (individuals or groups) and Activity/ Conduct” (Van Dijk 2009: 39).

Critical Metaphor Analysis is a paradigm that basically brings together mind, discourse, and socio-cultural context. It is defined as an “integration of cognitive, semantic and pragmatic approaches that is based on corpus evidence” (Charteris-Black 2004: 13). Allowing for the combination of several characteristics of metaphors such as the cognitive, the rational and the historical, this model does not pose the question of whether we understand metaphor, but rather the question of *how* we understand it within an authentic context of use. Consistent with Fairclough’s pattern of analysis, summarized by Liu & Guo (2016: 1078) as a combination of “whatness,” “howness,” and “whyness,” CMA attempts to: “identify *which* metaphors are chosen and to explain *why* these metaphors are chosen by illustrating *how* they create political myths (in addition to indicating) how the metaphors of one social or political group may be taken over, exploited and developed by those of another for competing ideological ends” (Charteris-Black 2004: 28–9).

13 Within social psychology, this process has specifically come to be defined in terms of how events or actions influence the activation of stored knowledge (Higgins & Eitam 2014).

The model consists of three steps: description, interpretation, and explanation, which are argued “to work in a complementary fashion, with each step motivating the next one” (Maalej 2007: 152). Technically, at the description stage the metaphor analyst “seeks to discover a potential frame, explicit or implicit, to which metaphoric processing and/or processing metaphor are applied in view of writing the conceptual metaphors behind discourse” (Maalej 2007: 152). Interpretation consists of spelling out the elements of the mapping (involving two types of governing correspondences: ontological and epistemic) and making the necessary inferences that constitute a system of entailments. As a cognitive-pragmatic step, explanation “is captured through two pragmatic functions of metaphor, namely, evaluation and persuasion, which relate the conceptual, individual part of the mind to its shared, social one – or social/cultural cognition” (Maalej 2007: 149). At this stage, in all probability the most interesting aspect for a critical analyst, is that the main intentions and objectives of political actors are explained. A fundamental question is: what intent drives a political actor to use a particular metaphor to describe a certain political state of affairs or reach a well-planned goal? The CMA approach most usefully takes into consideration the issue of intentionality as ingrained in the use of metaphors in political communication.

Politicians deliberately use different discursive tools to foster the processes of *othering* and *polarisation*. Van Dijk (1998, 2009) defines ideologies as the underlying social beliefs and values that form the basis of the organization and control of social representations shared by members of a group, including representations of the self and others. One of the fundamental underpinnings of such ideologies is the delimitation of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in the form of the ingroup-outgroup polarisation which serves to self-represent the ingroup, organise its social practices and promote the interests of its members with respect to other social groups (see van Dijk 2011). Van Dijk (2011: 396) argues that one of the most common strategies of “ideological control in discourse” is the well-known and widely-applied ideological square. The principles of metaphor use follow the overall goals of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation that we can observe in the ideological square. That is, we, our people and our actions and properties tend to be described in metaphorical meanings that derive from conceptual fields with positive associations; whereas the opposite is true for the description of our political opponents or enemies. Within the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, we may thus expect that the two groups are characterised by reversed values, where the opposition is always the embodiment of evil, referred to in Polish media as e.g., *trup polityczny*, *bankrut polityczny*, *talibowie* (corresponding in English to *political corpse*, *political bankrupt*, *the Taliban*), while the other side is always characterised as e.g., *anioł pokoju*, *partia Boga*, *matka sukcesu* (*an angel of peace*, *God’s party*, *the mother of success*), etc. Essentially, as many political metaphor researchers demonstrate

(e.g., Charteris-Black 2004; Lakoff 2009; Van Teeffelen 1994), the power of metaphors in the field of politics lies in its prowess to stress certain details and connections while simultaneously minimising others.

5. Critical analysis of the *wrestling with a pig in the mud* metaphor in its political context

In the 2019 European Parliament election in Poland, from the very beginning only two committees had a realistic chance of winning: Law and Justice (Pol. Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) – the ruling party with a conservative-populist profile, and European Coalition (Pol. Koalicja Europejska) – a pro-democratic coalition consisting of five opposition parties that openly support the processes of Westernisation and secularisation coming from the West. In such a context, there arose questions both about the political commitment of the Polish Catholic Church and about the instrumental use of the Church by the political right.

As indicated by the number of baptised Catholics (86%) and self-declared regular church-goers (38%), Poland is one of the most Catholic countries in the world (Rozkrut et al. 2018: 114). In 1998 the Vatican-Poland concordat was ratified. Due to the role of the Catholic Church in the complicated history of the country, especially during the 123-year-long period of partition and in the post-1945 communist era, Catholicism is still an important component of national identity. The Catholic ethical code and values are respected by the majority of self-declared Catholics, who hold rigid views about social topics such as LGBT rights, abortion, euthanasia, in vitro fertilisation, traditional families, mass migration from Muslim countries, and so on. What is really happening in the brains of Poles is that there are two fundamentally different modes of perception of those sensitive issues; one fundamentally progressive, the other fundamentally conservative, to use Lakoff's terms (2009). This sharp division, dubbed as the *Polish-Poland war* (Pol. *wojna polsko-polska*), is visible and audible throughout the streets of Polish cities and villages, and in people's homes is presented and reinforced by the media.

Three weeks before the European Parliament election, Donald Tusk, the co-founder and ex-chairman of the biggest opposition party: Civic Platform (Pol. Platforma Obywatelska), the Prime Minister of Poland from 2007 to 2014 and currently the President of the European Council, gave a lecture on "Hope and responsibility. On Constitution, Europe and Free Elections" at the Auditorium Maximum of the University of Warsaw. However, it was not Tusk's methodical presentation that became one of the most widely commented on political events of 2019 in Poland. Moments before Tusk's address, one of the organisers of the meeting, Leszek Jażdżewski, delivered his 10-minute support speech. Jażdżewski is the editor-in-chief of *Liberté!*, a member of the Association of Journalists and an expert on international politics. In reality, Tusk's lecture which had

been billed as the main point on the agenda, was given little, if any, media attention in comparison to the enormous interest triggered by Jażdżewski's introductory presentation. In his politically and ideologically committed manifesto Jażdżewski, who is an involved political activist, strongly attacked, among others, the Catholic Church. The journalist referred to sexual and financial scandals involving priests, saying among other things, that nowadays the society should not look for moral values in the Church, claiming that if Christ were to be alive at the present time in Poland he "would most likely be crucified by those who use the cross as a stick to drive the humble sheep into the pen."

Essentially, metaphorical expressions permeated and dominated the whole speech and constituted the discursive backbone of its argumentative structure. However, the example which deserves special attention of both a political commentator and of a linguist is the *wrestling with a pig in the mud* (Pol. *zapasy ze świnią w błocie*) metaphor, which was most probably aimed at providing an effective punch line to Jażdżewski's speech as well as ultimately paving the dedicated liberal's way to his own political rank and success. After the speech, this metaphor was vividly discussed by the media and other political actors (as well as by the broader public), which within a couple of weeks turned Jażdżewski into a political media celebrity.

The persuasive goal of the liberal speaker was to emphasise the immorality and bad nature of the conservative Catholic Church in Poland. Jażdżewski based his argumentation on the common tendency to metaphorically project the attributes of animals onto different types of organisations and currently held values in human society. He used the novel expression which framed the Catholic Church as a ruthless, greedy animal; namely, a pig. The metaphor, which is far more entrenched in English and part of commonplace public communication in this language, has scarce tradition of use in Polish linguistic culture. Actually, the foremost national corpus of Polish (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego) mentions its use only once. *Wrestling with a pig in the mud* is an example of a situation when a certain image – the image of a human fighting with a pig in the mud, and consequently its image-schematic structure – is part of the mapping.¹⁴

Generally, image metaphors map only one image onto one other image. What an image metaphor really offers language users is the possibility of mapping some of the very rich imagistic detail of the image. It is the proliferation of detail in the images that limits image mappings to highly specific cases and makes them "one-shot" mappings (Lakoff 1993: 229). Apparently, image metaphors in comparison to structural metaphors may lack rich inferential structure. However, as Lakoff & Turner (1989: 8, 92) observe, image metaphors can trigger structural-conceptual metaphors. In fact, metaphor is capable of building up meaning all the way from the most basic levels to the most sophisticated

14 Invariance is also present as the basic image schemata activated by this multifaceted mapping are object, contact and counterforce.

and creative ones (see Lakoff & Turner 1989; Grady 1997). As a consequence, metaphorical expressions are not expressions of isolated meanings, but they represent particular levels of a hierarchical organization, in which the mappings at the lower level of the hierarchy inherit the structure of the mappings at the higher level.¹⁵ In ‘Doing CDA with the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor’ Maalej refers to Gibbs’s (1994: 117) claim that a rich set of entailments can be drawn from any metaphor. Some entailments may be specifically intended by the speaker or author of the metaphor, while other ones might be unauthorised but still understood as being reasonable (Maalej 2007: 147). Actually, “[w]e can invent new metaphors by figuring out the image-schematic structure of the target and finding a source that matches it” (Turner 1991: 174). In the case of the *wrestling with a pig in the mud* metaphor, the planned persuasive effect results from what Charteris-Black (2004: 35) calls “a tension between a literal source domain and a metaphoric target domain.” How can *wrestling a pig in the mud* be used in the sense of *debating with the Catholic Church*? This is obviously accomplished via a system of metaphorical correspondences and their entailments. Essentially, it is an example of a composite metaphor in which we deal with hierarchical organisation of interplaying structures. The image metaphor stimulates activation of higher-level mappings, namely basic-level structural metaphors THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS A PIG, (a subcategory of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and THE INSTITUTION IS AN ORGANISM), ARGUMENT IS WAR, and IMMORALITY IS DIRT.¹⁶

In accordance with the Contemporary Metaphor Theory, in the case of the basic conceptual metaphor THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS A PIG, the source is our concept of PIG and the target is our understanding of CHURCH in terms of PIG. The metaphoric mapping connects our concept of PIG to our understanding of CHURCH in terms of PIG. Through the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, attributed animal behaviour is mapped onto human behaviour: we can infer that the Catholic Church is selfish, insatiable, and as thoughtless as pigs are thought to be. Actually, we cannot neglect the range of inferences provided by two generic-level metaphors, viz. the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC and the Great Chain of Being (for details see Lakoff & Turner 1989: 166-168; Turner 1991: 167-169; and especially Krzeszowski 1997: 64-74). The inferences are done by mapping attributes and behaviour characteristic of one level – animals, represented by a specific-level instantiation (a pig), onto attributes and behaviour at another level – humans (in this particular case the high-ranking members of the Catholic Church clergy). What is crucial in the structure

15 Metaphors higher up in the hierarchy, e.g. The Great Chain of Being (GCB), The Event Structure, or generic is specific, tend to be more widespread than mappings representing lower levels. Gibbs claims that the Event Structure and similar metaphors are universal, while metaphors at lower levels are more culturally restricted (Gibbs 1994:154).

16 The idea that simple metaphors interact to yield more elaborate conceptualisations has been discussed by researchers working in the CMT framework (especially see Lakoff and Turner’s 1989 discussion of ‘composite’ metaphors, and Grady’s 1997 explicit analysis of the “unification” or “binding” of metaphors).

of the Great Chain of Being is the fact that different forms of being are characterised by their highest level of attribute. In *wrestling with a pig in the mud* the correspondence on which we base the projection between the Catholic Church and a pig is the highest level of attribute of animals – their instinctual nature, which makes their behaviour primitive and ruthless in their struggle for survival. The mapping highlights competitiveness and aggression as features shared by humans and animals. More specifically, the rulers of the religious institution, whose beliefs are formulaically fortified against any self-doubt, are seen as acting according to the behavioural traits ascribed to a thoughtless pig.

It is important to note that the particular analysed projection is unidirectional and asymmetric. Goaty (2006: 34) observes that the most common animal metaphors for humans are pejorative, suggesting that it is desirable to distance ourselves from animals, both conceptually and emotionally. The researcher mentions some naturalist theories that emphasise symbiosis and cooperation between humans and animals and claim that it is natural and right to behave as animals do. Yet, Goaty stresses that most socio-biological approaches prove that our differences from animals are what makes us most human and notes the prescriptive character of metaphor patterns that reflect the strong tendency to regard animal behaviour as something for humans to avoid (for details see Goaty 2006). Actually, what Jażdżewski wanted to attain by comparing a disliked and corrupt institution to a disgusting, selfish, and insensitive pig was to reduce the Catholic Church's rank in the hierarchy of beings, rather than to elevate the pig's position to the higher level occupied by humans or institutions.

Following Lakoff & Johnson's idea that "argument is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of war" (1980: 4-5), everyday language automatically applies warlike vocabulary such as *fight, battle, struggle, defeat, survive, attack, win*, etc. to any confrontational situation. Still, it is political discourse that makes remarkably ample use of the deeply entrenched and thoroughly described ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor (see e.g., Ling 2010). Conflicts between politicians are often understood as a physical confrontation in a battlefield and politicians are seen as fighters. In particular, election debates are framed as duels between the candidates who apply different strategies and use different types of weaponry against their opponents. Jażdżewski's example also fits into this model. It takes advantage of elements such as the physical contact between the fighters, battlefield and weaponry. The Catholic Church as a pig and the opposition as its human opponent are FIGHTERS who struggle in the *field of mud*, namely the contemporary Polish political arena, understood here as a type of BATTLEFIELD. In the case of Jażdżewski's example, not logically justified arguments, but invectives are WEAPONS used to humiliate and defeat the opponent. Literally, only the human participant has access to this sort of arms, as a pig is incapable of speaking. However, it has an extra weapon at its disposal, namely cloven hooves, which give it excellent traction. Wrestling with the pig is a sort of fierce competition in which the human participant

is given no time to think and realise his tactics. The receiver of Jazdżewski's speech should easily infer that this sort of battle is utterly useless: it drastically exhausts the opposition and brings no ideological benefits.

Associated with *the wrestling with a pig in the mud* image metaphor is another basic conceptual structure, namely IMMORALITY IS DIRT and some of the actions that are its further developments, e.g. cleaning, washing. Sherman & Chlore (2009: 1025) claim that "more than merely a rhetorical device for moral discourse the moral purity metaphor is a deeply embodied phenomenon covertly shaping moral cognition." The embodied symbolism of physical cleansing, which suggests a psychological association between bodily purity and moral purity, manifests itself more than ever in the sphere of religion and religious ceremonies based on the sacred functions of water. Lakoff & Johnson argue that the link between cleanliness and the prescribed and widely accepted moral standards can be explained by the fact that "morality is fundamentally seen as the enhancing of well-being, especially of others" (1999: 291). Actually, two most prominent target domains structured by the concepts pertaining to physical cleanliness are morality and sexuality (see e.g., Deignan 1997). The parallels established between the cleanliness of the body and moral purity are used to construct a major pair of oppositions: MORALITY IS PURITY and IMMORALITY IS DIRT, which share the common entailment PURIFYING IS CLEANSING. MORALITY IS PURITY is related to PURITY IS CLEANLINESS (for details see Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 307). Lizardo (2012: 380) observes that apart from the fields of sports and war, the conceptualisation of IMMORALITY AS DIRT is also prominent in the sphere of politics, the participants of which are prone to break moral principles in order to achieve the specific goals they aspire towards. In Polish political discourse, frequent collocations of cleanliness, e.g., *czyste sumienie*, *czyste intencje*, *czyste ręce* (literally *a clean conscience*, *clean intentions*, *clean hands*) reveal association of cleanliness with decent moral behaviour and are overly positive, while the connection between immoral conduct and dirt is expressed by explicitly negative expressions such as *brudna robota*, *brudny interes*, *brudne ręce* (*dirty work*, *dirty business*, *dirty hands*).

The metaphorical structure guides the recipients' moral judgment – the Catholic Church is highly immoral: instead of remaining pure and unblemished it is smeared with mud. At this point of the interpretation there is still a chance for improvement, as dirty items can be washed in order to bring them back to their previous state of cleanliness. Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 308) argue that "the question of moral rehabilitation amounts to the question of whether it is possible to clean up one's act and restore purity of will." However, it is doubtful whether Catholic authorities are able and willing to clean their moral dirt, if it is washable at all. Definitely, the metaphorical pig does not want it because it gains a lot of pleasure from brawling in the mud and especially from making itself dirty. In that sense it is anything but unemotional.

What is most important, is that the persuasive impact of Jażdżewski's metaphor does not result from its conceptual content alone. Actually, it is the emotional force of the *wrestling with a pig in the mud* that makes it value-laden and ideologically determined. Conventional mappings enable political actors to convey certain easily digestible ideas, which certainly play an important role in the ideological assimilation of a given metaphor. On the other hand, if a new frame is easy enough to catch on, due to the psychological effect of *priority and freshness*, it may be better remembered by a target voter. In a broader perspective, by selecting such an emotion-laden novel example, Jażdżewski hoped to provoke and activate his audience. He wanted the metaphorical spectators watching the scene of *wrestling with a pig in the mud* to identify with the better, human side of the conflict, and eventually manifest their identification at the ballot box.

6. Conclusion

As vehicles of covert messages, metaphors are used by political actors with precise strategic aims. By letting us conceive complex social issues in terms of commonplace entities, events and activities, they make politics less abstract and more tangible to a broader audience. Essentially, they are used in order to advance one particular view of the world whilst discrediting other ideologies and belittling political opponents. Especially novel mappings become powerful persuasive tools used to support political campaigns. The *wrestling with a pig the mud* example was deliberately chosen by Leszek Jażdżewski in order to fan the flames of political conflict rather than seek consensus-based solutions and in this way activate political participation. It is the critical analyst's role to equip the recipients of discourse with the realisation that far from being spontaneous, the use of metaphoric expressions is meticulously planned by politicians.

The role of framing effects of deliberately chosen political metaphors requires and undoubtedly deserves serious examination. Though the knotty issue, just hinted at, would have to transcend by far the scope of the present analysis, the challenge is probably worth attention and effort, as some further research might reveal the existence of an interesting mechanism capable of giving new insight into the nature of conceptual metaphor.

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Stimulating educational growth through vision and self-efficacy: a case study of adult users of English as a foreign language

Abstract. The present study focuses on scrutinising the congruence between the two concepts which are currently at the forefront of the motivational research, namely self-efficacy and the mental representation of a future state which, in the literature, is referred to as vision. To this very end, the first part of the paper offers a concise summary of the theoretical underpinnings behind both constructs. The latter sections of the examination are exploratory and interpretative in their nature and are dedicated to the empirical analysis of the correlation between vision and the sense of personal agency as well as the discussion of the answers stemming from the semi-structured interviews employed for the purpose of the study. The outcomes of the investigation provide satisfactory evidence to account for the presence of a reciprocal interaction between the adopted variables and prompt various noteworthy implications, for example, the positive impact of the notions on inducing a long-term, motivated action, the ability of vision to substitute efficacy beliefs in the initial stages of agency growth, and the stimulating influence of pre-experiencing emotional arousal related to a future state on a student's language proficiency. This, in turn, creates an opportunity for inspiring the motivational gain in a variety of settings, including a foreign language classroom.

Keywords: self-efficacy, vision, motivation in an L2 context, performance, behavioural issues, linguistic proficiency.

1. Introduction

In recent decades, one may observe a gradually shifting emphasis of the motivational inquiry, with a substantial volume of attention being devoted to affective constructs in efforts to explain and foresee a wide range of human functioning. Although the complexity of human behaviour renders the consensus in this particular area unachievable, it seems that certain variables are somewhat more successful than others in predicting

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behavioural dispositions. As self-efficacy offers robust predictive capabilities, the concept coined by Albert Bandura has been an essential component in theories pertaining to motivation and learning in an array of contexts (Sewell & St George 2000; Mun & Hwang 2003; Ansong et al. 2019). The approach towards vision and aspects of imagery, on the other hand, has been recently revisited so that the notions are now seen as more than merely referring to a ubiquitous human ability to use imagination and mental images. The most quintessential perception of vision nowadays is that of a performance facilitator, as adopting a visual perspective in a behavioural intervention framework is believed to moderate the shape of one's motivational experience (Vasquez & Buehler 2007; Burke et al. 2014). As multipurpose examinations investigating these two variables in combination are currently scarce, this study was initiated in an endeavour to partially ameliorate this particular gap and to expand on the possible correlation between the paramount variables adopted for the inquiry. Supplementary aims set out to the project include scrutinising the influence of vision and personal agency on a person's inclination towards more demanding pursuits and the impact of the former construct on tackling negative rumination related to potential adversities a person may experience in the case of challenging endeavours, such as acquiring language proficiency.

2. The notion of self-efficacy

As the nature of human motivation to perform is far from stable and tends to fluctuate throughout time, the debate into the purposiveness of human behaviour has been somewhat dominated by the studies scrutinising the potential of affective variables in temporarily harnessing the daily ebb and flow of engagement (Dörnyei 2000; Turner & Patrick 2008; Navarro & Arrieta 2010). In efforts to remedy this particular dilemma and to account for the likelihood of behaviour execution, in the late 1960s, Albert Bandura coined the construct of self-efficacy. Bandura (1994:73) defines personal agency as “people's beliefs regarding their ability to produce designated levels of performance that allow them to exercise a measure of control over events that affect their lives.” In its essence, the concept refers therefore to the positive beliefs individuals hold regarding their ability to perform novel tasks leading a person to the achievement of desired goals (Schwarzer & Warner 2013). Although several decades have passed since Bandura published his seminal work, it appears that the construct unchangeably remains at the forefront of motivational inquiry. This phenomenon is entirely justified bearing in mind the multifaceted nature of self-efficacy; even though the notion was originally devised to explore the possibility of expediting athletic performance, it was soon encompassed within other domains of human existence, including education, addiction treatment, and vocational activities. Expectations upon personal efficacy are believed to leverage a person's conduct in the vicinity of stressful and challenging circumstances by influencing aspects such as decision-making and goal-selecting processes, effort expenditure

tendencies, strategy selection in the pursuit of desired objectives, and overall tenacity in case of adversities. According to Van der Bijl & Shortridge-Baggett (2001: 197), “a favourable judgement of the probability of goal attainment can be a sufficient motivator in itself.” A similar view has been expressed by Artino (2012: 82), who claims that “it is not enough for individuals to possess the requisite knowledge and skills to perform a task; they also must have the conviction that they can successfully perform the required behaviour under both typical and challenging circumstances.” On logical grounds, those assured of the sufficiency of their skills and knowledge display more grit in their pursuits and are less disposed towards avoidance behaviours typical for ill-efficacious individuals. Such a positive outlook emboldens a person to approach challenges as opportunities for development, fosters authentic engagement, and aids an individual in counteracting ruminative thoughts stemming from the fluctuating value of motivation. It would also be essential to pinpoint the role of self-efficacy in shaping a person’s perception of challenges; the efforts of efficacious people are fuelled by the desire to actualise one’s potential realised in seeking mastery through increasing the perceived difficulty of one’s endeavours so that initial hardships rarely dishearten a person from performing a task. In stark contrast, people beset by the lack of self-efficacy tend to regard each difficulty as a threat to one’s sense of self and are most typically reluctant towards new activities. Following Bandura & Locke (2003: 88), such individuals “have lower aspirations and tend to lower their goals even further should results be lacking.” Instead of attributing failure to insufficient efforts or inept skills and knowledge, ill-efficacious entities dwell on the adverse effects of an action at hand and explain the lack of satisfactory outturns in terms of external adversities. This, in turn, renders such people considerably more prone to feelings of anxiety and discouragement, resulting in task abandonment rather than effort intensification (Bandura 1988; Muris 2002). The delivery of satisfactory performance is therefore limited by negative rumination yielded by the lack of foundational persistence and does not reflect the actual capacity of a person to meet the requirements of a task.

3. Sources of efficacy beliefs

Usher & Pajares (2008: 752) postulate that one’s assessment of personal efficacy may emanate from four primary sources and propose the following taxonomy: enactive attainments, vicarious learning, verbal persuasion, and emotional cues. To open with enactive accomplishments, Bandura (1994: 73) alleges that “the most powerful way of efficacy building is through mastery experiences.” Specifically, efficacy information is accrued by assessing and interpreting the outcomes of one’s past performance and serves as an indicator of one’s aptitude to succeed. Prior to defining the final aim of one’s pursuits, the analysis of former attainments allows a person to judge the sufficiency of his or her skills in producing favourable results in the case of prospective endeavours.

As outlined by Reddan (2015: 293), “success builds a robust belief in one’s personal efficacy and failure undermines it, especially if failure occurs before a sense of efficacy is well-developed.” Notably, the success of building healthy agency beliefs through past accomplishments relies immensely on an individual’s interpretation of an experience. Bandura (1994: 74) argues that “some adversities in our pursuits serve a useful purpose in teaching that success requires perseverance.” On these grounds, it is possible to assume that should initial difficulties be attributed to insufficient effort rather than an innate inability of a person to produce favourable outcomes, overcoming one’s limitation through effort intensification may inspire the growth of self-efficacy and reduce the discouraging impact of numerous challenges a person would experience en route to a desired accomplishment. Moving on to the second origin point from which personal efficacy may stem, the concept of vicarious experience, in its essence, appears to be based on the principles of behaviour modelling. In Bandura’s (1994: 75) opinion, “the observation of people similar to oneself producing desired outcomes by sustained effort helps a person in forging the belief that he or she is also capable of mastering similar tasks with comparable effect.” Wise & Trunnell (2001: 269) emphasise the importance of vicarious learning for building efficacy beliefs by stating that such an observation equips an individual with a set of coping strategies helpful in tackling adversities separating a person from reaching one’s full potential. It should be accentuated, however, that based on the outcomes of observed behaviour, vicarious experience may either foster or restrain the growth of personal agency. That is, should heightened efforts of a model result in failure rather than accomplishment, an observer would reduce one’s expectations in a like manner. Importantly, the effectiveness of modelling in shaping self-efficacy beliefs is partially credited to the perceived degree of likeness between observed behaviour and outcomes a person wishes to produce. Whereas a satisfactory level of similarity would encourage a person to correlate behavioural patterns, the lack of such resemblance is not likely to inspire an action. Turning now to verbal persuasion, the self-perceptions of efficacy may stem from the faith a person’s significant others express in one’s ability to produce favourable outcomes. Bandura (1994: 78) posits that “verbal reinforcement regarding an individual’s ability to master given activities may prompt greater effort when problems arise.” In the presence of taxing circumstances, such an external appraisal of one’s mastery within a given domain may counteract drop-downs in motivational energy and supports an individual in sustaining dedication to a cause, provided such feedback is based on a person’s authentic capacity to complete a task at hand. Pajares (1997: 23) mentions that “persuaders must cultivate people’s beliefs in their abilities and ensure that the envisioned success is indeed achievable.” A likewise conclusion has been reached by Reddan (2015: 293), who suggests that “verbal reinforcement is effective in stimulating a sense of personal efficacy if the desired outcome is within realistic boundaries.” Conversely, insincere encouragement may possess a

ruinous impact on the shape of one's agency beliefs once the unrealistic appraisal is followed by unsatisfactory outcomes. The majority of studies are consistent as to the claim that although such reinforcement should be in accord with a person's capacity to succeed, the most useful efficacy judgements are those that slightly exceed a person's capabilities, as this modest overestimation increases effort and persistence during difficult times (Hattie & Timperley 2007; Artino 2012). The last source of agency beliefs identified by Bandura seeks to explain the causality of human behaviour in terms of emotional cues and pertains to the influence of somatic messages prompted by physiological and emotional experiences. Damasio et al. (1991: 222) contend that emotional reactions to a task, to a large margin, shape decision-making processes and supply suggestions about the expected success or failure of an undertaking. Whereas stress reactions and negative rumination during demanding pursuits are most typically associated with signs of vulnerability, positive emotionality emanating from the possibility to perform a task encourages persistence and fuels subsequent efforts. Bandura (1997: 37) stresses that "it is not the sheer intensity of a state but rather a human interpretation of an experience that influences our actions." With this in mind, reducing the extent to which negative thoughts influence one's self-perceptions may contribute to fostering performance and building sustainable beliefs in one's agency.

4. Vision and mental imagery

Much research work has been devoted to accommodating the notion of vision amongst the contemporary strands of the motivation inquiry and the concept is now considered as one of the contributory factors in inducing long-term, motivated behaviour. Essentially, the construct of mental imagery pertains to channelling one's present behaviours towards the accomplishment of a future target (Muir & Dörnyei 2013: 359). Kosslyn et al. (2006: 4) provide a more complex definition of the term and postulate that vision is "the imitative representation created when perception is present, but the corresponding stimulus is not actually being perceived." The consensus view nowadays is that a vision experience operates on neural mechanisms identical to those of a real event and produces analogous emotional loading. This very sensory stimulation, in turn, substantiates the motivational potential of vision; by forming an illusion of a real event, vision operates within the constraints of reality so that the human brain perceives an experience as a genuine opportunity for action (Cox 2012: 12). The combination of vivid imagery with a fracture of positive emotional loading one would experience once the final goal is attained provides an individual with the impetus to produce a desired outcome in the real world. The degree to which a vision was internalised should also be accentuated here, as different motivational aspirations involve various strategies in the pursuit of outstanding performance. Specifically, in the case of demanding endeavours, having a personalised target of one's own would not suffice in reaching the optimal

version of self. Henry et al. (2015: 332) assert that “certain objectives, especially those requiring long-term engagement, cannot be achieved without supplying a goal with the positive sensory stimulation stemming from a vision of a future self.” Individuals who experienced positive emotionality related to a future accomplishment are more inclined to work towards an objective and, as a natural consequence, display more eagerness to intensify their efforts in the strive to produce a desired outcome. Holmes et al. (2016: 257) suggest that “altering one’s emotionality is a more sufficient route to trigger behaviour change, as cognitive processing of behaviour change interventions, which is quite frequently based on guidance rather than a proper plan for action, does not guarantee the emergence of motivation.” Dörnyei et al. (2014: 24) add that the role of vision is essential not only for triggering the initial motivation but also for regulating its value throughout an experience. By encouraging people to pre-experience future planned behaviours and the accompanying emotional consequences, it is possible to inspire the immense flow of motivational energy. Thus, harnessing the power of vision and, then, using it as an apparatus to inspire motivational gain would be of extreme aid in any domain of human functioning where exceptional tenacity is required, with mastering a foreign language as one of the most notable examples. On an additional note, the review of the relevant literature reveals that the notions of goal and vision are, on a frequent basis, used interchangeably to label one’s future aspirations. Despite the presence of some conceptual similarities, however, vision should not be mistaken with a goal; whereas the former refers to a highly desired imagination of a future state enriched by tangible, sensory images, a goal is a target one aims for when engaging in an activity. Likewise, vision is rarely seen as a solitary trigger of motivated action but rather as an amplifier of one’s engagement in the pursuit of personally relevant targets (Renner et al. 2019).

5. Elements of vision in motivation theories

In the last decades, the concept of vision and the theories of self-imagery have received a considerable amount of attention. In terms of examining the impact of visualisation-based techniques on human existence, the *Possible Selves* theory created by Markus & Nurius is, by many, considered to be one of the most preeminent. Markus & Nurius (1986: 964) suggest that each person possesses three possible versions of self, namely what they might become, what they are afraid of becoming, and the desired self. Each motivated behaviour is, in fact, driven by the desire to reduce the perceived dichotomy between the current state of skills and knowledge and one’s most optimal version. An actor in such a motivational structure focuses his or her efforts on diminishing the aforementioned discrepancy, while the sensory experience related to the perception of this disparity serves as the fuel for motivational impetus. Importantly, van der Helm (2009: 99) claims that in order to inaugurate the motivational potential of vision, “the

mental representation cannot concern just any possible self; rather, it should be the most desirable one.” Provided an individual displays a desire for a deliberate change in one’s future, vision is capable of channelling a person’s actions towards the accomplishment of an end-goal.

Moving on to the *L2 Motivational Self System*, the conceptualisation appears to be Dörnyei’s attempt to extend the aforementioned theory on the grounds of Second Language Acquisition. In their efforts to elaborate on students’ motivational experiences, Muir & Dörnyei (2013: 360) identify two primary constituents of the conceptualisation, namely the Ought-to L2 Self and the Ideal L2 Self. With regard to the former, an individual en route to accomplishing the full extent of one’s abilities focuses on systematic improvement of skills and knowledge so that they would be more akin to those of a target model. Quite the opposite attitude, however, may be observed in the case of people pursuing the Ought-to L2 Self. In the view of Dörnyei & Ushioda (2009:29), the approach concerns “the set of attributes one believes to be critical to meet expectations and to avoid possible adverse outcomes.” Instead of directing one’s energy at acquiring mastery within a given domain, such entities were found to concentrate on minimising the risk of being ridiculed through insufficient performance, with avoidance behaviours being the most typical reaction towards prospective adversities. Surprisingly, although the Ideal L2 Self would be desirable in a foreign language classroom, depending on a motivational objective one embraces as his or her own, both models are capable of inspiring the motivational gain.

Beyond any doubt, exploiting the regulatory force of motivation or, rather, preventing its level from fluctuating, would be beneficial for performance regardless of the context. Dörnyei & Kubanyiova (2014: 10) propound the view that incorporating vision in a motivational framework allows for exercising such a measure of control over motivation in the case of distal pursuits and, in consequence, should be considered as “the motivational force of the highest order.” This is not to say, however, that the mere inclusion of imagery techniques guarantees the emergence of motivated action. Muir & Dörnyei (2013:358) state that “by combining a clear vision with a matching structure, it is possible to consciously create a motivational surge of energy and, then, focus this drive towards a specific target.” Considering that both features were embodied in the novel conceptualisation of *Directed Motivational Currents*², the proposal formulated by Dörnyei and his colleagues has quickly received recognition in recent years. Muir & Dörnyei (2013: 358) observe that a DMC emerges when “a structured pathway is set up towards a vision, reinforcing the momentum throughout the way to an explicit point in the future.” Such a framework is believed to be entirely self-propelling, provided a vision of a desired

2 For a more detailed discussion concerning the Directed Motivational Currents theory, see Dörnyei et al. (2016).

state is completely internalised and the corresponding emotional stimulus provides cohesion for one's efforts. This, in turn, opens an opportunity for creating a more stable environment for performance, allowing a person to achieve results beyond standard cases of motivation. The validity of the structure was confirmed by a number of empirical studies (Henry et al. 2015; Ghanizadeh & Jahedizadeh 2015; Pietluch 2018).

6. Research rationale and hypotheses

The influence of personal assessment of one's efficacy on human performance in a variety of settings is rather well-investigated (Pajares 1996; Vancouver & Kendall 2006; Meral et al. 2012). The studies in question yielded sufficient evidence to account for the claim that a high sense of agency indeed contributes to producing favourable results, especially in the case of demanding endeavours. Bearing the scope of this research project in mind, it would be important to note that the recent empirical investigations into the impact of the notion rendered positive results also in the context of academic achievement (Lane & Lane 2001; Zajacova et al. 2005; Yokoyama 2019; Domenech-Betoret et al. 2017). Vision, on the other hand, currently experiences somewhat of a renaissance and has, yet again, become one of the central variables in motivational research, with its predominant application in the field of language learning (Muir & Dörnyei 2013; Henry et al. 2015; Dörnyei et al. 2016). On the basis of the theoretical discussion, one can observe that not only are the two variables integral parts of motivated behaviour but they also share a large volume of conceptual similarities. For this reason, it is possible to assume that these two factors are mutually dependent, i.e. well-developed efficacy beliefs are imperative for the emergence of a clear-cut vision of a future self. Although some efforts have been made to explore the correlation between the variables, the review of the related literature revealed the lack of multipurpose examinations combining these two concepts in the context of L2 learning. On these grounds, it is possible to move towards the formation of the following research hypotheses:

1. There exists an equivalence between a positive perception of one's coping abilities and the ratio at which a well-established vision of a future self occurs;
2. A high value of self-efficacy and the ability to pre-experience outcomes of a future state facilitate achievement by rendering individuals more eager to visualise themselves as capable of embracing longitudinal and challenging pursuits and limiting the occurrence of negative rumination, also in the context of language learning

6.1. Apparatus

Participants' self-efficacy beliefs were explored through a standardised version of the General Self-Efficacy scale derived from Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995). The instrument consists of 10 forced-answer statements and responses are recorded on a 5-point Likert

continuum³, with grades ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and yielding a total score between 10 and 50. The items included in the test are positively worded, with the most typical statement being “Thanks to my resourcefulness, I can handle unforeseen situations.” The paramount intent of the tool is to measure different facets of agency beliefs, including the degree of resourcefulness, effort expenditure tendencies, and a person’s attitude towards the sufficiency of one’s skills to accomplish a task at hand. Leaving the tool’s flexibility in measuring various aspects of personal agency aside, the test was also chosen due to its large corpus of results, with the mean score of Cronbach’s alpha⁴ oscillating around 0.88 for the adults aged 20 to 50. Criterion-related validity of the GSEs was documented in several correlation studies which rendered positive coefficients with academic buoyancy (Carroll et al. 2009; Martin et al. 2010), resilience (Taylor & Reyes 2012; Sagone & De Caroli 2014), and vocational pursuits (Betz & Voyten 1997; Creed & Prideaux 2001). The internal consistency of the instrument in this particular research project was reflected in the Cronbach’s alpha of 0.85.

In order to expand on the individual cases of vision amongst the respondents, a variation of the DMC Disposition Questionnaire stemmed from Muir (2016) was utilised. By combining both open and multiple-choice questions, the instrument explores various realms of visionary experience, including the duration of motivated behaviour, the degree to which a vision is personalised, and the state of efficacy beliefs prior and during a motivational episode. In a manner similar to the preceding questionnaire, in the multiple-choice section of the tool, participants are requested to record their agreement along a 5-point Likert-type response format, with the answers ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Previous studies demonstrated a high internal consistency of the instrument, with Cronbach’s alpha of 0.84. The sample employed for the purpose of this study produced a similar result, with the score of Cronbach’s alpha oscillating around 0.82 for the entire project. The remaining questions were interpreted on several separate occasions, yielding a substantial number of conclusions for further empirical investigation. Additionally, in the second stage of the research project, individual semi-structured interviews were carried out in an effort to investigate the respondents’ visionary experiences in-depth. During each interview, the participants were requested to focus on the implications their vision may have had on initiating their motivational experience, preferably in the L2 setting.

3 For more information on the design and interpretation of Likert scales, please see Allen, Elaine, and Christopher Seaman. 2007. Likert Scales and Data Analyses. *Quality Progress*: 64-65.

4 Cronbach’s alpha is a standard test used to estimate the reliability of a composite score and it is the most predominantly applied technique in assessing the internal consistency of multiple-question Likert-type scales.

6.2. Participants and sampling

The data collection process took place between April and July 2018 and the initial sample of this study was composed of 148 adult users of English as a foreign language currently employed at one of the major corporate businesses in Rzeszow. Due to the nature of their work, all of those surveyed employ the language for vocational purposes on a daily basis. In efforts to ensure the language homogeneity of the group, at the time of the inquiry, all of the respondents were pursuing a Bachelor's degree in English Philology at both private and public universities in Rzeszow. Of the total population, 79 participants were female and 69 were male. As far as the age factor is concerned, the subjects ranged from 18 to 45; however, the vast majority of the respondents marked their belonging to the 21-30 bracket (77.7%). The subjects were assured their participation was to be voluntary and that it would have no impact on their final grade. The basic aims of the study were explained and, then, the participants were provided with the previously described psychometric tests to complete. Although both tools utilised for the purpose of the study included straightforward instructions, prior to the actual procedure, the guidelines were also reinforced verbally. To calculate the results of the questionnaires, a typical approach to the interpretation of the Likert-Type scales was adopted. Following this stage, the outcomes were subject to a standard battery of correlational tests to explore the potential existence of a relationship between the primary variables.

6.3. Results and discussion

Prior to addressing the paramount hypotheses of the present research project, the quantitative data yielded by the instruments was put under scrutiny. The findings of the GSEs test were somewhat surprising; the average score for the total population was 34.12 and would suggest that, for the majority of study's respondents, a robust belief in their own agency was lacking. Turning now to the exploration of individual vision experiences, one has to bear in mind that not every case of motivated behaviour bears the marks of a true vision so that the answers stemming from the second instrument had to be examined for the presence of features such as high degree of internalisation and the emotional stimulation related to a future state. On these grounds, a sample of 72 cases relevant for the investigation was created, constituting nearly one half of the entire research group (48.65%).

As the basic aim of the study was to examine the nature of the correlation between vision and the value of self-efficacy, it was recommendable to, once again, scrutinise the efficacy beliefs amongst the participants who reported experiencing the sensory stimulation corresponding to a future state. In agreement with the study's presumptions, the average GSEs score for the group was substantially higher in comparison to the entire population included in the project; the arithmetic mean of 46.37 points indeed indicates a well-established sense of personal agency. To explore the possible relationship

between high self-efficacy and vision occurrence, and address the first research hypothesis, Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient was applied. The choice of the correlation method was not coincidental and was somewhat dictated by the results of the Shapiro-Wilk normality test, which revealed for the data to be far from typical in a normally distributed population. Table 1 below offers a concise summary of the outcomes of the aforementioned test.

Table 1. Shapiro-Wilk normality test

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistics	Df	Relevance
General Self-Efficacy (1-5)	.953	72	.025
Vision occurrence (1-5)	.789	72	.000

The outturns of Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient seem to render the quantitative hypothesis of the project justifiable; the results of the test gathered in Table 2 below provide sufficient evidence to support the claim that such a correlation indeed exists. The results were also found to be relevant from the statistical standpoint ($p < 0,01$), validating a reciprocal nature of the relationship between the variables. On these grounds, it is possible to draw an unyielding conclusion that, in the population under scrutiny, the value of self-efficacy permeates decision-making processes and contributes to developing a well-established vision of a future self which, in turn, allows a person to embrace more distal and demanding objectives.

Table 2. Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient

		Vision occurrence (1-5)
level of General Self-Efficacy (1-5)	Spearman’s correlation	.712**
	Correlation coefficient	.000
	N	72

Even more importantly, similar conclusions were reached following the analysis of the answers provided during the semi-structured interviews employed for the purpose of this investigation. In the section below, the focus shall remain on exploring and interpreting some of the opinions disclosed by the respondents.

Beyond any doubt, juggling demands of higher education with vocational pursuits is highly exacting an endeavour. When enquired about what stimulated participant X to

embrace such a challenging schedule, she mentioned her lifelong dream has been to become an academic teacher. Due to the requirements of the position, she is currently combining a full-time job with pursuing her Bachelor's degree in English Philology:

My current employer provides services to companies all around the world, so I am working in a 24/7 environment. I am a professional and I do not allow my academic pursuits to interfere with my performance at work. I sometimes struggle with finding the time to study, however, I am still one of the best students in my group. My degree makes me feel more competent at work but, at some point, I would like to focus on the academic aspect entirely. Although it can be very hectic at times, I often imagine myself working at the university and I know it will be worth it in the long run.

Needless to say, the respondent is exceptionally motivated to accomplish her goal. Although her current lifestyle prompts all sorts of difficulties related to an effective combination of academic and vocational pursuits, she appears to be convinced that, once she reaches the desired version of self, the rewarding outcomes will by far outweigh the effort invested in achieving the target. Bearing in mind that human motivation is highly tumultuous in its nature, in the sense that it rarely remains stable throughout time, it appears that the application of mental imagery related to the desired occupation aids the participant in harnessing the turmoil of motivational energy. In this case, the respondent's will to achieve is enriched by a tangible vision and, as such, her level of motivation does not seem to require particular volitional control. This, in turn, lends support to the claim that, when fully internalised, a vision is capable of evoking positive emotional stimulation akin to this of a real event. Even though the participant admitted experiencing some issues in managing such a hectic lifestyle, with most of them being of organisational nature, the sensory arousal related to the final state remedies the respondent's occasional apathy. In the vicinity of temporal dropdowns of motivation, the participant focuses on the final outcome of her current pursuits; her academic and occupational activities serve as means of boosting her linguistic proficiency so that, at some point in the future, she will be well-equipped to utilise the language in question at the academic level. In fact, the mental imagery related to this specific experience ongoingly stimulates the participant to further improve the state of her language capacities. Additionally, the ability to effectively prioritise the demands of her current lifestyle provides the participant with a sense of achievement and, consequently, contributes to developing well-anchored agency and propels participant's belief that the envisioned success is indeed achievable. On this basis, one may formulate the conclusion that the subject's sense of efficacy is stemming from mastery experience, as being both occupationally and academically active allowed the respondent to develop a highly personalised framework for counteracting cases of amotivation.

In stark contrast to the majority of respondents, the story recalled by participant Y concerns the objective that had been already accomplished. When requested to elaborate on the most intense language experience, the subject described the situation when she was presented with the opportunity to run a large-scale training programme for her company in Spain:

At first, I was really excited. I have always been an eager traveller and this seemed to be a fantastic opportunity to experience something new. Although English is the primary language of communication in our company, the condition was I had to improve my Spanish to a communicative extent, allowing more effective interaction with colleagues in Spain. With the deadline approaching and only a couple of months left till the project delivery date, I became extremely anxious as to whether I could learn a moderately new language in such a short time. As the project was extremely important to me, I began to imagine what it would feel like to live in Spain and it really helped! I wanted to be busy with the language all the time and was soon able to communicate with my fellow students.

The analysis of the above account clearly indicates that despite being well-aware of the challenges involved in the pursuit, with overcoming the language barrier being the most notable one, throughout the experience, the participant remained focused on the potential favourable outcomes of her endeavour. In this case, the emergence of a well-defined vision of a future state may be seen as a triggering factor of the respondent's motivational experience, allowing the subject to exercise control over the initial negative rumination stemming from the task difficulty. It should also be accentuated here that, once the goal was imbued with a properly internalised vision, the participant experienced positive emotionality of high intensity which fuelled her efforts in an ongoing fashion and, ultimately, rendered the desired result attainable. The increased volume of language exposure stemming from that positive outlook, in turn, significantly boosted the rate at which the participant acquired the communicative command of the language in question. With this in mind, it is possible to assume that a personalised vision of one's future self not only does stimulate a person to embrace more demanding pursuits, regardless of a context, but also supports an individual in both developing and sustaining a feeling of competence by enhancing one's agency beliefs with the fracture of emotional stimulation a person would experience once the final state is reached. Even though on the basis of the theoretical discussion, mental imagery may be understood as an efficacy facilitator rather than a trigger of motivational impetus, the analysis of the participant's experience seems to validate the claim that vision is capable of initiating the growth of agency in the instances when well-developed beliefs as to one's capacity to succeed are lacking. For this reason, the intensity of a motivational experience augmented by elements of mental imagery might be indeed seen as beyond standard

cases of motivation human beings experience, encouraging stellar performance even in the case of highly demanding endeavours.

To complete the discussion, it would be recommendable to pinpoint certain salient elements that indicate the vision experiences described by the study participants could be indeed deemed as fully-fledged mental images pertaining to the formation of future self-identity. One of the most fundamental criteria in assessing whether one's aspirations reflect a properly internalised vision of self is the presence of an apparent dichotomy between a person's current state and the one that an individual is opting to achieve in the future. Following Dörnyei (2014: 9), the lack of such discrepancy renders a person unable to activate sufficient effort and, thus, is not likely to ignite deliberate action to change one's present condition. In all cases examined, it was possible to observe an evident disparity between participants' current and ideal selves; the respondents possessed elaborate and vivid images of their future versions which were substantially different from their pre-vision states. Furthermore, the participants emphasised that the vision experiences were tangible in the sense that one's efforts directed at the specific end-state were augmented through experiencing sensory stimulation akin to the one a person would experience once the final attainment was produced. This would, yet again, substantiate the claim that the application of mental imagery encourages higher effort expenditure in the pursuit of the desired version of self.

The plausibility of one's future self-image is another essential prerequisite of a vision experience. Although the pursuits of our respondents, quite frequently, involved numerous challenges requiring the students to completely reorganise their daily routines to better match the requirements of a task, the presence of adequately articulated vision strengthened the participants' beliefs that the end-goals were indeed within their reach. The goals the respondents opted for were not comfortable and required the students to energise plenty of effort to successfully perform the activities conducive to the actualisation of the potential of an entity. The existence of such procedural strategies acted as a scaffolding for their motivational interventions and ensured that the participants remained dedicated to their aspirations despite the presence of potential demotivators distracting them from pursuing the ideal self. From the educational perspective, one may postulate that whilst the process of learning a foreign language is not immune to the influence of affective variables capable of hampering a student's progress, the presence of a true vision allows a learner to focus on the ultimate destination and, resultatively, trigger the persistence required to achieve one's full potential.

7. Concluding remarks and recommendations for future research

The main rationale behind this paper was to explore the nature of the correlation between positive self-appraisals of efficacy and the occurrence of mental imagery related to reaching a highly desired version of a future self. Whilst the results of the quantitative aspect of the investigation render the existence of such a relationship valid and the outcomes of the GSEs test indeed favour the image of the participants as highly efficacious entities, there is a rather peculiar observation to be made. That is, some individuals included in the study displayed a strong sense of efficacy prior to the emergence of their vision experience and, during the event, the amount of trust they placed in their agency would not fluctuate. On this basis, one may assume that the confidence those individuals possess for their competence serves as the incentive to internalise a goal regardless of a setting and a task difficulty. This motivational scaffolding is further reinforced by positive emotional arousal stemming from pre-experiencing the rewarding consequences of a future state, ensuring individuals in the pursuit of such targets would remain dedicated to a cause. On the other hand, it is also possible to identify cases where adopting a new challenge inspired the sharp growth of personal agency beliefs. By focusing on the positive emotionality stemming from enhancing a goal with mental visualisation of a future state, the participants were capable of sufficiently overcoming negative rumination related to the potential adversities their endeavours may yield.

Even more interestingly, it is possible to identify instances when vision may be seen as a sole trigger of a motivational experience, allowing a person to adequately counteract daily ebb and flow of motivated action. Although set in entirely different contexts, all of the examples included in the research share one critical similarity – it transpires that the positive emotionality emanating from the inclusion of vision element increases participants' eagerness to actualise one's potential through embracing more demanding tasks, also in the context of developing language proficiency. Supplementing one's pursuits with the elements of mental imagery encourages tenacity in overcoming personal limitations related to a task at hand and, consequently, provides a person with more opportunities to seek mastery in a given domain. On an additional note, even though individual cases differ markedly, the positive impact of self-efficacy on performance within any realm of human existence is easily discernible; well-anchored agency beliefs embolden people to set adequately tailored action plans required to achieve their aspirations and boost persistence in an ongoing fashion, whereas the opportunity to reduce the discrepancy between the current state and the most optimal version of self provides our subjects with a unique sense of improvement, favouring the perception of a person as an entity capable of attaining even highly troublesome objectives. This being said, we can put forward an assumption that the relationship between the variables is highly reciprocal in its nature; both notions were found advantageous in tackling taxing

circumstances so that a proper combination of vision and self-efficacy may be sufficient in yielding a motivational surge of high intensity which would outclass standard cases of motivation. From the educational standpoint, guiding students in enriching their targets with elements of mental imagery as well as incorporating efficacy building techniques in the strive to inspire highly motivated action may contribute to the overall shape of language competence by supporting a person in sustaining dedication to the cause, which is of tremendous importance in the case of time-consuming pursuits such as learning a foreign language.

Beyond any doubt, harnessing the motivational power of vision and self-efficacy can be of extreme help in addressing behavioural issues. By combining appropriately crafted, tangible visualisation with a matching motivational scaffolding, that would gradually increase one's awareness concerning the coping competence, it is possible to inspire the impetus that would by far surpass the standard cases of motivation. Henceforth, comprehending the exact nature of the relationship between these two concepts may provide those concerned with the field with a crucial tool in developing motivational interventions. This knowledge could then be put into practice in various realms of human functioning, for instance, education or addiction treatment. Although the present analysis provides compelling evidence for the congruence between the variables, it would also be interesting to expand on the areas such as the correlation of self-efficacy and vision with other affective variables or the techniques of inducing the motivational gain on the classroom level. Overall, the most important conclusion to be drawn here is that larger-scale, longitudinal investigations are most definitely required to explore the impact of the factors on various aspects of human existence so that the potential of vision and self-efficacy may be better channelled to suit motivational interventions in more context-specific domains, for instance, a foreign language classroom.

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Civilization and sexual abuse: selected Indian captivity narratives and the Native American boarding-school experience

Abstract. This paper offers a contrastive analysis of Indian captivity narratives and the Native American boarding-school experience. Indian captivity narratives describe the ordeals of white women and men, kidnapped by Indians, who were separated from their families and subsequently lived months or even years with Indian tribes. The Native American boarding-school experience, which began in the late nineteenth century, took thousands of Indian children from their parents for the purpose of “assimilation to civilization” to be facilitated through governmental schools, thereby creating a captivity of a different sort. Through an examination of these two different types of narratives, this paper reveals the themes of ethnocentrism and sexual abuse, drawing a contrast that erodes the Euro-American discourse of civilization that informs captivity narratives and the boarding-school, assimilationist experiment.

Keywords: Native Americans, captivity narratives, boarding schools, sexual abuse, assimilation.

1. Introduction

Comparing Indian captivity narratives and writings on the Native American boarding-school experience is as harrowing as it is instructive. Indian captivity narratives, mostly dating from 1528 to 1836, detail the ordeals of white, Euro-American women and men kidnapped by Native peoples. Separated from their families and white “civilization,” they subsequently lived for a time among Indian tribes. Such narratives can be seen as a prelude to a sharp reversal that occurred in the late nineteenth century under U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant’s “peace policy” of Native assimilation through white education. Similar to the experiences chronicled in captivity narratives, the Native

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American boarding-school experience separated Indians, in this particular instance – children and adolescents, from their families and communities. Thousands, at the behest of the U.S. government, were taken from their parents for instruction in white boarding schools – a captivity of a different sort, meant to transform the children through contact with “civilization.” The boarding-school literature that emerged from the Native American boarding-school experience offers detailed accounts by Native American children, whereas Indian captivity narratives describe the experiences of Euro-American captives. The former focus on children who were forced to conform to ways of life favored by the “white man” and to endure extremely difficult living conditions, and often, repeated sexual abuse. Such literature poses a fundamental contrast to Indian captivity narratives and the experience of white victims. Through examination of these two different types of narratives, this paper reveals the underlying themes of ethnocentrism and sexual abuse – drawing a contrast that erodes the Euro-American discourse of civilization underlying captivity narratives and the boarding-school, assimilationist experiment.

2. Indian Captivity Narratives

The beginning of Captivity Narratives is often related to a woman by the name of Mary Rowlandson after she published her narrative work in 1862, describing her captivity by one Indian tribe. This publication created a fixed structure for every text of this genre. The main themes visible throughout the text generally focus around the feeling of helplessness of the captives, the mental struggles during their captivity, and are accompanied by the terrifying description of the captors and their behaviour (Showalter 2013: n.p.). As far as Indian captivities are concerned, the negative descriptions of the captors include “stereotypes of savagery, civilization, and feminine purity that animate the dramatic action,” and are held up in contrast to descriptions of a superior white civilization (Johnson 2016: n.p.). They also often present readers with graphic violence, exemplified in the murder and torture of the captives. Having said this, however, some examples of Indian captivities, even that of Rowlandson’s, just as often depict Indians being civil toward their victims. In some cases, captives assimilate and do not wish to return to “civilization.” In 1853, Samuel Gardner Drake published *Life in the Wigwam*, the first collection of narratives of white women and men describing conditions under Indian captivity during the Anglo-Indian and American-Indian wars. Some captives were held for months or even years. Some escaped or were sold by the Indians back to the whites; while remained with the Indians until their deaths.

Life in the Wigwam’s first narrative is that of John Ortiz, presented by those who knew him well (the author is not known). Ortiz was captured by the Apalachee tribe in 1528, in the aftermath of the Spanish expedition under Pánfilo de Narváez, whose members considered Natives little more than savages. The Apalachee were Southeast Indians

who lived in present-day Florida (Waldman 2006: 21). Angry that the Spanish wanted to cross their lands in search of treasure, the Apalachee attacked the expedition. When they did not return, a party was sent to search for them that included John Ortiz, who was quickly captured. Initially, the Apalachee want to kill Ortiz. However, their chief's daughter stands up in his favor, and they change their minds. Ortiz has the opportunity to inspect the Apalachee temples, in which he describes seeing human remains and body parts being eaten by animals. Ortiz experiences what to him is a nightmare in which he has to persevere among beasts who threaten to kill him if he does not obey. Ortiz escapes to a different Apalachee village, where the atmosphere is much improved. No Native from this village causes him discomfort, and their culture, language and spiritual practices start to fascinate him. Ortiz, after some time, has no desire to return to his own people, wanting to stay with the Apalachee. His appearance changes and he begins to look and speak like the Apalachee. Along with his adoptive tribe, Ortiz is ultimately captured by Spanish men and dies of unknown causes in 1548 (Drake 1853: 4, 14-20). Remarkably, this early narrative provides an example of a captive who wanted to stay with the Apalachee due to their kindness and respectfulness. This amounts to a reversal of what later became a cemented, standard view of Indian savagery vs. white civilisation. Ortiz, in becoming accustomed to life with the Apalachee, suggests that they were not savages at all, but members of a civilisation that lived harmoniously and peacefully.

Mary Rowlandson authored what has remained the most famous captivity narrative, "Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," in 1682. It is said to have initiated the captivity narrative genre, influencing future works of this sort (Skarborough 2011:121; "Mary Rowlandson"). Rowlandson was captured during King Phillip's War, which began in 1675. At this time, English, Puritan settlers began to raid the Wampanoag lands in the Northeast, wanting to control them. It is also important to note that the Puritans believed that they had the right to control the lands in which, according to their own interpretation, Natives were satanic creatures. They consolidated this belief by saying that the Natives' dances (powwows) were, indeed, a celebration of Satan (Tetek 2010:31). Puritan encroachment upon the Wampanoags provoked the burning of settlers' houses, the murdering of several people, and kidnapping. The Wampanoags' Narragansett allies abducted Rowlandson in present-day Rhode Island (Waldman 2006:183). After they burned her house down and killed members of her family, she was taken captive along with her youngest daughter.

In her narrative, the exact terms Rowlandson uses to describe the Indians are "savages, heathens, beasts" (1853: 22). The savageness of the Narragansett manifests itself, in her telling, especially at times when they start chanting. She is terrified and disgusted by their appearance, dances, and everything connected with their culture: "Oh the roaring, and singing, and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell," she remarks. The Narragansett are, in her view,

sub-human and inferior, all that conflicts with European culture and white “civilisation” (1853: 55). Rowlandson, a Puritan, believes that God will rescue her. Christianity was one of the prominent ideals of white “civilisation,” which Rowlandson returns to throughout her narrative, whereas the Narragansett spiritual practices amount to Satanism. Rowlandson is later ransomed by and reunited with her husband. Yet curiously, when the narrative concludes it is clear that the Indians have not harmed Rowlandson in any way, and instead have mostly been helpful and civil toward her (Rowlandson 1853: 55-60).

Quintin Stockwell was captured around the same time as Rowlandson, in 1677. He was abducted by the Pocomtuc during the part of King Phillip’s War that occurred in present-day Connecticut. In much of the colonial period, the Pocomtuc were initially very civil with the white settlers, engaging in trade. However, these civil relations became strained as the settlers wanted to claim more land as their own. The Pocomtuc, enraged at this turn of events, allied with other Native American tribes to fight the English (Bruchac 2011: 32). Stockwell’s narrative was published in 1684. The narrator describes Indian behaviour as barbaric because the captives are “staked down,” i.e. their arms and legs were tied and stretched out so that they could not move or escape (1853: 64). Initially, he is beaten by them and given very small amounts of food. Once, when Stockwell is cold, and cannot carry wood or perform duties for the Indians, the captors are very cruel to him, beating him and threatening to kill him. However, there are also instances of kindness. When Stockwell is very hungry, one of the Pocomtuc hides a piece of meat and gives it to him, so that he is fully fed. What is more, when Stockwell is too weak and exhausted to make the journey and walk on his own, he is carried by one of the Indians who stays behind to help him, saving his life in the process. Eventually, Stockwell ends up with the French, who buy him from the Indians. Not long after, he returns to New England. Although initially, he was treated cruelly by the Indians, whom he thought to be merely savage and sub-human because of their animal skins, temperament, and nutritional habits, later one observes that he was cared for and offered compassion while in captivity (Stockwell 1853: 65).

Elizabeth Hanson’s narrative was published in 1821. She was captured by the Abenaki in 1724, along with her four children and maid in present-day Maine (Calloway 2015: 1). It is important to note that both the English and French were imperial rivals at the time, which resulted in tense relations. In 1601, the Abenaki’s had developed amicable relations with the French. The two allied against the English. The English posed a great threat to the Abenaki lands, culture and healthy well-being. European diseases spread throughout Native American lands, and many died as a consequence. The Abenakis fought in King Phillip’s War, and in 1722, the Dummer War began between the Abenaki and the English, which lasted until 1727. During this period, Elizabeth Hanson was captured. In her narrative, at the outset she is very frightened of the Abenakis, their spiritual practices, and eating habits. They are sometimes very cruel to her, including

a time when the chief of the tribe strikes her and her son, which, in her telling, highlights their savage disposition. She finds great comfort in quoting the Bible and prays frequently for herself and her children to survive. Here, once again, Christianity is mentioned as a strong contrast between civilisation and, in the settlers' view, the savage Natives. Having become very weak to the point of not being able to give breast milk to her youngest child, a kind Abenaki woman tells her what to feed her baby. This act reveals an example of behavior by these Native Americans who live in organised societies, and aid each other in times of need. Moreover, one of the Abenaki offers to carry her child for her, which surprises Hanson greatly. After their last move, she is sold to the French and reunited with her husband and children. It is crucial to note that many Abenakis are very generous towards Hanson. She is never abused in any way, posing a contrast to the settlers view of the Indians as savage (Hanson 1853:121).

Isabella M'Coy was captured in present-day Epsom, New Hampshire in 1747. Her narrative, entitled "Narrative of the Captivity of Isabella M'Coy" is told by her friends, whose names are unknown. She was captured by the Western Abenaki tribe during King George's War, which began in 1744 and ended in 1748, when the Abenaki's had once again joined forces with the French to fight the English (Calloway 2015: 2). Initially, separated from her husband and son, she thinks of escaping but rejects the idea knowing that she might be killed. Thinking that the Abenaki will torture and kill her, her initial belief is that they are monsters who will want to harm her. However, although she believes that she will suffer with them, she is treated well and cared for. They provide her with food every day, and do everything to make her feel comfortable. Surprisingly, she sheds her prejudices and comes to the conclusion that Indians are good and generous. Once in Canada, M'Coy is sold to the French, but wishes to remain with her Indian captors (Drake 1853:145-147).

The above narratives, though diverse, offer a cross-section of the genre in which white captives often overcome preconceptions after receiving kind treatment from Indian tribes. The following section looks at white-Indian relations from a different perspective, briefly discussing the subjugation of Native Americans in the project of American expansionism, the reservation system, as well as the historical background behind the boarding-school assimilationist experiment.

3. Native Americans and assimilationist boarding schools

The settler-colonial project that resulted in the Indian-American wars contributed to a massive decline in Indian communities from the 1800s, and a large reservation system that kept Natives segregated from white society and under the control of the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). Much of white society perceived Natives negatively. As Andrea Smith notes in *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, they were seen as "the dirtiest lot of human beings on earth" (2015a: 9-10). President Grant's peace

policy, which was put into practice in 1869, sought to stem the violence of the past and promote assimilation. Schools on Indian reservations were run by representatives of church groups, who taught Indian children how to read and write in English (Smith 2015a: 35). Then in 1882, the Indian Rights Association was established with the key goal of securing the assimilation of Indians into American society. They believed that the reservation system kept Natives accustomed to their culture and religious beliefs, which contributed to “backwardness.” Carl Schurtz, the then secretary of the Interior, stated that the only solution for the Natives, if they resisted assimilation, was death: “Indians were confronted with this stern alternative: extermination or civilization” (qtd. in Adams 1999: 15). A later Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Henry Price, stated much the same sentiments: “Savage and civilised life cannot live and prosper on the same ground. One of the two must die” (qtd. in Adams 1999: 15).

Army officer Richard Pratt became the key figure in the process of assimilating Native Americans, by founding the first Indian off-reservation boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, having beforehand undertaken a process of “civilising” imprisoned Indians at Fort Marion, Florida (Adams 1999: 40; Peterson 2012: 3). Carlisle was located far away from the reservations, which meant that Indian children were unable to see their families while there. Pratt stated that “The only alternative left [for the Indians] is civilization or annihilation, absorption or extermination” (qtd. in Adams 1995: 16). The Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania was opened on November 1, 1879. Pratt recruited children from the Rosebud and the Pine Ridge agencies in the Dakotas for the school. The aspects predominantly highlighted by Pratt in order to “civilise” the Native children were: English reading and writing instruction, conversion to Christianity, restricted or forbidden contact with their families, and strict school regulations (Smith 2015a: 36; Adams 1999: 52). Amelia Katanski claims that the structure of the boarding school was “culturally genocidal”; she stated that “Carlisle was (...) designed to destroy tribal nations and strip Native children of their cultures, languages, and religions” (2005: 2). In his autobiography, Pratt stated that the goal of Carlisle was “complete civilization of the Indian and his absorption into our national life”; hence, in his telling, the goal of the school was to do everything for an “Indian to lose his identity as such, to give up his tribal relations and to be made to feel that he is an American citizen” (qtd. in Katanski 2005: 4).

Boarding-schools established across the United States under Pratt’s blueprint were very strict and the forms of punishment they employed were often harsh. If pupils disobeyed the authorities, they were often beaten. At many schools, children also suffered from illnesses due to unsanitary conditions and lack of immunity to European diseases (EchoHawk 2000: 85). Yet the reformer’s defining goal, was, as stated by Pratt, to “kill the Indian and save the man inside them” (qtd. in Smith 2003: 36, 115). Alongside Carlisle, twenty-five other boarding schools were opened for Indians in the United States. Pratt

wanted them to be opened, so as to expose their students to American life, away from their own surroundings. Among them were “Chemawa School” in Oklahoma, opened a year after Carlisle, in 1880. In 1890, “Fort Mojave” was opened in Arizona. Four new schools were opened in 1983: “Fladreau” in South Dakota, “Pipestone” in Minnesota, “Mount Pleasant” in Michigan, and “Tomah School” in Wisconsin. In 1898, three new schools started recruiting in South Dakota, the “Chamberlain School,” “The Morris School” in Minnesota, as well as “Rapid City” in South Dakota (qtd. in Adams 1999: 57-58).

It is also important to note the average attendance statistics in boarding schools and off-reservation schools; in 1877 the total attendance for both schools totalled 3,598, whereas in 1900 it totalled 21,568. Interestingly, at some schools, conditions were substantially different from others. At a school in Albuquerque, parents were permitted to visit their children quite frequently (qtd. in Adams 1999: 57-58). However, some schools became notorious for employing teachers that were reported to have abused students, sexually or physically (“The Latest” 2013: n.p.; “Welcome” n.p.).

In the twentieth century, Indian boarding schools continued to be opened, and the abuse also continued. For instance, the Wrangell Institute was opened in 1932 and is said to have had instances of abuse (Hirshberg & Sharp 2005:11-13). At the Tekakwitha Orphanage, opened in 1940 in South Dakota, Natives also experienced frequent abuse from teachers. The school was run by Father John Pohlen and functioned until 1970, In 2010, the entire building was taken down (Packtor 2013: n.p.). What is more, Smith claims that at the “Hopi Indian Day School”, one teacher repeatedly abused students without consequence. In her findings, similar incidents are said to have occurred at a North Carolina government school, where a teacher was reported to have abused children during his employment from 1971 to 1985, as well as at the Kaibeto Boarding school, established in 1957, and attended by Navajo students (Smith 2015a: 36; Smith 2015b: 6; “Kaibeto Boarding School”).

After the implementation of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, boarding schools became less strict in terms of assimilation, but they still propagated “white values” and encouraged conversion to Christianity. Some of the schools operated strictly on the ideals of the Catholic Church, which were run by priests. Here, Native students were taught by nuns: “It was the religious orders (...) that were responsible for operating the Native American schools” (Anderson 2019: n.p.). At such institutions, Native children were frequently encouraged to pray and exemplify Christian behaviour (Smith 2015a: 37). Interesting to note is the fact that some schools went by the name of orphanages, but did not really recruit orphans. Instead, they recruited children whose parents were in a poor financial position. Some students had even been taken from their families for unspecific reasons. The latter believed that the schools would care for the children. However, the reality was sometimes very different (Woodard 2011: n.p.). The most striking thing to note is the sexual abuse that students experienced at some boarding schools, even late

into the twentieth century (Anderson 2019: n.p.). The following section will give accounts of abuses experienced by former students of selected boarding schools, namely the accounts of Howard Wanna and Mary Catherine Renville, as well as Severyn Zephier.

4. The Native American boarding school experience and sexual abuse

Autobiographical Indian boarding-school narratives detail the “captivity” ordeals of Indian children who were forced to assimilate to white ways under the policies of the United States government, and in some cases were also sexually abused. Smith states: “Despite the epidemic of sexual abuse in boarding schools, the BIA [The Bureau of Indian Affairs] did not issue a policy on reporting sexual abuse until 1987 and did not issue a policy to strengthen the background checks of potential teachers until 1989” (2015a: 38). Stephanie Woodard, an American investigative journalist and a long-time member of the Native American Journalists Association, interviewed Native Americans about sexual abuse at the schools they attended (Woodard 2011: n.p.; “Stephanie Woodard”). Native American children, years after their assimilation into white “civilization,” have now opened up about their difficult experiences.

At the Hopi School in Arizona, it is reported that students experienced frequent sexual abuse from one of the teachers. Even today, the matter has not been thoroughly investigated, which, as Smith claims, is a violation of human rights (2015a: 38). Smith has even reported on how some Native children were involuntarily sterilized; in one case, girls had been murdered after being impregnated by the school’s representatives (2015a: 42). At Wrangell Institute, a school for Alaska Natives, Hirshberg and Sharp have reported on and spoken to the victims, who have confessed to being abused by teachers at the school in 1935. Some were raped while others were molested. One girl, who also attended Wrangell School, reported having been repeatedly abused at night every time she went to the bathroom (2005:11-13).

One former Lakota student, Howard Wanna, who died in 2011, at the age of 60, recounts being abused by the teachers who were supposed to take care of the children at the Tekakwitha school. Wanna had been mistreated from the age of four. He claims that this happened to many other boys at Tekakwitha as well. Apart from the detailed disturbing abuse he describes, he also mentions that at bath time all the boys were scrubbed so hard that their backs were bruised when they got done bathing. This experience left a painful psychological mark on him, and because of it, he was unable to live a normal life. Here are his own questioning words:

I often wonder how so many paedophiles ended up at Native American schools. Father Pohlen was not only a pervert; he also hired the worst of the worst, which meant none of the Tekakwitha staff would protect us from the others. How did he find them? Is there someone in the Church

you can call to request problem priests and nuns? Was there a dual plan to hurt Native Americans while taking care of the paedophiles? Was this genocide? It's so confusing, but it's also just plain evil. (qtd. in Woodard 2011: n.p.)

Another Lakota victim, Mary Catherine Renville, recalls her assimilation at the Tekakwitha School:

All I remember of my earliest years at Tekakwitha was being hungry and a punishment that consisted of being placed in a dark crawl space. When I was 6, they moved me from the Papoose House for babies to the main building so I could start school. The nuns there would take us to their private quarters and do things to our bodies that even at that young age I knew were not right. (qtd. in Woodard 2011: n.p.)

Another Lakota, Severyn Zephier, was 54 years of age when he revealed his boarding-school experiences. He suffered sexual abuse at the St. Paul's Mission School in South Dakota.

Zephier's story is unfortunately typical. He recounts that St. Paul's was terrifying for him and other students. He was beaten with a strap whenever he spoke his Native tongue, and was frequently humiliated by the teachers. The students were regularly beaten in the afternoon. He said that he was extremely scared of the nuns who were supposed to have been protecting them. On the contrary, they were, as he claims "vicious" individuals who had no mercy on them. During bed-time, the nuns used to stand in the dark room so as to frighten them. However, the most disturbing part for him and his classmates was the sexual abuse: "The child-molesters would come and go, as the Church rotated them among the Indian missions. We children stood by each other as best we could, but for a child, it was a disturbing, sickening place to be. I have often wondered where did the nuns and priests learn those things?" (qtd. in Woodard 2011: n.p.). This account adds to the weighty claims that the St. Paul's Mission School also had many instances of sexual abuse. But what is more, according to accounts, the teachers did not care about the students' well-being and treated them practically as sub-humans. Such stories present a remarkable contrast to the Indian captivity narratives detailed earlier in this paper.

5. Conclusion

Both the boarding-school Indian experience and Indian captivity narratives deal with the experiences of captives. The boarding-school experience presents one with accounts of those who, at the time of assimilation, were merely children, whereas Indian captivity narratives describe the life of adults forcibly taken from their families. Many boarding-schools deliberately underfed and abused children, failing to care for their physical

and mental well-being. They believed that Native Americans needed to be “changed” in order to survive, i.e. learn how to speak the English language, as well as learn the norms of European life, which include “Victorian” clothing (consisting of uniforms in boarding schools for boys, and dresses for girls) food, table manners, agricultural skills, and the Christian faith, in order to fit into a “civilised” society. Indians as well as their culture were considered by Americans to be savage, immoral, and uncivilised. Whites generally did not accept Native American languages, rituals, hunting and spiritual practices as civilized. On the contrary, there was widespread belief that all of these customs were savage, inhuman, devilish (their dances were considered by both the British and Americans to be satanic).

One of the most potent results of such attitudes was the treatment of many boarding school pupils described in this paper. The sexual abuse pupils suffered from the hands of the schools’ staff caused great pain and humiliation, leading to depression and conditions that might have been related to post-traumatic stress disorders among many Native American communities. Some children committed suicide afterwards. Some even took their lives at school (Barker 2013: 47).

The experience was often much different with white captives. When considering the analysed captivity narratives, both John Oritz and Isabella M’Coy exemplify the willingness of Europeans to stay with an Indian tribe of their own free will (Drake 1853: 17). The assimilationist experiment of Indians into white “civilisation” and the attempt of Americans to “civilize” Native American children, was supported by the willingness to “brain-wash” them and make them become distant towards their own culture, families and ways of life. In captivity narratives, on the other hand, Natives often expressed kindness and civility towards their captives. These facts present a contrast between the white discourse of the boarding-school experience underlying the assimilation of Native Americans into white “civilization,” and selected Indian captivity narratives. This contrast, one could argue, undercuts the very notions of “civilization” that Euro-Americans attempted to thrust upon Native peoples.

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