Title: Principles of "Newspeak" in Polish translations of British and American press articles under Communist rule

Author: Edyta Źrałka

Citation style: Źrałka Edyta. (2017). Principles of "Newspeak" in Polish translations of British and American press articles under Communist rule. "Research in Language" (Vol. 15, iss. 1 (2017), s. 97-117), doi 10.1515/rela-2017-0003

Principles of 'newspeak' in Polish translations of British and American press articles under communist rule

Edyta Źrałka
University of Silesia
ezralka@wp.pl

Abstract
The paper analyses selected Polish translations of British and American press articles published in the magazine Forum in the years 1965 – 1989. In communist Poland, all such texts were censored before publication, which forced the translators to avoid content and language that could be banned by censors and to adopt a specific style of expression known as Newspeak. The paper lists the linguistic phenomena in the target language that represent features typical of Newspeak and identifies manipulative procedures which led to their occurrence, using a corpus of 25 English texts and their Polish translations.

Keywords: translation, manipulation, Newspeak, censorship, communist Poland

1. Introduction

When the topic of Newspeak is raised in the context of the Polish language of speeches, slogans and publications of the communist times, what primarily comes to mind is ideological texts promoted in the mass media, praising the communist rule and socialist model of society. We normally ascribe the features of Newspeak to texts written in order to promote the communist authorities and their system of ruling by the followers of the system or according to imposed requirements, but in either case by authors living under the communist rule.

We rarely realize that the language of Newspeak constituted an established system that had a considerable impact on the commonly used language, not only in texts originally written by authors who were following the requirements of the communist rule to allow publication of their works, but also – through translation – on contents coming from abroad and originally written by authors who had totally different attitudes and used a neutral, not ideologically-motivated, language. If their texts were allowed to be translated, the language and contents of translations were subject to the patterns accepted by the communist authorities. They underwent censorship and were manipulated as Newspeak in general, through the acceptance or suppression of particular topics and the use of especially constituted language.

The aim of this paper is to show how the language of propaganda in communist Poland was created and how it manipulated translations. The

research is based on articles from Western press (British and American), and their translations into Polish for *Forum* magazine in the years 1965-1989.

The analytical corpus has been selected based on the author's researches in the British Library and *Biblioteka Śląska* (the Silesian Library) and via online archives. It consists of 50 articles, namely, 25 articles originally written in English and their translations into Polish. The articles were written on topics concerning political and economic issues in Poland under the communist rule. The topics were a decisive criterion for corpus selection. All source texts (STs) were written by English-speaking journalists from countries considered ideological enemies by the communist authorities in Poland, whose ideas and attitudes were concerned hostile to the political system of the People's Republic of Poland. They were translated and published in their Polish versions with considerable input by the censorship apparatus, according to the principles accepted by the ruling powers.

In this paper, both the ideological principles and subject preferences, as well as directives (Strzyżewski, 1977) will be described. The analyzed corpus will be referred to the systematic collections of observed features in the language of the communist era in Poland catalogued by Borkowski (2003), Fras (2005), Bralczyk (2007), and Głowiński (2009).

The primary aim of the paper is to list the linguistic phenomena observed in the target language (TL) representing features typical of communist Newspeak. When manipulative procedures concerning the source language (SL) are noted, linguistic operations motivated by the Newspeak principles of communication will be explained and, if necessary, juxtaposed with the neutral linguistic versions. All the examples have been selected based on a comparative study performed between the source texts and the target texts (TT).

2. Western press and its translation in the People's Republic of Poland

Speaking of translations in the era of communist rule in Poland, concerning either books and press articles or any other texts, it has to be noted that there was no free access to sources that could be translated. Only texts originating from the communist bloc countries were welcome to be printed. Those coming from the Western bloc were marginalized in every possible way. The limited access to foreign materials from the capitalist West was an essential barrier to overcome in academic work and translation activity. Many such texts were officially banned in libraries (Górniak and Saletra, 2012: 264-266) and people travelling abroad (e.g. scholars) were not allowed to bring them into Poland. To use materials that came from the Western capitalist countries in libraries, scholars had to possess a special permission. As Górniak and Saletra write:

> Strict control was applied to the aspects of library resource collecting purchase, exchange, donating resources, especially those from abroad, and their retrieval. Many politically incorrect publications were confiscated by customs at the border. The so-called 'forbidden collection' was created as ordered and it could only be accessed in exceptional situations, after submitting a written application and getting permission from the director of a library. Librarians' work was subject to ideological control. (Górniak and Saletra, 2012: 279)[1]

To be able to use Western-origin books in academic research, scholars had to gain them from unofficial sources. The same applied to Western press texts, including cases when they were to be used as source texts for translations.

A possible link between translation and ideology was recognized in translation studies. In his 1981 essay "Translated Literature: Towards an Integrated Theory", the French scholar Andre Lefevere notes that it is natural for translated texts to be "adapted to a certain poetics or a certain ideology" (1981: 72). Translated texts should thus be seen as "refraction" or "rewriting" (Lefevere 1992) rather than the same texts expressed in a different language. Interestingly, Lefevere believed that much as refractions are obvious under totalitarian political systems, they occur in democratic systems as well, although in more covert ways. These observations paved the way for the creation of what is known as "The Manipulation School", whose views were expressed in studies published in a collection edited by Theo Hermans (1985). A detailed discussion of these views, concerning mainly the translation of literary works, would exceed the scope of this paper, but the following brief quote from the preface to this volume captures their essence "…all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (Hermans, 1985: 9).

Press texts were subject to manipulation not just as a matter of course, but they were subject to censorship, in the same way as originally written texts. In compliance with the opinion of Calzada Pérez, it must be stated that due to this practice "Original (ST) and translated (TT) documents contributed to forging ideological stereotypes" (Calzada Pérez, 2003: 1). According to Calzada Pérez, "Translation is an operation carried out on language use. This undoubtedly means that translation itself is always a site of ideological encounters" (Calzada Pérez, 2003: 2). It gives a translator an opportunity to change the original attitude according to his or her own ideological preferences. When, as in the period of communist rule in Poland, translators treated this opportunity as an obligation in the face of the censorship, this idea seems even more obvious. The author's conclusion that "Translators translate according to ideological settings in which they learn and perform their tasks" (Calzada Pérez, 2003: 7), characterizes the fact that the political circumstances in the era of communist rule in Poland had a crucial influence on the shape of texts translated from Western press to be published in *Forum* magazine. The translations of that period became manipulated due to a conviction expressed by Álvarez and Vidal, who write that "The translator can artificially create the reception context of a

---

[1]   The fragments quoted from the Polish sources are in my translation.

given text. He can be the authority who manipulates the culture, politics, literature, and their acceptance (or lack thereof) in the target culture." (Álvarez and Vidal, 1996: 2)

3. Terminology for the language of communist ideology

Aims of propaganda in communist Poland, both in original texts and translations, were realized through linguistic strategies, typical of all the years of communist rule, with some changing contents over time, but still according to imposed patterns. The stylistics of the language introduced by communist authorities is so specific that it allows us to seek an individual name for it. Głowiński refers to the nomenclature dilemma concerning this type of language in the following way:

> What to call this language? Propaganda language, considering the aim it serves? The party or official language, bearing in mind its institutional references? The communist language, due to its ideological connotations? The drawback of all these names is the fact that each of them concentrates only on one side of the phenomenon. I will therefore reach for a more neutral name and borrow the term *Newspeak* from George Orwell, as it shows the new character of this language compared with classical speech. (Głowiński 2009: 11)

Newspeak ("nowomowa"), to use the name that appears in George Orwell's novel *1984*, or propaganda language, are the two most frequently used names to refer to the linguistic phenomena ascribed to communication practiced by the communist powers. This language can be described in Głowiński's words:

> As is commonly known, *Newspeak* is a manipulated language; the more freely and intensively they are used, the more unpunished the manipulative procedures become, and the less hampered the manipulator feels as he knows that nothing can publically defy his doings. (Głowiński, 2009: 149)

This direct statement by Głowiński features the real function of the language in question.

4. Ideological perspective of language in the People's Republic of Poland

If the language of Newspeak is described as ideologically-influenced, we need to consider the image created by its use. The following features of ideological provenience can be ascribed to this language of official propaganda:

- manifestation of a particular identity to the language, which serves as the means of communicating the government's power, the only that is possible; the arbitrariness of the language and its manipulative character (Głowiński, 2009: 14),
- stability and paternalism of the language as its main values; anti-communication of interactions, with the priority given to one-directional communication without any dialogue between rulers and the ruled,
- the ritual and declarative functions of the language (observed in repeated patterns and constructional rules, terminologically rich and syntactically complicated texts, often difficult to follow, which serve to manifest the competence of the government to the unrealistically present receiver, through the phatic function being more important than what is declaratively communicated, aimed at shaping people's attitudes, without even the need for the receiver's response or indeed interest),
- magical belief in postulates that are identified with reality (what is expressed functions as reality and makes people trust in words as if they constituted the objective facts), e.g. slogans like *Młodzież zawsze z partią* ("The young forever with the party"); Głowiński, 2009: 13, 63),
- pathos of coined phrases and presupposed evaluative names-labels, mutually recognized by the sender and hearer, idiomaticity),
- manipulative function of text templates introduced by leaders in their speeches, whose aim is to constitute the model to be copied (Głowiński, 2009: 101),
- evaluative and directive character (opposition of positive values ascribed to the communist system, and negative ones which according to propaganda are absent from the system), an evaluative dichotomy that does not evolve from isolated words but is recognized from schematic formulas and coined phrases (Głowiński, 2009: 12-13, 34-35),
- dominance of ideology over sense,
- ignoring the rules of lexis and phraseology in the composition of patterned formulas,
- introducing a new concept of language – changed together with the modification of the authorities' attitude towards ruling the country (typical of the 1980s), dominated by the metalinguistic, declarative and phatic function (Bralczyk, 2003: 13-14, 68, 2007: 53-55, 57, 63-64; Głowiński, 2009: 11-15).

Fras enumerates the typical persuasive features of political language, referred to as "the opportunities to create a political reality through the political language." They are as follows:
- the opportunity to polarize through a bipolar reference to reality (we-they, ours-foreign, follower-enemy, friend-opponent, black-white),
- emotionality (evoking positive feelings towards accepted ideas and negative feelings towards unaccepted ones),

- ritualization,
- the magical function of slogans or language formulas, which are often vague and general,
- selection of topics according to an evaluative attitude,
- arbitrariness in definitions,
- idiomaticity,
- impreciseness (Fras, 2005: 83, 85-86).

Borkowski (2003, 27-28) repeats most of the ideologically-motivated features mentioned by the authors cited above, such as arbitrariness, ritualization, generality and impreciseness of expressions, inclusive pronouns and determiners *we, our* etc., slogans and phraseological constructions, dichotomy of evaluations, few emotionally-neutral expressions and linguistic templates.

The ideology created by Newspeak could not be effective while it remained uncontrolled. The communist authorities had to establish a system to protect their ideological beliefs and political interests. They created censorship organs with a powerful influence not only on the political climate of that period, but also on language.

5. Censorship body's directives ruling publication practices

The censorship apparatus, while established, performed numerous tasks to fulfill its duties, which were, primarily, to prevent all content unacceptable to the communist government from being revealed to the public.

The list of bans was diverse and consisted of three main categories (Strzyżewski, 1977: 7-14). The first category concerned instructions and guidelines for censors with the pedantic details of information that could be classified as publishable. It included the topics that were supposed to be promoted and those which definitely had to be forbidden. Among the banned topics were those referring to religious issues (quotes from the Pope, Cardinal Wyszyński and the Bible, or religious songs, critical remarks about atheism, opinions stating the historical importance of the Polish Church), issues concerning national matters (e.g. patriotic events in Polish history - activities of the Home Army (*AK*), events in Katyń, or those dealing with national heroes such as Józef Piłsudski, etc.) and socio-economic subjects, like the situation of laborers and their families, the situation of employed women, working conditions, etc. The truth was almost completely hidden from the public when it came to such topics as catastrophes, alcoholism, religious meetings, the financing of public services such as *ORMO,* criticism of administrative organs or the judiciary system, etc. In the instructional materials of the censorship body there are so-called "notes" referring to the opportunity to use particular names, facts, figures or events in official writings, e.g., concerning occupational hazards in industry and the use of chemicals in agriculture. They were to be found in

Książki Zapisów i Zaleceń GUKPPiW (Book of Records and Indications of the Polish Main Office of Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances)[2]. The works of art and literature that were not in conformity with communist ideology simply remained unpublished or undistributed. One of the commonly applied practices, as has already been stated, was not to accept the works of Western scholars for translation. Only the methodology based on the Marxist ideology was permitted and it was impossible to publish any opinions criticizing this common attitude.

The second category of instructive texts were examples of banned materials, i.e. records of censors' interventions. They were issued once a fortnight to update the catalogue of officially illicit topics.

The third category of texts was composed of the interventions of censors performing the secondary control of contents already published but containing material overlooked during the pre-publication control. The recommendations included comments upon preferred choice of language and censors' corrections.

The types of instructions described all served to create a reality that would suit the communist system and eliminate all forms of individualism in society. Not only the allowed topics, but also linguistic patterns, came to represent the essence of Newspeak. They will be described in detail in the next section.

6. Linguistic features of Newspeak

The linguistic organization of messages promoting the communist ideology was not accidental, any more than were the censorship apparatus's interventions. It was meant to promote only the ideology recognized by the communist system and was carefully programmed. The language of officially allowed texts was so strictly pre-arranged that in the case of the Pope's visit in June, 1978 a special vocabulary list was prepared consisting of recommended words acceptable in all reports about the visit. As Głowiński states, "In all reports and commentaries concerning the visit the use of pre-established words was imposed." (Głowiński, 2009: 108-109).[5]

In the communist powers' conviction, society could be modelled according to the planned pattern. The communication between the authorities and people through the media was to follow the principle of mutual correspondence between the intentions communicated by the ruling powers and their recognition by the society. In the communication model of the communist authorities the idea was to impose the ideological principles of power on linguistic constructions as much as possible.

---

[2]   Official English version of the name of *GUKPPiW* according to John Bates, "Publishing in Poland, 1976-1989; Reflections of Preferences and Constraints." Available from: www.arts.gla.ac.uk/Slavonic/PublishingPoland.htm [Accessed: 15th February 2014]

Expression and recognition of intentions - the essential feature of human communication (Sperber and Wilson, 2004: 607), proves especially productive in connection with the ideological influence of the ruling authorities on people in the communist system. Sperber and Wilson's inferential model of communication, according to which the speaker proves his intention to convey particular meanings, based on which the hearer tries to recognize the meanings the speaker intended or, in other words, infers the communicator's intended meaning, was what communist rulers aimed at. What is more, as Sperber and Wilson claim, "communicators – like human agents in general – form intentions over whose fulfillment they have some control: they may have some controllable effect on their audience's cognitive environment, much less on their audience's actual thoughts, and they form the intentions accordingly" (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 58). As Blass claims, though (2005: 176, after Taillard, 2000: 169), the two levels of speaker's intention – an informative intention, making certain assumptions manifest to the audience, and a communicative intention, involving only the recognition of the informative intention - that were distinguished by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995), should be augmented by the presence of the "persuasive intention," which constitutes the essence of manipulation when the manipulative intention is covert and not part of the communicative intention. It means that through linguistic means and by influencing the cognitive environment of their audiences, the communist authorities tried to promote their deceitful ideology. They endeavored to make people recognize their intention to communicate how powerful the communist rule was supposed to be, hiding the real aim of manipulating the audience, and they had writers and translators at their service, if the latter wanted their works to be published.

6.1. Lexical features of Newspeak

The communist authorities tried to manipulate people through typical lexical features of Newspeak, promoted in oral performances and writing that had been submitted to censorship, such as:

1. Using so-called "generalizing expressions", e.g.:
   - *pewne* ("certain"), *określone* ("specific", "given") – like in: *pewne trudności* ("certain difficulties"), *określone zjawiska* ("specific situations"), observed in the index expressions: *pewne kręgi*, *określone koła* ("certain circles") (Bralczyk, 2007: 39-40),
   - adding generalizing attributes to nouns (e.g. *sytuacja* – "situation", *warunki* – "conditions", *okoliczności* – "circumstances" etc.), that suggest negative phenomena, as in: *złożona sytuacja* ("complex situation"), *skomplikowane okoliczności* ("complicated circumstances") (Bralczyk, 2007: 42);

2. Using the so-called "minority quantifiers", minimalizing expressions, generally imposing negative connotations (Bralczyk, 2007: 42):
   - words such as *niektórzy, niektóre* ("some"), or *ci, którzy…, tacy, co…* ("those who"), *niekiedy*, *czasem* ("sometimes"), *tu i ówdzie*, *gdzieniegdzie* ("here and there"), *nie zawsze* ("not always"), *nie wszędzie* ("not everywhere"), e.g. *nie zawsze najlepsze* ("not always the best"), *nie wszyscy uświadamiają sobie* ("not all (people) realize"), also verbs like *zdarzać się* ("happen"), *pojawiać się* ("occur"), *występować* ("take place") should be classified here, or nouns like *margines* ("margin") – e.g. *margines zjawisk* ("margin of situations"), *marginesowy charakter* ("marginal character") (Bralczyk, 2007: 42-44);
3. Using majority quantifiers, like *każdy* ("everybody"), *wszystek* ("all"), *cały, całkowity* ("whole, complete"), *pełny* ("full"), *powszechny* ("common"), *miliony* ("millions"), *masy* ("masses"), *wszechstronny*, *uniwersalny* ("universal"), or archaic and turgid phrases - *po wsze czasy* ("forever"), *ze wszech miar* ("by all means") (Bralczyk, 2007: 142);
4. Using existential sentences, with verbs like *być* ("be") or *istnieć* ("exist"), e.g. *istnieje przekonanie* ("There is a conviction"), or *Są u nas tacy, co…*("There are some here who…") (Bralczyk, 2007: 42-43);
5. Using euphemisms, referred to by nouns such as: *trudności* ("difficulties"), *kłopoty* ("problems"), *komplikacje* ("complications"), *braki* ("deficits"), *niedociągnięcia* ("shortcomings"), *zaniedbania* ("negligences"), *zapóźnienia* ("delays"), *nieprawidłowości* ("irregularities")*, napięcia* ("tensions") etc., and accompanied by adjectives like: *obiektywne* ("objective"), *pewne* ("certain"), *przejściowe* ("passing") (Bralczyk, 2007: 45, Borkowski, 2003: 108);
6. Using semi-negative expressions, announcing negative information, like *trzeba przyznać* ("We must admit"), *trzeba stwierdzić* ("It must be admitted"), *musimy sobie otwarcie powiedzieć* ("We must openly say"), *musimy pamiętać* ("We must remember"), *musimy zdać sobie sprawę* ("We must realize"), etc. (Bralczyk, 2007: 46);
7. Using contrastive pairs denoting positive ideas before something negative is stated, with contrastive conjunctions like *chociaż* ("though"), *ale* ("but"), *jednak* ("yet"), *mimo* ("despite"), *mimo to* ("neverthless"), or using presuppositions instead of openly stated facts, e.g. *Istnieje jednak potrzeba jednolitego działania* ("Yet there is a need for uniform action"), as the first sentence in a paragraph with no motivation for using *jednak* (Bralczyk, 2007: 47);
8. Introducing negative facts through the agency of modality, e.g. *musimy* ("We must"), *powinniśmy* ("We should"), *chcemy* ("We want"), or gradation – *musimy lepiej* ("We must…better") (Bralczyk, 2007: 49);
9. Stressing importance via such expressions as: *jest bardzo ważne, żeby* ("It is very important to"), *wielkie znaczenie ma* ("This is of great

importance") etc. (Bralczyk, 2007: 49), value-emphasising adjectives, like *autentyczny* ("authentic"), *prawdziwy* ("true"), *realny* ("real") in phrases such as *autentyczna odnowa* ("authentic renewal"), *realne przemiany* ("real changes") (Głowiński, 2009: 135-136) or introducing positive connotation nouns derived from verbs, like *ocalenie* ("salvage"), *odrodzenie* ("revival") juxtaposed with negative nouns referring to traumatic phenomena, like *katastrofy* ("catastrophies"), *zapaści* ("collapses") (Borkowski, 2003: 71);

10. Using emotionally qualified expressions of absolute character, showing the ultimate   significance of situations etc., e.g. *Najważniejszym problemem dnia dzisiejszego jest…* ("The fundamental problem of these days is"), *Pierwszym i podstawowym zadaniem jest…*("The first and fundamental task is");

11. Communicating negative allusions through positive words like *rezerwy* ("reserves"), *możliwości* ("opportunities"), *kapitał* ("capital"), e.g. in a sentence *Istnieją ogromne rezerwy…* ("There are huge reserves…") often breaking semantic connection rules in such expressions, e.g. *rezerwa poprawy efektywności gospodarowania* ("The reserve of economy effectiveness improvement") (Bralczyk, 2007: 50);

12. Using established or new phrases for propaganda reasons:
    - classical Marxist phrases, connected with communist ideology, used in ideological rather than political texts, like *klasa robotnicza* ("working class"), *lud pracujący* ("workpeople"), *dyktatura proletariatu* ("dictatorship of the proletariat"), *walka klasowa* ("class struggle"), *podziały klasowe* ("class division"), *ruch komunistyczny* ("communist movement"), *kapitał międzynarodowy* ("international capital"), *bratnie partie* ("fraternal parties"), or those which are not ideologically influenced, connected with romantic national independence movements, e.g. *wola ludu* ("people's will"), *sumienie narodu* ("nation's conscience"), *sól ziemi* ("the salt of the earth"), *miłość Ojczyzny* ("love of the homeland"), *dzieło ojców* ("fathers' deed"),
    - contemporary phrases which are ideologically native, of positive character, e.g. *dalszy postęp* ("further progress"), *nierozerwalny sojusz* ("inseparable alliance"), *siła przewodnia* ("leading power"), and of negative connotations, e.g. *podżegacze wojenni* ("incitors of war"), *siewcy nienawiści* ("propagators of hatred"), or ideologically foreign, originally positive, such as *wolny świat* ("free world"), *kultura Zachodu* ("Western culture"), *wolność jednostki* ("freedom of the individual"), *wolność duchowa* ("spiritual freedom"), *niezawisłość myślenia* ("independence of thinking"), *prawa człowieka* ("human rights"), (changed by Polish propaganda of 1970s into *prawo człowieka do życia w pokoju* – "human right to live in peace"), *swobody demokratyczne* ("democratic liberties"),

demokracja zachodnia ("Western democracy") etc., (Bralczyk, 2007: 60-6);

13. Using pleonasms of propagandistic nature, e.g. *realna szansa* ("real chance"), *aktywny udział* ("active participation"), *skuteczna realizacja* ("effective realisation"), *wzajemne współdziałanie* ("mutual cooperation")` (Bralczyk, 2007: 64), as lexical redundancies (Borkowski, 2003: 77);

14. Using conventional references to names of countries, governments, and people dealing with politics, e.g. *administracja Reagana* ("Reagan administration"), *Kreml* ("the Kremlin"), *Żelazna Dama* ("the Iron Lady") (Borkowski, 2003: 23-24);

15. Using one-word names (labels consisting of a noun with no attribute in order to simplify them (Bralczyk, 2007: 72)), which create stereotypes and sometimes negative connotations, e.g., *Wschód* ("the East"), *Zachód* ("the West")*, marksizm* ("marxism"), *leninizm* ("leninism")*, lewica* ("the Left"), *centrum* ("the Centre"), *prawica* ("the Right"), and their derivatives – *lewicowiec* ("left-winger")*, prawicowiec* ("right-winger")*, centrysta* ("centrist") (Bralczyk, 2007: 70-77). An interesting case is a situation in which instead of the name of a country its capital is used, as the seat of its government, e.g. *Kair* ("Cairo") instead of Egypt. This metonymic function depreciates the government's position as being unrepresentative of the country (Bralczyk, 2007: 105). A metonymic way of treating the names of capitals used instead of countries, e.g. *manewry Moskwy* ("Moscow's maneuvers") is just one example of the case. A metonymy is also common in references to some place instead of an institution, as in *Biały Dom milczy* ("The White House remains silent") for "the US President remains silent", or in the case of substituting a part for a whole, e.g. *rządy czystych rąk* ("clean hands rule") (Borkowski, 2003: 23-24; Fras, 2005: 156);

16. Using metaphorical structures, like *Program Partii pomostem w XXI wiek* ("The party programme the pier into the 21st century") (Bralczyk, 2007: 112), and military metaphors - the most typical of communist propaganda language, along with those referring to a path (Borkowski, 2003: 121, 160) - with such words as e.g. *strategia* ("strategy")*, mobilizacja* ("mobilization"), *manewr* ("maneuver"), *natarcie* ("attack"), *kampania* ("campaign"), *ofensywa* ("offensive") etc., (Bralczyk, 2007: 49-50), references to games, sport, networks, waves, space, spheres, life or organisms in metaphors (Fras, 2005: 157), or to the theatre, illness, or love (Borkowski, 2003: 12), choosing different types of metaphors - either an analogy between two objects of reality that are unconnected but somehow similar, or a metonymy, as mentioned above, namely, a connection between two objects related in some way, but separate, or between an object and its part (Fras, 2005: 156);

17. Using periphrases, creating labels that should be immediately evoked together with a name mentioned, e.g. *wódz postępowej ludzkości* ("leader of innovative mankind") for Stalin, or *przestoje*, *przerwy w pracy* ("work stoppages"), *zakłócenia normalnego rytmu pracy* ("disturbances in the normal work-rhythm") for *strajk* ("strike"), replaced with direct references in late communism, as in the case of such words as *kryzys* ("crisis"), *bieda* ("poverty"), *korupcja* ("corruption"), *inflacja* ("inflation"), and *cenzura* "censorship" (Głowiński, 2009: 45-47, 137);

18. Using non-rhematic informative structures of nominal character, e.g. *twórcze źródła socjalizmu* ("creative sources of socialism"), *społeczna aktywność* ("social activity"), *dorobek czterdziestolecia* ("the forty years' output") (Borkowski, 2003: 74);

19. Using prefixes *pro-* and *anti-* for evaluations, as in *anti-Polish* (Bralczyk, 2007: 106);

20. Using absolute adjectives like *podstawowy* ("basic"), *główny* ("main"), *zasadniczy* ("essential") etc, or even pleonasms *najgłówniejszy* ("the most mainest") (Bralczyk, 2007: 117).

6.2. Grammatical features of Newspeak

Among grammatical features of Newspeak over the years of its functioning, disregarding minor modifications, we should mention:

1. Quite frequently observed post-position of an attribute in names, by which they gain a more official, terminological status, e.g. *znaczenie decydujące* ("a decisive meaning"), *czynnik główny* ("a primary factor"), a structure which is possible in English only if followed by a prepositional phrase (Bralczyk, 2007: 72, 140);

2. Using other types of inversion in addition to an attribute inversion, e.g. determiners moved from the pre-position in relation to a noun to the post-position, e.g. *partia nasza* ("our party"), *okres ten* ("this period"), *prawda ta* ("this truth"), *możliwości te* ("these opportunities"), an order impossible in English (Bralczyk, 2007: 140);

3. Inversions of subject-predicate in statements, e.g. *Był okres ten* ("This period was"), *Działo się to wszystko* ("It all happened"), *Wyraża to hasło* ("It is expressed by a slogan"), which places a rheme in the typically thematic position which is prominent and more exposed (Bralczyk, 2007: 140);

4. Using imperatives in persuasive constructions, but rarely through the second person, but rather by the use of the first person plural "we" (the sender and the receiver as a unity), e.g. *żądamy*, *wymagamy*, ("we require"), *domagamy się* ("we demand"), *postanawiamy* ("we decide")*, or by the third person singular with such verbs as *wytyczać*, *nakreślać* ("to lay") etc., e.g. in the structures *ta chwila żąda od nas…* ("this

moment requires from us"), *sytuacja wymaga* ("the situation requires")*,* with "we"/"us" treated as objects (Bralczyk, 2007: 78-79); imperativeness is also reached by the imperative mood, infinitives, conditionals, and intonation (Borkowski, 2003: 23-24);

5. Using typical surrounding elements with the pronoun "we" to make phrases, like *my sami* ("we ourselves"), *my wszyscy* ("we all"), *my razem* ("we together") (Bralczyk, 2007: 150);

6. Using this "we" in anaphoric constructions, e.g. *My nie mamy powodów do frustracji. My nie musimy uciekać się do narkotycznych wizji złudnego szczęścia.*(3rd Session of *KC PZPR*) ("We do not have reasons for frustration. We do not have to resort to drug-induced visions of illusive happiness") (Bralczyk, 2007: 155);

7. A common use of the determiner *nasz* ("our"), e.g. *nasz wspólny* ("our common"), *nasza ojczyzna* ("our homeland"), *nasza partia* ("our party"), *nasze zadania* ("our tasks"), *nasze cele* ("our aims"), *nasze dobro* ("our good"), connected with the idea of the inclusive "we" (Bralczyk, 2007: 150);

8. Using semi-modal verbs such as *trzeba* ("need"), *należy* ("should"), and modals, like *musieć* ("must") in the first person plural, such as *musimy* ("we must"), *powinniśmy* ("we should"), or with the pronoun *każdy* ("everyone")*,* as in *każdy, kto…, powinien* ("everyone who…should") (Bralczyk, 2007: 80);

9. Using declarative expressions with negated verbs being indicators of modality, e.g. *nie będzie* ("it will not be"), *nie zgodzimy się* ("we will not agree"), *nie cofniemy się* ("we will not retreat"), in Polish often strengthened by the adverb *nigdy* ("never") (Borkowski, 2003: 72);

10. Using the future tense in the first person "we" to announce not a declaration, but an obligation to follow the message on the part of its exponent and receiver, e.g. *Uchwały VII Zjazdu w pełni wykonamy* ("We will fully realize the Resolutions of the 7th Convention"), *wszyscy staniemy* ("we will all stand") (Bralczyk, 2007: 82-83);

11. Using indicative present tense forms of verbs in the third person singular, sounding like a decree, e.g. *partia jest siłą przewodnią* ("the party is a leading power"), *partia sprawuje kontrolę* ("the party keeps control") (Bralczyk, 2007: 83);

12. Neutralization of tense oppositions by grouping two or three different tenses of the same verb (verbs) next to each other in the same sentence, e.g. *był, jest i będzie* ("(it) has been, is and will always be"), *był i pozostanie* ("(it) has been and will remain"), used in order to show stability (Bralczyk, 2007: 205);

13. Nominalization, to show analytical attitude in official and media texts, but also typical of scientific texts. It consists in changing verbal structures into nominal ones, but also using semantically unmarked nouns, such as *fact*, *problem*, *issue* etc., in expressions like *fakt*

przybycia ("the fact of arrival"), instead of *przybycie* ("arrival"), introduced to organize a text in an orderly way (Bralczyk, 2007: 205-206);

14. Stylistically marked forms of numbers – with plural forms marking a negative attitude, excluding unity and suggesting multitude of phenomena, e.g. *zamiary* ("intentions"), *próby* ("endeavours") (Bralczyk, 2007: 206); there are also negative references suggested by plural nouns *koła* ("circles"), *siły* ("powers"), *nastroje* ("moods") combined with adjectives in some ritual phrases, e.g *nastroje antysocjalistyczne* ("anti-socialist moods") (Głowiński, 2009: 19);

15. Using a stylistically marked plural form concerning surnames of some public people who are to be depreciated (Głowiński, 2009: 96);

16. Using accusative forms for postulates in slogans, outside sentences, e.g. *o poprawę* ("for improvement"), *o dalszy rozwój* ("for further development"), which is referred by Głowiński as "postulative accusative case" and constitutes the most characteristic feature of Newspeak absent from general language use (Bralczyk, 2007: 84; Głowiński, 2009: 39);

17. Using a vocative form in speeches, e.g. *żołnierze* ("Soldiers!"), *towarzysze* ("Comrades!"), bracia górnicy ("Brother Miners!"), which is also a rare reason for using the second person form of verbs (Bralczyk, 2007: 152);

18. Using negations and comparative adjectives instead of superlatives, e.g. *Nie ma dla nas sprawy ważniejszej niż Polska Ludowa* ("There is not a more important thing for us than the People's Republic of Poland"), or using the structure "no X without Y", e.g. *Nie ma pomyślności obywatela bez pomyślności państwa* ("There is no well-being for a citizen without the well-being of the country") (Bralczyk, 2007: 113);

19. Using superlatives for propaganda (Bralczyk, 2007: 117; Borkowski, 2003: 79);

20. Anticipating positive superlatives by negations instead of using negative adjectives, e.g. instead of *zły* ("bad") – *nie najlepszy* ("not the best") as in the clause *Nasza sytuacja gospodarcza jest nie najlepsza* ("Our economic situation is not the best"), in time replaced by non-euphemic adjectives referring to the economic situation, like *trudny* ("difficult"), *ciężki* ("hard"), *zły* ("bad"), *skomplikowany* ("complicated"), *dramatyczny* ("dramatic"), or even *fatalny* ("disastrous"), lub *tragiczny* ("tragic") (Głowiński, 2009: 137).

It was not only lexis and grammar that were adapted for propaganda purposes. A very suggestive role was given to punctuation, e.g. inverted commas. It was obvious that while used in propaganda contexts they denoted an ironic attitude on the part of the text creator and were aimed to depreciate the contents included

– often names of political opponents (Borkowski, 2003: 96). A very provocative function was allotted to rhetorical questions (Borkowski, 2003: 102).

The examples presented above show clearly that the language of propaganda texts is a manifestation of the specific ideology, imposed by communists and their rule, so it cannot be viewed without all those ideology-influenced aspects (Bralczyk, 2007: 29). Only together with the ideological background one can fully perceive the meanings of Newspeak.

7. Newspeak features in the translations of articles in English

When it comes to the Newspeak principles in the translations of Western press articles for *Forum* magazine, these were mostly observed in:

1. Using established or new words or phrases for propaganda reasons, among which are: *jutro* ("tomorrow"), *nacisk* ("pressure"), *stara gwardia* ("the old guard"), *twardogłowi* ("hard-headed"), *twarda linia* ("hard line"), *porządek i ład publiczny* ("public law and governance"), *fala strajków* ("wave of strikes"), *pluralizm polityczny* ("political pluralism"), *dialog i kompromis* (dialogue and compromise"), *dalekosiężne reformy* ("far-reaching reforms"), *kombinat przemysłowy* ("industrial complexes") etc., as in the following examples:

   (1) is a problem for the future
        jest problemem na jutro
   (2) *twardogłowych*
        [hard-headed][3]
   (3) *grupę nacisku*
        [pressure group]
   (4) *W samej partii nie będzie miejsca dla zasiedziałych funkcjonariuszy partyjnych starej gwardii*
        [In the party itself there won't be a place for settled functionaries of the old guard]
   (5) *po stronie zwolenników twardej linii*
        [on the side of the followers of the hard line]
   (6) *załamanie prawa i ładu publicznego*
        [the collapse of public law and governance]
   (7) to deal with a spate of strikes
        za środek rozładowania fali strajków
   (8) *możliwość 'całkowitego pluralizmu politycznego'*
        [the possibility of 'complete political pluralism']
   (9) *jedyną możliwością jest dialog i kompromis*
        [the only possibility is dialogue and compromise]

---

[3] When additions and substitutions occur in the Polish target text which do not correspond to any original fragments, an English version is proposed by the author in square brackets. Such a version is also added as a back-translation in analytical descriptions when the Polish translation equivalent differs considerably from the ST version.

(10) *mamy zdecydowaną wolę przeprowadzenia dalekosiężnych reform*
     [we have a strong will to introduce far-reaching reforms]
(11) the 16,000-strong labour force of this huge industrial plant
     16-tysięczna załoga tego olbrzymiego kombinatu przemysłowego

2.   Using names-labels, especially: *Wschód* and *Zachód:*

(12) to help bring East and West together
     by dopomóc w zbliżeniu między Wschodem a Zachodem
(13) *Zachód jest przede wszystkim zainteresowany*
     [the West is above all interested]
(14) *poprawa stosunków Wschód – Zachód jest niemożliwa*
     [the improvement of relations between the East and the West is
     impossible]
(15) *Rzucił też bezpośrednie wyzwanie Zachodowi.*
     [He also challenged the West directly.]

3.   Introducing markers of universality or commonality, with such words as
     e.g. *masa* (mass):

(16) a radical increase in the mass of credits for farmers
     radykalne zwiększenie masy kredytów dla rolników

4.   Using periphrases, e.g.:
(17) *niepokoje robotnicze* ("labor unrest") for strikes

5.   Using generalizing expressions, like pewne ("certain"), niektóre
     ("some"), as in:
(18) *żaden Polak nie może być obojętny wobec wysuwanych przez pewne
     koła w Niemczech wezwań*
     [No Pole can be indifferent to adjurations propounded by some circles in
     Germany]
(19) *Niektóre grupy – powiedział – odnoszą się wrogo do politycznego
     kształtu Europy*
     [Some groups – he said – are hostile to the political shape of Europe]

6.   Using metaphorical structures, connected above all with military
     terminology and the image of a path:
(20) *organizacji lokalnych, które uparcie bronią interesów partyzanckich*
     [local organizations which defend their partisan interests in a stubborn
     manner]
(21) *w samej partii nie będzie miejsca dla zasiedziałych funkcjonariuszy
     partyjnych starej gwardii*
     [In the party itself there won't be a place for settled functionaries of the
     old guard]
(22) *W efekcie przyniósł raczej zwarcie szeregów partii niż ich rozbicie*
     [As a result it brought about the contraction of party lines rather than
     their dismantling]
(23) threatened the return of mass industrial unrest
     może spowodować wybuch masowych strajków
     [back translation: can cause an explosion of mass strikes]

(24) *Nie jest to eksplozja miłości do opozycji*
[This is not an explosion of love for the opposition]

(25) *pomimo rewolucji wyborczej z 4 czerwca*
[despite the electoral revolution of June the 4th]

(26) *Nie można rozwiązać problemu bez udziału wszystkich sił społecznych i politycznych*
[The problem cannot be solved without the contribution of all social and political powers]

(27) *W swoim pierwszym wywiadzie, a zarazem pierwszym komentarzu po wyborach generał Jaruzelski powiedział: 'Jesteśmy zdecydowani iść dalej tą drogą wspierając się na szerokiej umowie na rzecz reform'*
[In his first interview, and at the same time his first post-election commentary, Gen. Jaruzelski said, 'We have decided to follow this path, relying on the broad consensus in favour of the reforms']

(28) *ponieważ podkreśla słuszność naszej drogi reform*
[because it stresses the rightness of our path of reforms]

7.   Introducing post-position of an attribute in nominal phrases, as in the following examples:

(29) working out Polish democracy
wypracowanie demokracji polskiej, instead of *wypracowanie polskiej demokracji* (post position of an attribute),

(30) next year
w roku przyszłym, instead of *w przyszłym roku* (post position of an attribute),

(31) last year
roku ubiegłego, as an equivalent for a standard order *ubiegłego roku* (post position of an attribute),
why exports to the West had dropped

(32) *przyczyna spadku eksportu polskiego na Zachód,* substituted for a preferred option *przyczyna spadku polskiego eksportu na Zachód* (post position of an attribute),
[the reason of drop of Polish export to the West]

(33) *byłoby rzeczą przedwczesną,* instead of *byłoby przedwczesną rzeczą* (post position of an attribute)
[that would be too early to]

8.   Using other types of syntax inversions, possible to be seen as Newspeak features:

(34) *by mógł go przyjąć rząd polski,* with a subject – predicate inversion and the post position of an attribute, instead of the preferred option in Polish *by polski rząd mógł go przyjąć*
[in order to be accepted by the Polish government]

(35) *złożył w Londynie wizytę Premierowi,* with the adverbial of place and objects reversed, instead of a better ordered *złożył Premierowi wizytę w Londynie*
[paid a visit to the Prime Minister in London]

(36) *wybuchowych politycznie wyrzeczeń,* with an adverbial modifier following an adjective, instead of its typical preceding position as in *politycznie wybuchowych wyrzeczeń*
[politically explosive renunciations]

(37) *a zasiłki socjalne za pomocą systemu indeksacji związane byłyby z poziomem kosztów utrzymania,* with a reversed position of an adverbial of manner, replacing the more orderly organised version *a zasiłki socjalne związane byłyby z poziomem kosztów utrzymania za pomocą systemu indeksacji*
[and social benefits, due to the system of indexation, would be connected with the level of living costs]

(38) 450,000 school-leavers who will be seeking employment
zatrudnienia będzie szukać w Polsce około 450 tys. absolwentów różnych szkół, with the subject – predicate inversion, object and adverbial of place reversed positions, which would be logically better organised as *w Polsce około 450 tys. absolwentów różnych szkół będzie szukać zatrudnienia*

(39) *którzy lata spędzili w więzieniu*, with an untypical position of the direct object, instead of the better organised option, *którzy spędzili lata w więzieniu*
[who spent years in prison]

(40) Mr Wilson is determined to be no less forthcoming to Mr Rapacki
zdecydowany jest wyjść na spotkanie ministrowi Rapackiemu, instead of the standard phraseological pattern *zdecydowany jest wyjść ministrowi Rapackiemu na spotkanie*

9.   Using inclusive pronouns "we" and its variations, like e.g. *my* ("we")*,* a determiner *nasz* ("our") and their declensions, as in:

(41) *Ludzie szli do urn z różnych powodów, nie zawsze dlatego, że nas popierali*
[People went to the polls for different reasons, not always because they supported us.]

(42) *lecz dlatego, że…odpowiada to naszym kanonom moralnym i prawnym i…że wymaga tego interes i potrzeba naszego państwa*
[but because…it corresponds to our moral and legal canons and…it is required by the needs and interests of our country]

(43) *Błędów i potknięć nie zamierzamy ukrywać. Otwarcie je omawiamy i wyciągamy z nich naukę* (with the omission of the logically included subject pronoun "we", as in the subsequent examples (44) – (48))
[We are not going to hide our mistakes and glitches. We discuss them openly and we learn from them.]

(44) *wtedy jesteśmy gotowi do konstruktywnych rozmów*
[then we are ready to carry out constructive talks]

(45) *z nimi porozumienia nie szukamy*
[we do not look for agreement with them]

(46) *Jesteśmy oczywiście szczerze zainteresowani powodzeniem rokowań amerykańsko-radzieckich. Wiemy jak wiele dla pokoju świata zależy od ich wyniku*
[Obviously, we are genuinely interested in the success of American-Russian negotiations. We know how much their result matters for world peace.]

(47) *Są to partnerzy solidni…którzy szanują nasze suwerenne prawo, byśmy…rozwiązywali nasze polskie problemy*.
[They are solid partners…who respect our sovereign law …to let us solve our Polish problems]

(48) *Morderstwo to – stwierdził dalej generał – wyrządziło nam ogromną szkodę polityczną*
[This murder, the General later claimed, "caused us enormous political harm"]

10. Using nominalization structures, with such nouns as *wizyta* ("visit")*, spotkanie* ("meeting")*, spadek* ("drop"):

(49) *when they meet in Paris*
na spotkaniu paryskim
[at the meeting in Paris]

(50) Solidarity's senior adviser who was in London yesterday to meet Mrs Thatcher
jeden z głównych doradców 'Solidarności' - który złożył w Londynie wizytę Premierowi Wielkiej Brytanii Margaret Thatcher
[Solidarity's senior adviser who paid a visit to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Thatcher in London]

(51) This was the main reason why exports to the West had dropped
że jest to główna przyczyna spadku eksportu polskiego na Zachód
[that this was the main reason of the drop of Polish export to the West]

11. Using declarative expressions with negated verbs being indicators of modality:

(52) Western bankers are unlikely to take kindly
Bankierzy zachodni nie będą życzliwie nastawieni
[Western bankers will not be kindly disposed]

12. Introducing stylistically marked plurals to show negative phenomena, e.g.:

(53) uncertainty
wątpliwości

The examples quoted above for obvious reasons are only the most appealing ones and few in number. The idea was to show their correspondence with the features listed as typical of Newspeak. They do not represent each category of the characteristics mentioned due to the fact that the categories comprise an elaborate set representative of different periods of the communist rule and were applied in different degrees depending on the period. But the examples mentioned are numerous enough to observe a striking discipline in the choice of vocabulary and structures to satisfy the censorship apparatus. The observed features can only be attributed to the model of language imposed by the communist powers, disregarding the origin of the ST materials, as the original texts were subject to linguistic manipulation.

8. Conclusions

Bearing in mind all the facts stated about the preferred ideas and language in the texts produced during the period of totalitarian rule in Poland it must be concluded that the translations of foreign, especially independent, texts, are linguistically inscribed in the ideological perspective of communism. Due to the censorship requirements foreign texts resemble the ones originally produced by Polish authors, as forbidden contents are not allowed by censors and translators use the language of propaganda in as many aspects as possible to satisfy the censorship apparatus. The TL versions are dependent on the strategy of free translation or a functional option in a sense that the direct equivalent is often replaced with a technique included within the canon of censorship directives and requirements. All of this conforms the translated texts properly to the linguistic schemata of politically-oriented texts that were written in the times of the communist system in Poland.

What should also be taken into consideration is that linguistic manipulation of material presented in the present paper was just one method of intervention in the original texts. The first and most powerful way to suit the texts of Western articles to the requirements of the Polish communist authorities was to use common translational techniques. The contents of ST articles were often reduced, many parts were replaced, and numerous additions were introduced – sometimes to such a great extent that identification of the original texts is only possible due to the general topic and issue date, while sometimes the original author's name is given.

Those techniques, allowing for incorporation into the translations of individual ideas of Polish translators, contributed to even greater manipulation, as more Newspeak principles could be introduced when translators were not restricted by the structures of original texts.

All this indicates that even texts translated from Western press, if they were published, gave no independent views on the situation in Poland under communist rule, and the fact of their publication was itself a way to manipulate the public by showing the correspondence of topics, attitudes and opinions between the communist rulers in the country and the representatives of a different political bloc.

References

Álvarez, Román and M. Carmen-Á frica Vidal. 1996. *Translation, Power, Subversion.* Clevedon, Philadelphia, Adelaide: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Álvarez, Román and M. Carmen-Á frica Vidal. 1996. Translating: A Political Act. In Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-Á frica Vidal (eds.), *Translation, Power, Subversion*, 1-9. Clevedon, Philadelphia, Adelaide: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Bates, John M. 2004. From State Monopoly to a Free Market of Ideas? Censorship in Poland, 1976–1989. In Beate Müller (ed.), *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*, 141-167. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Blass, Regina. 2005. Manipulation in the Speeches and Writings of Hitler and the NSDAP from a Relevance Theoretic Point of View. In Louis de Saussure and Peter J. Schulz (eds.), *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century. Discourse, Language, Mind, 169-190*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Borkowski, Igor. 2003. *Świt wolnego słowa. Język propagandy politycznej 1981-1995*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Bralczyk, Jerzy. 2003. *O języku polskiej polityki lat osiemdziesiątych i dziewięćdziesiątych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio.

Bralczyk, Jerzy. 2007. O języku polskiej propagandy politycznej lat siedemdziesiątych. In Jerzy Bralczyk (ed.), *O języku propagandy i polityki*, 11-225. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio.

Calzada Pérez, Maria. 2003. *Apropos of Ideology*. Manchester: St. Jerome.

Fras, Janina. 2005. *Komunikacja polityczna. Wybrane zagadnienia gatunków i języka wypowiedzi.* Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Głowiński, Michał. 2009. *Nowomowa i ciągi dalsze; szkice dawne i nowe*. Kraków: Universitas.

Górniak, Teresa, and Barbara Saletra. 2012. Cenzura w polskich bibliotekach naukowych w latach 1945-1989 na przykładzie Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. In Dorota Degen and Marcin Żynda (eds.), *Nie po myśli władzy. Studia nad cenzurą i zakresem wolności słowa na ziemiach polskich od wieku XIX do czasów współczesnych*, 263-279. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

Hermans, Theo (ed.). 1985. *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*. London&Sydney: Croom Helm.

Lefevere, Andre. 1981. Translated Literature: Towards an Integrated Theory. *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association* Vol. 14, No. 1. 68-78.

Lefevere, Andre. 1992. *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame.* London and New York: Routledge.

Saussure, Louis de and Peter J. Schulz (eds.). 2005. *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century. Discourse, Language, Mind.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sperber, Dan and Deirdre Wilson. 1986/1995. *Relevance. Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Strzyżewski, Tomasz. 1977. *Czarna księga cenzury PRL*. London: Aneks.

Taillard, Marie-Odile. 2000. Persuasive Communication: The Case of Marketing. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 12. 145-174.

Wilson, Deirdre and Dan Sperber. 2004. Relevance Theory. In Laurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward (eds.), *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, 607-632. Oxford: Blackwell.