

University of Nevada, Reno

Framing First Year Writing
The Conceptual Metaphor of Journey and the Advanced Placement Program

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English

by

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Abstract:

Each year, over a tenth of the students entering an institution of higher education in the United States earn a score on an Advanced Placement English exam that could potentially exempt them from any FYW requirement. Despite the AP program's major role in introducing college students to the practice of academic writing, composition scholars largely ignore the topic. This study aims to fill this void by critically studying the AP English program and the way colleges and universities present the program to prospective students. The study begins with a review of scholarship concerning the AP English program, which is followed by an extended comparison of the objectives described in the AP English Program Goals with those listed in the WPA's Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition. With the difference between the objectives of the AP English Program and the WPA established, attention turns to the way colleges and universities present information regarding AP test scores to prospective students. Specifically, this study uses corpus-based discourse analysis methods and Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor to examine patterns in the use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in college and university policy statements regarding AP scores. The data shows that EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors are used in distinct forms that present introductory course-work, such as courses offered by FYW programs, as little more than obstacles to pass in pursuit of a degree. This data is then used to argue that in using such metaphorical language, colleges and universities promote this courses-as-obstacles perspective, and, in the process, embrace the objectives of the AP program while demeaning their own product, service, and mission.

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Chapter I. The Advanced Placement Exam and Standardized Testing

Introduction:

The Advanced Placement program, run by The College Board with exams administered by testing-giant Educational Testing Services (ETS), first offered exams in 1956. That year, 1,229 students from 104 high schools participated. These students went on to 130 different colleges. In 2004, over 1.1 million students from 14,904 high schools took the exam, and, that fall, enrolled in 3,558 different colleges (Annual Advanced Placement Program Participation 1956-2008). The dramatic growth of this program continues today; in each of the past two years, the number of students taking an Advanced Placement exam has increased at an average rate of over 10 per cent (“School Report of Advanced Placement Examinations 2005-2006”).

The Advanced Placement program offers two exams in English, one in Language and Composition and another in Literature and Composition. In the spring of 2004, the College Board administered 438,007 of these two exams, 251,746 of which were taken by twelfth graders (“Number of Schools Offering Advanced Placement Courses”). In the fall of that same year, 2.63 million students entered a degree-granting institution of higher education in the United States (“Total first-time freshman fall enrollment in degree-granting institutions”). Thus, nearly ten per cent of this entering class had, less than four months earlier, taken an Advanced Placement English exam. More than an additional 150,000 members of this entering class had taken one of the exams a year prior to enrolling in college (“Program Summary Report 2004”). While most universities’ policies for accepting Advanced Placement scores for credit and exemption differ, the College Board-sponsored article

“Setting Credit and Placement Policy” states, “The American Council on Education (ACE), a national accrediting organization, recommends, as a general rule, that colleges and universities award credit for Advanced Placement grades of 3, 4, and 5 on any Advanced Placement Examination” (“Setting Credit and Placement Policy”). In the case of 2004, if all universities gave exemption to students who scored a three or higher in one of the Advanced Placement English exams, 271,022 students would not have to take a FYW course (“Student Grade Distributions, Advanced Placement Examinations - May 2004”).

The College Board and the federal government hope to see the growth of Advanced Placement programs continue. In a January 25, 2005 statement, Department of Education Secretary Margaret Spellings, after applauding the results of the *Advanced Placement Report to the Nation 2005*, states, “Still, we have much work to do, which is why the president, as part of his 2006 budget, plans to propose a 73 percent increase in funding for the Advanced Placement program authorized in the *No Child Left Behind Act*. This increased support will allow more students to experience the benefits of Advanced Placement classes and will upgrade the overall quality of a high school education” (Spellings). This proposed 2006 federal budget saw substantial cuts in Education funding. As is noted in the United States’ Office of Management and Budget report on the Department of Education, “The 2006 Budget proposes the termination of 48 programs, including many that the PART (Program Assessment Rating Tool) has shown to be ineffective (Even Start, Safe and Drug-Free Schools State Grants, and Vocational Education) and many that are unable to demonstrate results. In addition, funding for 16 programs will be reduced” (“Department of Education”). In the final budget, the Advanced Placement program, which was funded 24 million dollars

in 2004, was estimated to receive 30 million in 2005 and 52 million in 2006 (“Department of Education”).

The way in which the Advanced Placement program is connected to NCLB in Secretary Spellings’ statement and recent federal budgets highlight the values the two share. Both the Advanced Placement program and NCLB depend on high-stakes assessment and support individual initiative and choice. It is important to note, however, that while NCLB is resigned, at the moment, to pre-secondary levels, the Advanced Placement program has a direct influence on university-level education. While numerous university-level professional groups have formally denounced the NCLB Act, most notably, in the case of FYW programs, the National Council of Teachers of English (“NCLB Reform Recommendations From the National Council of Teachers of English”), universities appear complacent in regards to the Advanced Placement program. In fact, many universities’ stated policies for accepting Advanced Placement exam scores for credit and exemption suggests a general support for the program. These university statements of policy are only a portion of the large amount of texts directed at high school students concerning the Advanced Placement program and its relation to university-level work. Also part of this collection are official statements from the College Board and Educational Testing Services, the administering bodies of the exam, and the numerous test-preparation manuals.

For this project, I am interested in analyzing these texts for patterns of language that make either explicit or implicit evaluative statements concerning education, college, and, specifically, FYW requirements. To perform such an analysis, I will rely on the theory of conceptual metaphor and focus on applications of the metaphor of journey. In initial readings, I observed evidence that suggests texts concerning the Advanced Placement

program make use of the conceptual metaphor of journey in such a way that presents introductory course-work, such as courses offered by FYW programs, as an obstacle to get through, or past, in pursuit of an overall goal—which, in this case, is a degree. It is understandable, though still problematic, that the College Board and other private publications promote such a view as they have a large amount of money to gain by its acceptance. Referring to FYW as such an obstacle establishes a cognitive frame where companies that assist students in “avoiding” the obstacle are in a powerful position. When universities make use of language that employs this cognitive frame of FYW as an obstacle to overcome, they demean their own product, service, and mission.

To lay the foundation for this study, I will begin, with the first chapter, by providing a background of the Advanced Placement English program. This background will consist of a history of Educational Testing Services, the company that administers the exams, and move to an analysis of the current state of the Advanced Placement English program and the associated exams. These exams will be considered in relation to the Writing Program Administrators’ “Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition” in order to highlight similarities and differences of values in writing. The values promoted by the Advanced Placement English exams will then be considered in relation to various theories of education, all of which lead to the concept of portfolio assessment of writing and the benefits such an approach would have for the Advanced Placement English program.

Following the chapter on Advanced Placement and the programs in English will be another chapter devoted to laying a foundation – this one regarding the study of metaphor in its various forms. The overview will begin with a history of the study of metaphor that will then be used to structure an analysis of changes to the study brought forth by the advent of

the theory of conceptual metaphor. After introducing various aspects of the theory of conceptual metaphor, I will shift focus to introducing the approach I will use to study the conceptual metaphors that surround the Advanced Placement program – the Corpus-Aided Discourse Study.

In the third chapter, I will present a Corpus-Aided Discourse Study (CADS) employing both rhetorical and corpus-based methods to locate and determine the frequency of examples of conceptual metaphor of journey. For a second step, I will analyze these metaphors through the theoretical lens of conceptual metaphor to suggest the ways in which these metaphors might frame ways of perceiving First-Year Composition (FYC) programs. In considering this latter point, I will make use of theories of writing, development, and education to show how the Advanced Placement program and the process of granting credit and exemption counters research and goals that guide the practice of FYC programs.

Overall, this study will provide a critical examination of the language used to describe a university education. Such an examination will help FYC administrators and teachers better understand an overlooked component of FYC programs and conclude with suggestions for ways of making systematic improvements that will better reflect the FYC goals and practices.

The Advanced Placement Program and the Teaching and Assessment of Writing:

The sources used in this study come from a variety of disciplines that may be divided into two main categories: those that are associated with the Advanced Placement exams and the teaching and assessment of writing and those that concern the study of metaphor.

Whereas the next chapter is devoted to introducing applicable theories of metaphor and

reviewing the relevant literature on different approaches to studying metaphor, this chapter focuses on the Advanced Placement program and the teaching and assessment of writing. The goal of this section is to bring together a wide range of topics and ideas that will highlight the need for critical inquiry of the Advanced Placement program's role in English studies, including the language that is used to promote and describe it.

The topics and ideas to be considered may be divided into two broad categories. To begin, there is the scholarship surrounding the Advanced Placement exams in English, which is part of a larger body of work on the Advanced Placement exams in general, which is part of an even larger body of work on standardized testing. The second category consists of sources that highlight connections, or lack thereof, between Advanced Placement English courses and exams and college-level FYC programs. Sources include the *Advanced Placement English Course Description*, Course Requirements, the Writing Program Administrators' "Statement of Goals for First-Year Writing," and a sampling of texts concerning the teaching of critical thinking.

Section I: Advanced Placement Exams – History and Criticisms:

Introduction:

In an effort to better understand the Advanced Placement English exams, this section of the review will begin with a look at the writers and texts concerned with Educational Testing Services (ETS), the national testing agency that administers the SAT, GRE, and Advanced Placement exams. After considering ETS, the exams they administer, and the power both have in the current educational landscape, focus will shift to a more specific look

at the Advanced Placement English Literature and Composition and English Language and Composition programs with a summary of articles and studies relating to the Advanced Placement English program will be presented.

Educational Testing Services:

The most informative introduction to the history and broad influence of ETS is Nicholas Lemann's *The Big Test*, a trade book that examines the history of meritocracy in the United States. This analysis focuses on two narratives; the events that led to the 1994 California Civil Rights Initiative and the history and development of ETS and the associated growth of the testing movement. The early history of ETS revolves around Henry Chauncey, a Groton and Harvard-educated member of the New England aristocracy. With the aid of Harvard president James Bryant Conant, Chauncey led a coalition of Ivy League presidents that lobbied for a national testing agency. On January 1st, 1948 (65) ETS was founded and, soon after, granted contracts to create and administer a handful of aptitude tests.

The story of this founding offers insight into the goals and reasoning behind many of the company's current practices, including aspects of the Advanced Placement program. One such instance is the ways in which ETS performs and uses research. Lemann describes the teams of researchers working on ETS's Princeton, New Jersey campus: "The handful of people who had these jobs were not central to ETS operations, but they were central to the justification for it. The fees paid by test-takers were supposed to finance top-quality pure research into testing. The research was the reason ETS had nonprofit tax status and a near monopoly in some kinds of testing" (270-1). This structure was, at a very early point, seen as problematic by some of the leaders in the field of testing. Carl Brigham, the inventor the

SAT, opposed the new testing agency, and, in an article published in 1937, warned against “the incaution of testers (including himself, in his younger days),” and the fact that “any organization that owned the rights to a particular test would inevitably become more interested in promoting it than in honestly researching its effectiveness” (40). The potential conflict of interest that occurs when the company with the sole right to distribute the product is also the sole body responsible for researching the product is considerable, and the structure still exists today. James Vopat, in “The Politics of Advanced Placement,” calls this a “circle of self-interest,” structured to “justify the Advanced Placement test and Advanced Placement programs” (62).

Lemann addresses a second concern regarding the power and objectives of ETS in determining the fates of those subjected to their exams. Issues of social class and race are noted as first surfacing in 1951 when results of an ETS-run draft deferment exam showed a wide disparity in scores based on geographical, and, thus, economic and social class dispersion. Southerners, Lemann notes, saw only 42 percent make “the cutoff score of 70 on the draft test, as against 73 percent of New Englanders” (76). As a result, “the idea of a regional quota system, which would allow Southerners to win deferments with lower scores than Northerners, was bandied about” (76) at ETS, but, in the end, “Chauncey resisted that and pushed instead for keeping the truth about regional score disparities private” (76). Such an instance shows ETS confronted with data that did not serve the company’s best interests, and, for their own sake, choosing to bury it. This example highlights the way in which certain groups were, and may still be, ill-served by such exams, and ETS’s unwillingness to deal with the problem in a fair and transparent manner.

While Lemann considers some of the problems of ETS in the telling of the organization's history, it covers only a fraction of the questionable practices exposed by Allan Nairn in the Ralph Nader-funded *The Reign of ETS: The Corporation that Makes Up Minds*. As Nader notes in his preface, "Although this report acknowledges the broader educational and social institutions underpinning the testing apparatus of ETS, it aims, first, to lay the basis for the consumer perspective needed to examine the assumptions and consequences of contemporary standardized testing" (xvi). Before this report, information regarding ETS, if at all available, was shrouded in a psychometrician discourse that was often impenetrable to the test's consumers. As Lemann writes, "Nairn's central premise was that ETS, under a veneer of science, functioned as the opposite of a meritocratic force in American society. It provided an official way for people with money to pass on their status to their children" (227). To bring this "basis for the consumer perspective" out from the psychometrician discourse, Nairn covers a wide variety of issues. Lemann notes that the report "accused ETS of just about everything it could plausibly be accused of" (227), and this includes racial and class discrimination (197-219), ETS's non-profit status, the questionable use of data in justifying ETS exams and the restrictions of such data for outside-researchers (161-96), validity of tests in regards to predicting aptitude (55-82), issues of scoring and adjustment (153-7), the construct of "intelligence" (162-83), and eugenics (208-212).

While many of Nairn's claims regarding ETS relate to what was then considered their aptitude tests (i.e. SAT, LSAT, MCAT), there are certain topics that also concern ETS's Advanced Placement exams. One of the most important of these is the way in which preparing and/or practicing for the exam influences the score. ETS has claimed that such practicing and training—as offered by Kaplan courses, for instance—does not increase

scores. This is an important stance for ETS to take because if such courses were proven to aid in increasing scores, the validity of the exams that are supposed to test aptitude would be put into question. Furthermore, the access to such courses is often closely related to economic class. If such classes were proven to improve performance, it would mean that a higher score could be bought, giving students from wealthy families an advantage. ETS researcher Dr. Lewis Pike, in relation to the importance of test-taking strategies, “reported the suggestion of ETS researcher Dr. Frederic Lord who wrote in 1975 that ‘it may be time for children in school to be taught how to behave effectively when taking a test’” (95). But, as Nairn notes, “In contrast to the internal statements of Kroll and Pike on the importance of test-wiseness, ETS’s public position on coaching” continued to be “vigorous opposition” (96).

ETS and the Advanced Placement English Exams:

While Lemann and Nairn provide a broad background of ETS and the organization’s practices, outside of the occasional reference—often in conjunction with other testing programs, these two texts do not offer much consideration of the Advanced Placement program. For this more specified consideration, Olson, Metzger, and Ashton-Jones’ *Advanced Placement English: Theory, Politics, and Pedagogy* provides a thorough and critical examination of the role of the Advanced Placement English courses, exams, and views of writing. The eleven chapters of this book cover topics ranging from how to teach an Advanced Placement course to problems with evaluating writing in Advanced Placement English exams. While the book, published in 1989, is dated, it remains the most comprehensive collection of work on the topic of the Advanced Placement English program, and continues to be cited in scholarship on the topic. As is noted in the book’s preface, “no

comprehensive scholarly examination of the program has yet been published” (vii), and, outside of this exception, that remains to be the case. The chapters from *Advanced Placement English: Theory, Politics, and Pedagogy* presented in this literature review concern issues that are applicable to not only the Advanced Placement English program today, but also to the possible disconnects between Advanced Placement English and the FYW courses they so often replace.

James Vopat’s “The Politics of Advanced Placement English” has the widest scope of all the chapters in *Advanced Placement English: Theory, Politics, and Pedagogy*. Vopat identifies and discusses eleven “political issues” associated with the Advanced Placement English Exams that serve as an introduction to the criticisms leveled against these specific exams. Some of these criticisms reiterate points made by Lemann and Nairn, such as Vopat’s claim that ETS is “probably the most powerful unregulated monopoly in America” (53), the fact that students from “higher income families and from schools where testing is a way of life” perform better on exams (53), and the pressures on teachers “to coach rather than teach” (57). While these concerns link Lemann and Nairn’s work on standardized testing and ETS to the Advanced Placement program, Vopat covers other political issues that are more specifically related to the Advanced Placement English program.

The first of these more English-specific issues deals with the questions asked on the Advanced Placement English exams. After analyzing an example of a multiple-choice question, Vopat wonders if such a question is “really what most freshman English curricula are about” (55). Vopat also notes problems with the essay questions. Vopat writes, after analyzing one of these questions, that the answer “is obviously going to be a five-paragraph theme” (56) and fails to promote individual thought, direction, and organizational principles.

Vopat summarizes this by noting, “the guidelines of AP essay questions are written in such a way that students are directly discouraged from writing and thinking for themselves” (56).

Other Advanced Placement English-specific problems Vopat brings forth include the fact that the two examinations have “perhaps the highest candidate success rates of any large-scale test in history” (58) and that “Even the Advanced Placement English candidate achieving the unqualified ‘qualified’ score of 3 will have missed half of the multiple-choice answers and written an essay formally defined as lacking in detail, support, and appropriate focus” (58). Vopat then notes problems associated with the exemption process and the money involved. According to Vopat, if the prospect of receiving college credit were taken away “the program would dismantle itself because the primary motivation of students is not the opportunities for advanced learning, but the credits” (62). The interest in credits is, according to Vopat, closely linked to money: “Not surprisingly, the promotional materials for the Advanced Placement stress the economic incentive as much as academic enrichment” (62).

Other chapters from *Advanced Placement English* maintain a more focused approach as they cover certain aspects of the courses and exams. John Iorio, in his “Preparing Students for the AP Examination,” addresses “the pernicious effects of focusing on the test in AP courses” (142). Iorio argues that “teaching for the test is reductive, self-defeating, and ultimately a betrayal of educational integrity and student development” (143). Holladay considers similar issues in her chapter, “AP and the Problems of Testing,” where she writes, “Current procedures in AP testing raise serious questions about the intent and the credibility of the program for exemption from college courses” (80). The work of both Iorio and Holladay will be considered at greater length in the section concerned with broader issues of

assessment, but it is important to note that the way Advanced Placement English exam scores are calculated, and what these scores are used for, are contested issues.

A more recent and heavily researched look at the Advanced Placement English exams is found in Hansen, et al.'s "Are Advanced Placement English and First-Year College Composition Equivalent? A Comparison of Outcomes in the Writing of Three Groups of Sophomore College Students" from the May 2006 edition of *Research in the Teaching of English*. Guided by the question of "what an Advanced Placement English test score means in relation to the curricular and educational goals in writing established by our institution" (464), the article presents a significant case against the practice of exempting students from, and giving credit for, FYC requirements. In their investigation and answering of this question, Hansen, et al. also provide a thorough background of current Advanced Placement English practices.

The results of the Hansen, et al. study show that "students receiving AP English credit and completing a first-year composition course (AP+FYC) had mean scores one full point higher on the nine-point scale than either of the other two groups on the nine point scale" (478). The students who took just the Advanced Placement English course or just the FYC course "were not statistically distinguishable from each other" (478). When the researchers looked at student scores on the Advanced Placement exam, their analysis showed "that students who score a 3 on the AP exam and bypassed FYC scored the lowest of all groups" (479). These results lead the researchers to three conclusions. First, "the outcomes produced by the high school AP experience are roughly parallel to those produced by taking a first-year composition course" (484) and, second, that in both, "the standards were not satisfactory" (484). This leads to the third and final claim: "Since both AP and FYC are

meant to give students instruction in general writing skills that prepare them to perform well in subsequent writing tasks, we must conclude that one share of general writing skills instruction seems not to be very effective” (483).

The conclusions of Hansen et al. support some more general statements they make in regards to the Advanced Placement English program and its influence. According to these researchers, “it seems ironic that one reason education, business, and government leaders may be unhappy with the writing abilities of students is that the College Board has long promoted AP English exams as a way of testing out of writing courses in college” (462). Because of the Advanced Placement program’s role in aiding students in testing out of FYC courses, it is important to consider the ways in which the Advanced Placement English program relates to work done in FYC programs. Such a consideration will be made in the following section.

Section II: The Advanced Placement English Exams

Introduction:

In this section, attention turns to the actual Advanced Placement English exams in an effort to clarify how they relate, and in some instances do not relate, to the work done in college-level FYC courses. To address the Advanced Placement English exams, two sources will be used. The first is the *English Course Description*, a 79 page document that introduces the Advanced Placement program in general, provides an overview of the English portion of the program, and then moves to a more focused consideration of each individual Advanced Placement English program – English Language and Composition and English Literature and Composition. In a section for each exam, the course is introduced, the goals are described,

and then a sample exam is provided. This *English Course Description* is for the Advanced Placement exam periods of 2009 and 2010. The second source used to consider the Advanced Placement English exams is the “English Literature and Composition Course Requirements” from the College Board’s AP Central website. This source supplements the *English Course Description*’s explanation of the goals of Literature and Composition course. To address the work done in college-level first-year writing courses, the Council of Writing Program Administrators’ “WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition”¹ will be used.

The Advanced Placement English Course Description:

The College Board does not mandate a set curriculum for any Advanced Placement course. In fact, it is not required that students take the corresponding course before taking an Advanced Placement exam (*English Course Description* 1). Despite the lack of a set curriculum, the College Board strives to make sure that all Advanced Placement courses reflect the work done in the college-level courses they are meant to replace. According to the College Board, “College level equivalency is ensured through several AP program processes” (*English Course Description* 3). The first step in this process is that college faculty are involved in “course and exam development” (*English Course Description* 3) in the form of developing course descriptions and exams, setting standards of evaluation, aiding in the professional development of Advanced Placement teachers, and auditing the syllabi of AP teachers (*English Course Description* 3). Second, “AP courses and exams are reviewed and updated regularly based on the results of curriculum surveys at up to 200 colleges and

¹ See Appendix I

universities, collaborations among the College Board and key educational and disciplinary organizations, and the interactions of committee members with professional organizations in their discipline” (*English Course Description 4*). And third, “Periodic college comparability studies are undertaken in which the performance of college students on AP Exams is compared with that of AP students to confirm that the AP grade scale of 1 to 5 is properly aligned with current college standards” (*English Course Description 4*). The College Board’s oversight is meant to ensure that any course labeled “Advanced Placement” meets the expectations set by the course’s development committee. When it is decided that a curriculum does not meet these course goals, the title of “Advanced Placement” cannot be used – though students are allowed to take the exam and, with an adequate score, qualify for exemption from and credit for college-level course work.

While the process of oversight described above is the same for all thirty-seven Advanced Placement programs, the subject of English raises unique challenges for the Advanced Placement program. To begin, even describing the FYC course or sequence of courses that the Advanced Placement English courses are meant to replace is complicated. And complications increase when it comes to designing exams that reflect the objectives and goals of these courses. The challenges result from the fact that there is no uniform approach to teaching FYC courses taken by all colleges and universities. Throughout the United States, FYC courses are taught in a variety of ways, and focus on a variety of goals. The College Board’s *English Course Description* notes the difficulty of designing an Advanced Placement curriculum that aligns with the FYC courses. The *Course Description* states, “In English, the task of describing the representative introductory course or courses and of assessing student’s achievements in comparable high school courses is a complex one, for

curricula and instruction vary widely across the discipline” (5). In response to this complexity, the Advanced Placement English program’s *Course Description* summarizes three common approaches taken by FYC programs. First is a composition course where “Students read a variety of texts and [are] taught basic elements of rhetoric” (5). Second is a sequence of courses where a one-semester course in composition is “followed by another semester course that offers additional instruction in argumentation and teaches the skills of synthesizing, summarizing, paraphrasing, quoting, and citing secondary source material” (6). The third is another sequence of courses where a composition course is followed by “an introduction to literature course in which they read and write about poetry, drama, and fiction” (6). For each of these three approaches, the College Board recommends, to the students seeking and the universities offering exemption, which Advanced Placement English exam, or combination of the two, coincides with each type of FYC program.

The *Course Description* of the Advanced Placement English courses makes the argument that, with the combination of the English Language and Composition and English Literature and Composition courses, any FYC program may be replaced if students “read carefully the placement and credit policies published by the college they expect to attend in order to determine what credit they might expect, and therefore which exam would be most useful for them to take” (6). There is, however, a crucial element of the Advanced Placement program, and, in particular, the Advanced Placement English courses, that puts the potential for adequate course replacement in jeopardy. The concern is that descriptions of the Advanced Placement courses are only recommendations. While the presence of the list of expected outcomes of each Advanced Placement course, paired with the Advanced Placement Audit system, helps to ensure that these recommendations are followed, the

influence of the Advanced Placement exam that takes place at the end of the academic year is, at best, understated. Of the Advanced Placement exam for the English Language and Composition course, the *Course Description* states:

Yearly, the AP English Language Development Committee prepares a three-hour exam that gives students the opportunity to demonstrate their mastery of the skills and abilities previously described. The AP English Language and Composition Exam employs multiple-choice questions to test the students' skills in analyzing the rhetoric of prose passages. Students are also asked to write several essays that demonstrate the skills they have learned in the course. (13)

The description of this exam, with its emphasis on timed writing assignments and multiple-choice questions, does not reflect the work done in the three versions of college-level FYC courses described in the *Course Description*. There is also a gap between the list of expected outcomes for the Advanced Placement English courses that are meant to guide teachers and what is actually tested at the end of the academic year.

The Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition:

To help clarify the range of FYC courses and, subsequently, the way in which these courses relate to the Advanced Placement English program, the Council of Writing Program Administrators' (WPA) "WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition" will be consulted. The Council of Writing Program Administrators adopted the "Outcomes Statement" in 2000. The Outcomes Statement was developed over the course of four years, starting with an Outcomes Forum at the 1997 Conference for College Composition and Communication and culminating with publication in *College English* in January 2001.

In the following section, the Advanced Placement Program's expected outcomes for the English Language and Composition² and the curricular requirements for English Literature and Composition³ will be examined in relation to the "WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition." Following the comparison of the Advanced Placement program's expected outcomes and curricular requirements with the WPA statement of outcomes, both outcomes statements and the one list of curricular requirements will be considered in relation to the means of assessment used in the two Advanced Placement English exams.

Comparison of Advanced Placement English Program Goals with WPA Statement of Outcomes:

Both the College Board, when designing their Advanced Placement English programs, and the Council of Writing Program Administrators, when compiling their Statement of Outcomes, had to account for the myriad approaches that are taken to teach FYC. In order to consider the three statements in relation to each other, I will use the WPA statement as an organizing entity, comparing the two Advanced Placement statements to each of the five categories defined by the WPA. Each of these five comparisons will then be considered in relation to the Advanced Placement Program's means of assessment as described in the Advanced Placement Programs' *English Course Description*.

Rhetorical Knowledge:

² See Appendix II

³ See Appendix III

The first category considered in the WPA “Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” is Rhetorical Knowledge. When a student completes the FYC requirement, he or she should, according to the WPA, be able to use this rhetorical knowledge to do the following:

- Focus on a purpose
- Respond to the needs of different audiences
- Respond appropriately to different kinds of rhetorical situations
- Use conventions of format and structure appropriate to the rhetorical situation
- Adopt appropriate voice, tone, and level of formality
- Understand how genres shape reading and writing
- Write in several genres

(“WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition”)

Both Advanced Placement English courses, to various extents, emphasize similar goals regarding rhetorical knowledge in their statement of outcomes and curricular guide. To begin, consider the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course, where, according to the statement of outcomes, students should be able to:

- analyze and interpret samples of good writing, identifying and explaining an author’s use of rhetorical strategies and techniques;
- apply effective strategies and techniques in their own writing;
- demonstrate understanding and mastery of standard written English as well as stylistic maturity in their own writings;
- write for a variety of purposes;
- revise a work to make it suitable for a different audience (11)

These two lists have much in common. Both emphasize purpose and audience awareness and using this awareness to make sound choices as writers. In addition, the Language and Composition course's emphasis on "standard written English" aligns, though somewhat narrowly, with the WPA's emphasis on using the appropriate "level of formality." The WPA's call for students to "understand how genres shape reading and writing" is not found in the Advanced Placement's outcomes, though the "samples of good writing" to which the Advanced Placement outcomes refer *could* relate to "multiple genres." It is, in fact, the WPA's emphasis on genre (the understanding of and ability to write in) that represents the main difference between the two.

The Advanced Placement Literature and Composition course's curriculum guidelines offer a different emphasis in regards to rhetorical knowledge. The following are the components of the course requirements that relate to rhetorical knowledge:

The AP teacher provides instruction and feedback on students' writing assignments, both before and after the students revise their work, that help the students develop:

- A wide-ranging vocabulary used appropriately and effectively
- A variety of sentence structures, including appropriate use of subordination and coordination
- Logical organization, enhanced by specific techniques to increase coherence, such as repetition, transitions, and emphasis
- A balance of generalization and specific, illustrative detail
- An effective use of rhetoric, including controlling tone, establishing and maintaining voice, and achieving appropriate emphasis through diction and sentence structure ("English Literature and Composition Course

Requirements”)

The Advanced Placement Literature and Composition curriculum guidelines do not emphasize multiple genres. The list assumes there is a correct way to use sentences, vocabulary, detail, tone, voice, and emphasis in writing, and that “specific techniques” can be used to achieve “logical organization.” Whereas both the WPA and Advanced Placement Language and Composition outcomes emphasize variety in purpose and the role of audience in writing, the Advanced Placement Literature and Composition curriculum promotes a view where “correct” choices can be just that, correct or incorrect, despite the genre and audience. Such a perspective suggests that a single genre is promoted in the class. While rhetorical knowledge is achieved, to an extent, through a thorough understanding of the conventions of a single genre, such knowledge does not meet the breadth suggested in the WPA statement.

Critical Thinking, Reading, and Writing:

The second category considered in the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” is Critical Thinking, Reading, and Writing. The WPA’s expected outcomes for this category state that students should be able to:

- Use writing and reading for inquiry, learning, thinking, and communicating
- Understand a writing assignment as a series of tasks, including finding, evaluating, analyzing, and synthesizing appropriate primary and secondary sources
- Integrate their own ideas with those of others
- Understand the relationships among language, knowledge, and power

(“WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition”)

The statement of outcomes and course curriculum for the Advanced Placement English

courses shows less of an emphasis on critical thinking, reading, and writing. First, consider the components of the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course's statement of outcomes that relate to the topic of critical thinking, reading, and writing. According to this statement, students should be able to:

- create and sustain arguments based on readings, research, and/or personal experience;
- produce expository, analytical, and argumentative compositions that introduce a complex central idea and develop it with appropriate evidence drawn from primary and/or secondary sources, cogent explanations, and clear transitions;
- analyze image as text
- evaluate and incorporate reference documents into researched papers (*English Course Description* 11)

In comparing the two statements of outcomes, one similarity is noted: both emphasize the importance of research and use of sources. The WPA statement states that students should have skill in “analyzing, and synthesizing appropriate primary and secondary sources” and be able to “Integrate their own ideas with those of others.” The Advanced Placement Language and Composition statement of outcomes states that students should be able to “evaluate and incorporate reference documents into researched papers.” As for expository, analytical, and argumentative papers, students should use “appropriate evidence drawn from primary and/or secondary sources, cogent explanations, and clear transitions.” While it is clear that both statements of outcomes value research and the inclusion of a variety of sources, the two emphasize different uses of research and sources. The WPA prioritizes students “synthesizing” not only sources, but also “their own ideas.” The priorities of the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course focus more on using research

appropriately as determined by the conventions of the research paper and expository, analytical, and argumentative composition. Integrating research with the student's own ideas is not prioritized, a fact highlighted by the use of the slash in the following objective: "create and sustain arguments based on readings, research, and/or personal experience." Suggested here is the idea that the personal can be used, and it can be intertwined with reading and research, but it is not necessary.

While both statements of outcomes share a concern for students finding and integrating sources, there are many areas where the two differ. For instance, the Advanced Placement's Language and Composition course prioritizes analyzing images as texts, while the WPA statement makes no mention of the visual. Conversely, the WPA statement asks that students "Understand the relationships among language, knowledge, and power," while the Advanced Placement statement does not explicitly reference the role of power. The most interesting disparity in the two lists, though, relates to the concept of writing to learn. The WPA statement states that students should "Use writing and reading for inquiry, learning, thinking, and communicating." According to Langer and Applebee, the act of writing is, in itself, an act of critical thought. The outcomes statement for the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course does not emphasize writing's role in learning. Rather, the Language and Composition outcomes statement emphasizes particular forms (e.g. research, expository, analytical, and argumentative papers) and the importance of meeting the expectations with which each form is associated. The difference between these outcomes highlights the way in which writing's role in critical thought is perceived. For the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course, writing is presented as a way of showing critical thought. In the WPA statement, writing is a way of engaging in critical thought.

The curriculum guidelines for Advanced Placement Literature and Composition place less emphasis on critical thought in comparison to the Language and Composition course. The extent of the course's focus on developing critical thinking, reading, and writing skills is defined in the following excerpt from the curriculum guidelines:

The course teaches students to write an interpretation of a piece of literature that is based on a careful observation of textual details, considering the work's:

- Structure, style, and themes
- The social and historical values it reflects and embodies
- Such elements as the use of figurative language, imagery, symbolism, and tone
- Writing to understand: Informal, exploratory writing activities that enable students to discover what they think in the process of writing about their reading (such assignments could include annotation, freewriting, keeping a reading journal, and response/reaction papers)
- Writing to explain: Expository, analytical essays in which students draw upon textual details to develop an extended explanation/interpretation of the meanings of a literary text
- Writing to evaluate: Analytical, argumentative essays in which students draw upon textual details to make and explain judgments about a work's artistry and quality, and its social and cultural values

("English Literature and Composition Course Requirements")

The connections between this curriculum guideline and the WPA statement of outcomes regarding critical thinking, reading, and writing are substantial, though they do

focus on the specific act of reading, thinking, and writing critically about literary texts – which is not a surprise, considering the course’s focus on literature.

The most important connection between the Advanced Placement Literature and Language curriculum guideline and the “WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition” is the emphasis on writing to learn. The curriculum guidelines explains that the course is meant to teach students how to use “Writing to understand” in the form of “informal, exploratory writing activities that enable students to discover what they think in the process of writing about their reading.” This goal coincides with the WPA’s emphasis on using “writing and reading for inquiry” and hints at the WPA’s call for students to “Understand the relationships among language, knowledge, and power” by highlighting the enabling qualities of writing. The interplay between language, knowledge and power is also suggested by the Literature and Language courses’ call for teaching students how to use writing to evaluate a literary text’s “social and cultural values.” While the emphasis the Literature and Language course places on the connection between language, knowledge, and power is not nearly as explicit as that found in the WPA statement, it goes further than the statement of outcomes from the Language and Composition course.

Processes:

The third category considered in the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” focuses on Processes. The WPA’s expected outcomes for this category state that students should:

- Be aware that it usually takes multiple drafts to create and complete a successful text
- Develop flexible strategies for generating, revising, editing, and proof-reading

- Understand writing as an open process that permits writers to use later invention and re-thinking to revise their work
- Understand the collaborative and social aspects of writing processes
- Learn to critique their own and others' works
- Learn to balance the advantages of relying on others with the responsibility of doing their part
- Use a variety of technologies to address a range of audiences

(“WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition”)

The Advanced Placement Language and Composition course has similar objectives regarding process, as seen in the following goals for the course, which state that students should:

- move effectively through the stages of the writing process, with careful attention to inquiry and research, drafting, revising, editing, and review
- write thoughtfully about their own process of composition;
- revise a work to make it suitable for a different audience (*English Course Description* 11).

Connecting these two statements of outcomes is an acknowledgement that writing is a recursive activity. The WPA statement describes “writing as an open process” while the Advanced Placement Language and Composition statement references the “stages of the writing process.” Both emphasize the importance of revising, editing, and proof-reading.

Despite the shared emphasis on process, the two statements of outcomes do present different objectives regarding the process of writing. To begin, the WPA statement makes much of collaboration and its relation to the process of writing. Of the seven objectives listed under Processes, three relate to the collaborative nature of writing, including learning how to

critique the work of “others” and to understand the balance between “relying on others” and one’s self when writing. While the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course does not focus on collaboration, it does emphasize another form of reflective thought by asking students to “write thoughtfully about their own process of composition.” While the WPA statement asks that students “learn to critique their own” work, along with that of others’, the reflection encouraged by the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course is focused entirely on the process.

There is much less value placed on the process of writing in the Advanced Placement Language and Literature course’s curriculum guidelines compared to the WPA and Advanced Placement Language and Composition statements of outcomes. The Language and Literature guidelines describes a course that “includes frequent opportunities for students to write and rewrite formal, extended analyses and timed, in-class responses” (“English Literature and Composition Course Requirements”). Furthermore, as noted in the previous section, the course requires “Informal, exploratory writing activities that enable students to discover what they think in the process of writing about their reading (such assignments could include annotation, freewriting, keeping a reading journal, and response/reaction papers)” (“English Literature and Composition Course Requirements”). In these two statements, a process of writing is suggested in noting the opportunity to “rewrite,” and directly referencing the “the process of writing,” but what this process entails is not described beyond the “exploratory writing activities.” There are clues concerning what this process is in the description of how teachers should respond to student work. The curriculum guidelines state:

The AP teacher provides instruction and feedback on students' writing assignments, both before and after the students revise their work, that help the students develop:

- A wide-ranging vocabulary used appropriately and effectively
- A variety of sentence structures, including appropriate use of subordination and coordination
- Logical organization, enhanced by specific techniques to increase coherence, such as repetition, transitions, and emphasis
- A balance of generalization and specific, illustrative detail
- An effective use of rhetoric, including controlling tone, establishing and maintaining voice, and achieving appropriate emphasis through diction and sentence structure (“English Literature and Composition Course Requirements”)

The inclusion of “both before and after the students revise their work” in this statement again emphasizes a process approach to writing, as well as the teacher’s role in it. That said, the subsequent list of ways in which teacher feedback should help students makes it clear that the aforementioned “process of writing” and “re-writing” in which students engage is different from the process described in the WPA statement of outcomes. The WPA statement emphasizes “writing as an open process” where students are encouraged to “use later invention and re-thinking to revise their work.” The Language and Literature course, on the other hand, minimizes the importance of re-conceptualizing an idea in the process of writing by focusing on such sentence-level writing concerns as “wide-ranging vocabulary,” “variety of sentence structures,” “tone,” “voice,” and “diction.”

Knowledge Conventions:

The fourth category of the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” concerns Knowledge Conventions. The outcomes state that, by the end of first year composition, students should:

- Learn common formats for different kinds of texts
- Develop knowledge of genre conventions ranging from structure and paragraphing to tone and mechanics
- Practice appropriate means of documenting their work
- Control such surface features as syntax, grammar, punctuation, and spelling (“WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition”)

These outcomes can be divided into three sub-categories: awareness of values of different genres, awareness of rules of documentation, and awareness of sentence-level expectations.

All three sub-categories are accounted for in the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course statement of outcomes. An awareness of values found in different genres is encouraged by the outcome that states students should be able to “analyze and interpret samples of good writing, identifying and explaining an author’s use of rhetorical strategies and techniques.” While the term *genre* is not used in this outcome, a variety of types of writing is suggested by the lack of any additional descriptor with “good writing” and the emphasis on “rhetorical strategies,” which entails a rhetorical awareness that is required when a variety of genres are concerned.

The importance of citation and sentence-level correctness is also emphasized in the *English Course Description’s* section on the Language and Composition course. This section

explicitly states that students should “demonstrate understanding of the conventions of citing primary and secondary sources” (11). Furthermore, another outcome asks that students be able to “evaluate and incorporate reference documents into researched papers” (11). As incorporating such reference documents into research papers involves citation, this outcome also relates to the WPA’s goal of practicing “appropriate means of documenting.” The last of the three sub-categories, awareness of sentence-level expectations, is clearly supported by the goals listed in Language and Composition course section of the *English Course Description*. These goals state that students should “demonstrate understanding and mastery of standard written English as well as stylistic maturity in their own writings” (11).

Of the five categories presented in the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition,” the expectations involving Knowledge Conventions are echoed most closely in the *English Course Description’s* section on the goals of Advanced Placement Language and Composition course. No aspect of the WPA Statement’s outcomes concerning Knowledge Conventions is missing in the goals of the Language and Composition course.

The connections between the WPA Statement of Outcomes and the Advanced Placement Language and Literature course are not as strong. This course, as described by its curriculum guidelines, seems to emphasize the knowledge conventions solely associated with literary analysis writing. Because of this specific focus, the outcomes from the WPA Statement that emphasize an understanding of different sorts of texts, as highlighted by the call for students to “Learn common formats for different kinds of texts” and “Develop knowledge of genre conventions ranging from structure and paragraphing to tone and mechanics,” are not fully promoted. In the Language and Literature course’s curriculum guidelines, these outcomes are encouraged, but only for the specific genre of writing about

literary texts.

To begin, consider the WPA Statement's outcome regarding learning "common formats for different kinds of texts." This outcome is encouraged, in its limited way, by the Language and Literature course when its curriculum guidelines clarify the three kinds of writing to be done in the class. The first, "Writing to Understand," is meant to "enable students to discover what they think in the process of writing about their reading" ("English Literature and Composition Course Requirements"). Once students make this discovery, the class emphasizes two styles of writing, each with specific traits. First, there is "writing to explain," which is described as "Expository, analytical essays in which students draw upon textual details to develop an extended explanation/interpretation of the meanings of a literary text" ("English Literature and Composition Course Requirements"). Second is "writing to evaluate," which entails "Analytical, argumentative essays in which students draw upon textual details to make and explain judgments about a work's artistry and quality, and its social and cultural values" ("English Literature and Composition Course Requirements"). "Writing to explain" and "Writing to analyze" are the two sorts of writing that Advanced Placement Language and Literature students will do for an audience beyond themselves, and the expectations of these genres are made clear in their description. In this sense, the "common formats," as described in the WPA Statement, are taught, but the WPA Statement's emphasis on "different kinds of texts" is not fulfilled.

The same may be said for the Language and Literature course's approach to the WPA Statement's outcome concerning students' ability to "Control such surface features as syntax, grammar, punctuation, and spelling." While this outcome, compared to others, is not as genre-specific, the Language and Literature course's curriculum guidelines offers a thorough

description of the sentence-level writing skills that the course should encourage and impart.

These skills are as follows:

- A wide-ranging vocabulary used appropriately and effectively
- A variety of sentence structures, including appropriate use of subordination and coordination
- Logical organization, enhanced by specific techniques to increase coherence, such as repetition, transitions, and emphasis
- A balance of generalization and specific, illustrative detail
- An effective use of rhetoric, including controlling tone, establishing and maintaining voice, and achieving appropriate emphasis through diction and sentence structure (“English Literature and Composition Course Requirements”)

While many of these sentence-level skills may apply to various sorts of writing genres, the focus on the writing of literary analysis is suggested. For instance, using vocabulary “appropriately and effectively” is determined by genre, so when the curriculum guidelines state that the Language and Literature course will teach this, what is being taught is how to use appropriate and effective vocabulary *when writing a literary analysis*. The same may be said about the Language and Literature’s focus on “logical organization” and “effective use of rhetoric.” Achieving success in both is determined, in large part, by genre conventions. Because the Language and Literature course teaches students to write literary analyses, the knowledge conventions it promotes are limited to the genre of literary analysis. Because of the Language and Literature exam’s emphasis on this single genre, the WPA Statement’s outcomes concerning Knowledge Conventions that emphasize awareness of and experience

with “different kinds of texts” and “knowledge of genre conventions” are not met.

Composing in Electronic Environments:

The fifth and final category of the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” focuses on Composing in Electronic Environments. Of this topic, the WPA Statement notes that “writing in the 21st-century involves the use of digital technologies for several purposes, from drafting to peer reviewing to editing. Therefore, although the *kinds* of composing processes and texts expected from students vary across programs and institutions, there are nonetheless common expectations” (“WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition”). According to the WPA, the “common expectations” of students after completing First-Year Composition include being able to do the following:

- Use electronic environments for drafting, reviewing, revising, editing, and sharing texts
- Locate, evaluate, organize, and use research material collected from electronic sources, including scholarly library databases; other official databases (e.g., federal government databases); and informal electronic networks and internet sources
- Understand and exploit the differences in the rhetorical strategies and in the affordances available for both print and electronic composing processes and texts (“WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition”)

Neither of the Advanced Placement English courses make note of electronic environments, nor do they reference anything that could be interpreted as such. For instance, the Language and Composition course’s statement of goals references students’ ability to

“apply effective strategies and techniques in their own writing” (*English Course Description* 11). While this goal shares similarities with understanding and exploiting “the differences in the rhetorical strategies” as described in the WPA Statement, the lack of any emphasis, on the part of the Advanced Placement Language and Composition course, on electronic environments and/or sources means it does not apply. Of the five categories listed in the WPA Statement of Outcomes, Composing in Electronic Environments is given the least amount of emphasis the Advanced Placement English course descriptions.

Conclusion of Comparison of Advanced Placement English Program Goals with WPA Statement of Outcomes:

The comparison of the Advanced Placement English Program goals with the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” shows some alignment. While there are crucial differences in how the two entities approach knowledge conventions, rhetorical knowledge, and composing in electronic environments, there are shared perspectives when it comes to processes and critical thinking, reading, and writing.

While the descriptions of the goals and desired outcomes show some symmetry, there is one facet of the Advanced Placement English Program that must be considered when working with their stated goals – how students are evaluated. In the case of the Advanced Placement English Program, evaluation is in the form of a year-end, timed exam made up of multiple-choice questions and timed writing prompts. When comparing the Advanced Placement English Program goals with the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” with the added insight of the Advanced Placement English Program’s means of evaluation, the connections between the two weaken. In short, many of the goals presented

by the Advanced Placement English Program are not supported by multiple-choice questions and timed writing prompts. Because of the high stakes of the Advanced Placement exams, it is reasonable to assume that the method of assessment will dictate what is taught in the course. For this reason, the way the Advanced Placement’s “English Course Description” describes one of their goals as to teach students to “move effectively through the stages of the writing process, with careful attention to inquiry and research, drafting, revising, editing, and review” (11) is not entirely convincing as it is contradicted by what the Advanced Placement program asks students to do on exam day.

To better align the Advanced Placement English Program goals with their means of evaluating students – which, at the same time, would forge stronger connections with the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition” – a portfolio-based approach to evaluation should be considered. In the next section, portfolio-based assessment as it relates to the Advanced Placement English program is considered.

Advocating for the Portfolio:

Both Lemann, in *The Big Test*, and Nairn, in *The Reign of ETS*, make note of ETS’ emphasis on the validity of their exams and how this, placed within a psychometrician discourse, is used to silence critics and make communication between the testing agency, teachers, and students difficult. Maurice Scharton’s “Politics of Validity” from *Assessment of Writing* places the discussions of politics and values into the realm of validity in a way that hopes to give teachers and educational administrators a stronger voice in conversations surrounding the assessment of writing. Scharton is concerned with the ways assessment validates or contradicts the values teachers and assessors have in regards to writing. She

writes that a “disagreeable consequence of assessment is that after an assessment has produced its results, we can no longer nurture the comforting illusion that everyone has the same beliefs, abilities, or opportunities” (54). In short, assessment becomes “a fact everyone must cope with” (54). The way different groups cope with these results is determined, to a large degree, with “political motives” (54). In relation to the validity of a test, Scharton writes that it always ends up being measured “against our subjective sense of how well the results square with our values” (54). In conclusion of this point, Scharton notes that “If an assessment does anything, it helps us to recognize that we have values, an investment in one belief system” (54).

That these value judgments become fact once a score is attributed to them is, in Scharton’s eyes, a problem. She refuses to give “science” and statistics a free pass, noting that “Creating validity is in fact not so simple as establishing a satisfactory curve of scores or statistical correlation. Rather, the issue turns on the beliefs of the affected parties” (54). In other words, “validity is an attribute of one’s reasoning about the data that tests produce” (55). This is a very important point for teachers, specifically those primarily concerned with English studies and writing, for whom statistics are more likely a weakness, and, therefore, have little ability to contest the data that results from assessment because of the myth surrounding statistics and their irrefutability.

This focus on giving teachers and students a voice and means of using and contesting results from exams coincides with the rest of the chapter that advocates for a teacher-centered use of assessment. Another way this perspective is used concerns the content of courses and its relation to assessment. Scharton writes that “In the interest of testing the content students need, it would seem reasonable that assessment ought to model itself on classroom writing

and that classroom writing ought in turn to model itself on real world writing” (62). Such a practice, seemingly inverted in the Advanced Placement English programs, would “complete a circle drawing together assessment, academe, and the real world” (62). One of the best means of creating this “circle” is the portfolio. Scharton writes, “Portfolio assessment is the most successful example of idealistic and progressive instructionally oriented assessment” (62). As “teachers often argue that assessment will drive curriculum, so it makes sense to use a test that will improve the curriculum” (62). Use of portfolios manages to drive the curriculum in a positive way by making assessment “act as a causal agent for educational reform” (63).

Scharton’s support of the use of portfolios in assessment stands against what she notes as the presence of current-traditional models still influencing, to a large extent, how writing is assessed. Scharton writes that “One should not be surprised to discover that insofar as measurement specialists can tell, the modes of discourse and traditional grammar still supply writing instruction with its closet approximation of a canon” (66). One reason for this reliance on aspects of English studies that has proven to be ineffective is that it is more easily tested than the skills that have replaced the current-traditional paradigm. As Scharton notes, “This current-traditional canon can readily be assessed in a multiple-choice format, and one multiple choice score can be correlated with another to test concurrent validity” (66).

Peter Elbow’s chapter from *Assessment of Writing*, “Writing Assessment: Do It Better, Do It Less,” also considers common beliefs about writing and its assessment with a critical lens. Here, Elbow argues that assessment of writing needs to be improved and minimized. Elbow defends the basic practices of teachers in very informed ways and highlights the disparities between Advanced Placement and FYC programs through his focus

on the context of writing and the ways in which the assessment must match these contexts. As an example, Elbow points to portfolios. On this topic, Elbow writes, “portfolio assessment takes more time and money, but we know enough now to insist to policy makers and the public that any other method of writing assessment is unfair, untrustworthy, and unprofessional” (121). A further critique of the practices of the Advanced Placement English programs is seen when Elbow questions the process of exempting students from requirements. He writes: “Do we really want to exempt some students from any writing course—thereby sending the message that writing instruction is a punishment for not being good enough instead of the message that a writing course is what everyone does as part of the liberal arts” (131). This claim represents a poignant statement concerning the way in which the process of exemption effects the reputation of FYC courses—an idea that will be further researched in relation to use of metaphor.

Elbow’s ideas about portfolios echo the conclusions Foster reaches in his “The Theory of AP English: A Critique.” Foster proposes changes for Advanced Placement English that revolve around the concept of *process*. Foster notes: “the great shift in writing pedagogy has been away from the written artifact and toward the meaning-making activity of the writer. Similarly, the subjective approaches to reading literature emphasize the reader’s dynamic role in creating the *meaning* of a literary text” (20). To aid in this shift from “particle to holistic composing” (21), Foster calls for the elimination of all multiple-choice questions (in both exams) and to allow “previously composed and revised essays to be submitted in partial fulfillment of the essay portion of each exam” (21). These “previously composed and revised essays” are similar to what Elbow describes as portfolios. Elbow and Foster’s suggestions, if followed, would allow standardized assessments of writing to more

closely represent the act as it is performed in a more natural setting, and provide a better estimation of a student's writing skills.

Of course, any proposal for a change to portfolio-based assessment must account for the increased demands of time and money. What Elbow describes as the “unfair, untrustworthy, and unprofessional” (121) components of any non-portfolio based assessment should be substantial enough to merit this change. A further argument for why writing portfolios are worth the increased resources can be made through a consideration of the Advanced Placement Studio Art program.

Portfolio Assessment and the Advanced Placement Studio Art Exams:

There is a model that shows portfolio assessment and the Advanced Placement program coexisting. Of the thirty-seven Advanced Placement programs, three, all part of the Studio Art program, offer a portfolio-based assessment. For the three Studio Art courses (Drawing, 2-D Design, and 3-D Design), “students submit portfolios for evaluation at the end of the school year” (*Studio Art Course Description* 3). These portfolios are, in the words of the *Studio Art Course Description*, “designed for students who are seriously interested in the practical experience of art” (3). The reference to “practical experience” prompts the question: what about students that are “seriously interested” in the practical experience of writing? In its current form, the Advanced Placement English program, with its use of multiple-choice questions and timed writing prompts that require a critical essay, certainly does not provide a practical experience.

Looking to the Advanced Placement Studio Art courses and the associated exams provides a model for how portfolios could be used for the English Language and

Composition and English Literature and Composition programs. The Studio Art portfolios require a three-section structure “which requires the student to show fundamental competence and range of understanding in visual concerns” (*Studio Art Course Description* 7). Section I is labeled *Quality* and “permits the student to select the works that best exhibit a synthesis of form, technique, and content.” Section II is labeled *Concentration* and “asks the student to demonstrate a depth of investigation and process of discovery.” Finally, section III is labeled *Breadth* and asks the student to “demonstrate a serious grounding in visual principles and material techniques” (*Studio Art Course Description* 7). For evaluation, the Course Description states that “All three sections are required and carry equal weight, but students are not necessarily expected to perform at the same level in each section to receive a qualifying grade for advanced placement.” Furthermore, “The works presented for evaluation may have been produced in art classes or on the student’s own time and may cover a period of time longer than a single school year” (9).

If the parameters of the Advanced Placement Studio Art portfolio were applied to the exams in English, consider how such a mode of assessment would relate to the “WPA Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition.” In relation to *Rhetorical Knowledge*, students could write in genres outside of the critical essay and develop, through revision, an “appropriate voice, tone, and level of formality.” For *Critical Thinking, Reading, and Writing*, the portfolio would give students the opportunity to find, evaluate, and analyze outside sources and integrate them with their own ideas. As a part of this process, a portfolio would highlight a student’s use of writing as a tool of inquiry, learning, and thinking, as opposed to the simple display of knowledge that is performed in the current model. Regarding *Processes*, the portfolio system would offer a huge improvement. Students would

have the chance to develop a successful text by writing multiple drafts and, in the process, develop skills in critique and collaboration. As for *Knowledge of Conventions*, students compiling a portfolio would gain experience in compiling citation information from sources they gathered, as well as highlight their understanding of conventions of genres outside of the critical essay. Finally, for *Composing in Electronic Environments*, a portfolio approach would allow students to take full advantage of the possibilities in “drafting, reviewing, revising, editing, and sharing texts” that electronic environments provides. Such possibilities, along with performing electronic-based research, are not available to students writing in response to a timed prompt for an Advanced Placement exam.

Chapter Conclusion:

While the texts considered in this chapter vary in topic, collectively they make the case for a critical inquiry into the Advanced Placement English program, its relation to English studies, and its role in shaping the United States’ educational landscape. As noted above, there are areas where the practices of the Advance Placement program do not align with research from the field of Composition that informs the ways in which writing is taught in college-level FYC programs. While there are numerous possibilities for critical inquiry into the relations between the practices of the Advanced Placement program and the research of Composition Studies, this study will focus on the language used to describe the Advanced Placement program to students. By focusing on such language, I hope to show how the Advanced Placement exam is presented in a way that discredits much of the research cited above, and runs counter to the goals of many FYC programs, as well as colleges and universities as a whole. The means by which I intend to study the language used to promote

and describe the Advanced Placement program is metaphor. The next chapter will introduce a variety of theories of metaphor that will inform my research.

Chapter II. Metaphor, Journeys, and Education

Introduction:

The previous chapter highlights some of the flaws of the Advanced Placement English program. In this chapter, I will explore one aspect of Advanced Placement that I believe has played a crucial role in the program achieving so much success, despite the aforementioned problems. Namely, this one aspect is the consistent use of the conceptual metaphor of journey in descriptions of the Advanced Placement program. The intent of this study's focus on metaphor is to explore how the Advanced Placement Exams, with a particular focus on those in English, are portrayed and evaluated in a variety of discourse settings. By analyzing such metaphors, I hope to show how university administrators and writing program administrators make evaluative claims regarding FYC programs that may run counter to the missions of universities, FYC programs, and the aforementioned research on writing and critical thinking.

But before the actual metaphors used in the discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement exams are analyzed, this chapter will show readers how an analysis of metaphor can help us understand how the Advanced Placement program is presented to students in high school and college. Furthermore, this chapter hopes to show how, through the study of metaphor, the implications of this presentation may also be discerned. Having such an understanding is important to ensure that the values and goals that result from research in the field of Composition Studies are respected by both the private company that offers a substitute for the FYC courses, as well as the college and university administrations that oversee the substitutions. With this goal of coming to a better understanding in mind, this

chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides a historical context for the study of metaphor that begins with Aristotle and continues to the recent popularity of the conceptual model. This first section then looks at the connections between conceptual metaphor and power. The second section expands the consideration of conceptual metaphor by introducing and examining a specific conceptual metaphor—one where the domain of Journey is used for the domains of life and education. The third section of this chapter highlights the use of corpus-based analysis to study metaphor. This section will highlight studies that show how use of corpus-based tools offers insight into the way in which metaphor is used, and direct researchers hoping to perform more qualitative analysis.

Section I: Views of Metaphor – From Rhetoric to Cognitive Science

Introduction:

To begin, a brief description of Aristotle’s work on metaphor is offered. Aristotle’s theories of metaphor are then considered in light of the more recent advancements in the study of conceptual metaphor. Following this comparison between Aristotle’s original claims regarding metaphor and the more recent advancements in conceptual metaphor, Lakoff’s listing of the ways in which metaphor involves power will be used to consider a variety of current perspectives on metaphor.

Aristotle and the Early Study of Metaphor:

Mark Johnson, in his summary of the history of philosophical thought on metaphor, writes: “After Aristotle, there followed over twenty-three hundred years of elaboration on his

remarks. From a philosophical point of view, at least, virtually every major treatment up to the twentieth century is prefigured in Aristotle's account" (8). Andrew Ortony, in his edited collection *Metaphor and Thought*, echoes these sentiments when he notes that even today "any serious study of metaphor is almost obliged to start with the works of Aristotle" (3). For many who do not specifically study the topic, Aristotle is also where the development of metaphor more or less ends. The framework that Aristotle lays in both his *On Poetics* and *Rhetoric* defines the classical view of metaphor that is widely accepted today. In *On Poetics*, Aristotle defines metaphor as "the application of a word belonging to something else" (51) and lists four ways this application can occur. First is from the genus to a species, where the whole represents the part. As an example, Aristotle offers *my ship stands here*, in that "to be at anchor is a sort of standing" (52). The second sort is from the species to the genus where the part represents the whole. An example is seen in *Surely Odysseus has done ten thousand good things* where, Aristotle notes, "ten thousand is many and in this place it has been used instead of many" (52). The third goes from species to a species, and, to illustrate, Aristotle provides two statements, *drawing off the soul with bronze* and *cutting with long-edged bronze*. Aristotle explains that "'to draw off' has expressed 'to cut,' and 'to cut' 'to draw off.' For both are taking away" (52). The last of Aristotle's four means of applying metaphor is analogy where "the second is to the first as the fourth to the third" (53). For an example, Aristotle writes: "old age is to life as evening to day; then one will say evening to be the old age of day as Empedocles does, and old age to be the evening of life, or the sunset of life" (53).

Aristotle's views on metaphor⁴ play a large role in shaping how the concept is widely considered, even today. Zoltan Kovecses, in *Metaphor*, lists five of the most common features of the traditional concept of metaphor:

1. "Metaphor is the property of words" (vi).
2. "Metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose" (vi).
3. "Metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified" (vi).
4. "Metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it well" (vi).
5. "Metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication" (vii).

Until recently, Aristotle's comparison theory of metaphor, and the associated five common features listed by Kovecses, were seen as fact. Writing about Aristotle's influence, George Lakoff notes, "The classical theory was taken so much for granted over the centuries that many people didn't realize that it was just a theory. The theory was not merely taken to be true, but came to be taken as definitional" ("The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor" 202). The change, where metaphor and its influence began to be understood outside the realm of poetic and rhetorical use of language, and in ordinary, everyday use, began in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

⁴ James Edwin Mahon's "Getting Your Sources Right: What Aristotle *didn't* say" argues that Aristotle's ideas on metaphor are much more complicated than the comparison theory represents.

Lakoff vs. Aristotle:

George Lakoff and a collection of collaborators did much of the work that would end the hold that the classical theory of metaphor had on determining the way metaphor was understood. In particular, Lakoff and Mark Johnson's publication of *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980 marks a turning point in the paradigm shift away from this classical view. The work of Lakoff, his collaborators, and subsequent cognitive linguists built a theory of conceptual metaphor that shows flaws in the traditional view of metaphor, over which Aristotle had so much influence. In this section, developments in conceptual metaphor theory that have discredited long-held beliefs towards metaphor will be considered through Kovecses' list of the five most commonly accepted features of this traditional view of metaphor.

I. Metaphor is the property of words

Perhaps the largest advance of cognitive linguistics in the area of metaphor studies has been made by work that shows metaphor is actually a topic of study for cognitive linguists. Prior to this advancement, metaphor was resigned to the realm of speech. Even the label *figure of speech*, often used to describe metaphorical language, promotes the common assumption of metaphor's limited area of influence. More specifically, in the history of scholarship on metaphor, the common assumption is that metaphor is concerned only with words. Such a focus on words can be traced to Aristotle, who notes, "Metaphor is the application of a word belonging to something else" (51). As Johnson notes, "the troubled life

of metaphor” begins with this definition, as the “metaphoric transfer is located at the level of words” (5). Roughly 200 years after Aristotle’s *Poetics*, Cicero, in *De Oratore*, places a more pointed emphasis on words. He writes: “A metaphor is a brief similitude contracted into a single word; which word being put in the place of another, as if it were in its own place, conveys, if the resemblance be acknowledged, delight; if there is no resemblance, it is condemned” (Cicero qtd. in Johnson 8).

The dominant tradition of metaphor’s focus on words was not challenged until I.A. Richards’ *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* and Max Black’s “Metaphor” were published in 1936 and 1956, respectively. Richards begins the movement away from the *word* by suggesting that metaphor plays a much larger role in language. He writes that “Thought is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive therefrom” (qtd. in Johnson 18). As Johnson notes, Richards’ claim places metaphor beyond the scope of “a cosmetic rhetorical device or a stylistic ornament” (18) and brings forth the idea that metaphor plays an important cognitive role. Working with this idea, Black argues that “some metaphors are not reducible to cognitively equivalent literal expressions,” and that “in some cases, metaphors may more nearly create similarities between things, rather than merely express preexisting ones” (Johnson 19).

As analysis of metaphor moved beyond the restriction of words and their changed meaning, new opportunities in research emerged. Following the work of Richards and Black, Michael Reddy’s “The Conduit Metaphor: A case of frame conflict in our language about language” examines a variety of metaphors used to describe communication. Reddy argues,

“English has a preferred framework for conceptualizing communication” and that an inability to change social problems “may well be because this frame conflict has led us to attempt faulty solutions to the problem” (165). Reddy’s focus here goes far beyond the scope of mere words and looks at the way metaphor shapes our thinking – the cognitive aspect of metaphor.

Reddy’s work with the conduit metaphor had a heavy influence on Lakoff, who, in his essay “Contemporary Theory of Metaphor,” asserts that “Metaphor is not a figure of speech, as it has so long been thought to be, but, instead, is a mode of thought, defined by a systematic mapping from a source to a target domain” (210). Lakoff’s emphasis on the systematic nature of metaphor is crucial, as it is one of the attributes that prove metaphor’s conceptual nature. The notion of mapping was earlier considered by Black, who identified and emphasized the interaction between systems that leads to our understanding of metaphor. As Johnson summarizes, “we use one entire *system* of commonplaces (e.g., that of *wolf*) to ‘filter’ or organize our conception of some other *system* (e.g., that of *man*). The ‘interaction’ is a screening of one system of commonplaces by another to generate a new conceptual organization of, a new perspective on, some object” (28). Lakoff extends this view of the system by introducing the concept of mapping when he asserts that source domains are mapped onto target domains. Lakoff writes that in each mapping, there “is a fixed pattern of conceptual correspondence across conceptual domains. As such, each mapping defines an open-ended class of potential correspondences across inference patterns” (210). The metaphorical expression *I passed the class*, though different from *I am working towards my*

degree, shows an example of how the knowledge structure provided by the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor allows both metaphorical expressions to be understood.

The way in which contemporary views of metaphor are now focused on mapping and its systematic nature shows just how far away the field has moved from consideration of the *word* – so much so that Lakoff insists on changing the terminology used to describe metaphor. This new terminology highlights the conceptual nature of metaphor by expanding the scope of the term *metaphor*. For Lakoff, and others working within the cognitive perspective, the term metaphor means “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system” (203). The former understanding of the term *metaphor* as a word or phrase that is applied to something else to which it is not literally applicable is now labeled a “metaphorical expression” (203), which, as Lakoff explains, “is the surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping” (203) that the new term *metaphor* implies⁵. Therefore, the phrase *I am working towards my degree* is a metaphorical expression of the metaphor EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY. Specifically, the domain of Journey is suggested by *towards* and a cross-domain mapping occurs when it is used in the domain of Education, as suggested by *degree*.

⁵ This study will make use of the terminology Lakoff And Johnson describe in *Metaphors We Live By*. They note: “whenever in this book we speak of metaphors, such as ARGUMENT IS WAR, it should be understood that *metaphor* means *metaphorical concept*” (6). This text will follow the model of formatting metaphorical concepts with an all-capital font while metaphorical expressions will be presented in italics.

II. Metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose

In expanding the study of metaphor beyond the word, the assumption that metaphor's role was resigned to artistic and rhetorical means is also dismissed. As developments in cognitive linguistics have shown, metaphor's role goes far beyond the artistic and rhetorical. Max Black provided an early explanation of metaphor's influence when he wrote that "some metaphors enable us to see aspects of reality that the metaphor's production helps to constitute" (38). For Black, and the scholars of metaphor that followed, the implications of metaphor's ability to help people "see" previously unseen "aspects of reality" are enormous. Schon, in "Generative metaphor: A perspective on problem-setting in social policy," elaborates on these implications when he considers the scope of metaphor in relation to the concept of framing. Schon argues that the term "metaphor" refers to both a product and a process. The product is "a perspective or frame, a way of looking at things," while the process involves a way by which "new perspectives on the world come into existence" (137). Thus, metaphor, far from being limited as a tool for artistic and rhetorical flare, plays a major role in developing societal understanding on the most basic of issues.

Lakoff and Johnson, in *Metaphors We Live By*, further separates metaphor from the artistic and rhetorical purposes as they elaborate on the cognitive role of metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson argue that "Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (3). The emphasis on *conceptual* is crucial. Lakoff and Johnson note how concepts "govern our everyday functioning," "structure what we perceive," and, thus, play "a central role in defining our everyday realities" (3). Such centrality leads Lakoff and Johnson to use the term *conceptual metaphors*. Because the

influence of metaphor extends to “the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day” (3), its purpose must go far beyond the artistic and rhetorical.

In *More than Cool Reason*, Lakoff and Mark Turner offer a seemingly contradictory investigation of metaphor in an artistic realm. The contradiction comes from the fact that Lakoff, the figure most often associated with the shift in focus away from metaphor as a solely artistic and rhetorical tool, would be concerned with poetic language. But in this book, Lakoff and Turner make the argument that the conceptual qualities of metaphor are found, and required, in even the most artistic forms of metaphor – poetry. Lakoff and Johnson note that “though a particular poetic passage may give a unique linguistic expression of a basic metaphor, the conceptual metaphor underlying it may nonetheless be extremely common” (50). With this, poetic metaphor is categorized as a subset of conceptual metaphor, and, furthermore, could not exist without the already-implemented structure. To emphasize poetry’s relation to metaphor, Lakoff and Turner write: “Metaphor isn’t just for poets; it’s in ordinary language and is the principal way we have of conceptualizing abstract concepts like life, death, and time” (52).

III. Metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified

The advent of cognitive linguistics and focus on conceptual metaphors complicates the idea that metaphor is a result of compared resemblances. The assumption that metaphors are based on such resemblances depends on a second assumption that resemblances exist in

the natural world. As cognitive linguists have argued, this may not be the case. As Lakoff and Johnson note, “In most cases, what is at issue is not the truth or falsity of a metaphor but the perceptions and inferences that follow from it and the actions that are sanctioned by it” (158). In other words, when someone makes use of a metaphor, more than engaging in an act of comparison, they are putting forth a frame by which to see and, perhaps, act on the original entity.

This anti-comparison view of metaphor places heavy emphasis on the concept of frames. Schon describes a process of “naming and framing” where “Things are selected for attention and named in such a way as to fit the frame constructed for the situation” (146). The “naming and framing” process is inherently reductive, for to do it, one must “select for attention a few salient features and relations from what would otherwise be an overwhelmingly complex reality” (146). Because metaphors perform such an important role in determining what does and does not receive focus, Schon cautions that we need “to become aware of the generative metaphors which shape our perceptions of phenomena. We need to be able to attend to and describe the dissimilarities as well as the similarities between A and B” (148). In other words, Schon cautions us to be aware that metaphor is more complicated than comparing and identifying resemblances.

As an example of a metaphor’s ability to hide a similarity just as well as it may highlight another, consider the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, as supplied by Lakoff and Johnson. This metaphor is responsible for our understanding of an argument as a battle that can be won, and is realized by comments like:

Your claim is *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments. (Lakoff and Johnson 4)

As Lakoff and Johnson argue, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor goes beyond influencing our understanding of argument to the point where it structures the way we approach such exchanges. For example, they note that “We can actually win or lose arguments. We see the person we are arguing with as an opponent. We attack his positions and defend our own. We gain and lose ground. We plan and use strategies” (4). In other words, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor frames how we think about argument.

But the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor does not express a universal truth about argument. What the metaphor does express is a cultural understanding of the activity that is so pervasive that some might take it to be the truth. To highlight the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor's power in structuring views towards argument, Lakoff and Johnson offer an alternative metaphor that highlights other entities of argument, and thus ignores a new set – this alternative metaphor is ARGUMENT IS A DANCE. In this metaphor, “participants are seen as performers, and the goal is to perform in a balanced and aesthetically pleasing way” (5). Lakoff and Johnson assert that if this metaphor were to replace ARGUMENT IS WAR with

ARGUMENT IS A DANCE, “people would view arguments differently, experience them differently, carry them out differently, and talk about them differently” (5).

The ARGUMENT IS A DANCE metaphor, as a replacement for ARGUMENT IS WAR, shows the problem with the assumption that *Metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified*. Both metaphors locate a very specific aspect of argument and highlight it to produce a frame with which to view the activity. The *resemblance* that prompts the metaphor is not an innate feature of the entity, but rather a construct imposed upon the entity by a speaker. Despite the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, an argument has no more natural connection to a war than it does to a dance, a game, or a dozen other activities. Because metaphors play such a crucial role in setting the frame through which concepts are understood, and they do not represent a universal truth, it is important to understand what is at stake – which is nothing short of how we understand our world. As Lakoff and Johnson note, “In a culture where the myth of objectivism is very much alive and truth is always absolute truth, the people who get to impose their metaphors on the culture get to define what we consider to be true – absolutely and objectively true” (160).

IV. Metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it well

In *On Poetics*, Aristotle makes the claim that only a genius can use metaphor well. Remnants of this line of thinking are seen today when metaphor is associated with poetic language. But as the existence of conceptual metaphors moved the study of metaphor beyond

the artistic and rhetorical towards the cognitive, it also suggested that everyone uses metaphors, and they do so unconsciously and without any special talent. Most of all, the concept of conceptual metaphors has shown the majority of metaphor use to be far from deliberate.

When considering the claim that using a metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words that, to do well, requires talent, it is helpful to look at the concept of the “dead metaphor.” A dead metaphor is generally understood as “metaphors that may have been alive and vigorous at some point but have become so conventional and commonplace with constant use that by now they have lost their vigor in thought and that they are dead” (Koveces ix). Examples of “dead” metaphors include “eye of a needle,” “branches of government,” and “foot of a hill.”

But for Lakoff and other cognitive linguists, there is no such thing as a dead metaphor. On the contrary, from the perspective of conceptual metaphors, “dead” metaphors may have the greatest effect of all metaphors because, as Lakoff notes, they are “used constantly and automatically, with neither effort nor awareness” (“The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor” 227-8). The fact that these “dead” metaphors are used with no effort or awareness show how entrenched they are in our thought. Going back to the concept of metaphorical framing, Lakoff and Johnson argue that the constancy with which supposed “dead” metaphors are used suggest that they play “a very significant role in determining what is real for us” (146). As an example, consider the oft-used phrase “He cracked under pressure.” Lakoff and Johnson note that describing someone in such a manner seems “perfectly natural to most of us.” This reaction, though, is based on the fact that “metaphors

like THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT are an integral part of the model of the mind that we have in this culture; it is the model most of us think and operate in terms of” (29). Thus, not only are so-called “dead” metaphors frequently employed without deliberate use, they are important in that they frame the way we think about our world in a manner that often goes unrecognized.

To highlight how metaphors may be used without consciousness, consider the story told by Reddy in his article, “The Conduit Metaphor.” Reddy describes classes where he lectures on the conduit metaphor, and to show just how pervasive this metaphor is, he asks his students to pay attention to his language and tell him when he uses a metaphorical expression for the INFORMATION TRAVELS THROUGH A CONDUIT metaphor. Of his own experience, Reddy writes: “I am constantly called to account by my students for using the expressions I am lecturing about. If I speak very carefully, with constant attention, I can do fairly well at avoiding them. But the result is hardly idiomatic English. Instead of walking into a classroom and asking ‘Did you get anything out of that article?’ I have to say, ‘Were you able to construct anything of interest on the basis of the assigned text?’” (177). As Reddy’s experience shows, it takes conscious and deliberate use of words to not use metaphors because they are pervasive in our everyday language.

V. Metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication

The claims that make up Koveces' fifth common feature of the traditional concept of metaphor have been countered in the analysis of the prior four common features. For instance, Lakoff has explicitly stated metaphor is *not* a figure of speech. Furthermore, the role metaphor plays in regards to conceptual frames shows that we cannot live without them, and they are used for much more than "special effects." At this point, I would like to highlight a crucial aspect of metaphor that is hidden by the assumptions listed in this fifth feature – the influence of metaphor on power. As I have already referenced, Lakoff and his collaborators note the ability of metaphor to structure the frame through which entities are considered⁶. Suggested in these descriptions of metaphorical frame structuring are the powers given to those who choose the metaphors, and thus impose the structure used. In *More than Cool Reason*, Lakoff and Turner elaborate on sources of power in metaphor, identifying five sorts:

1. The power to structure
2. The power of option
3. The power of reason
4. The power of evaluation
5. The power of being there (64-65).

Conceptual Metaphor and Power:

⁶ See responses to Koveces' common features III and IV

Using the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and others provided by Lakoff and his collaborators, for examples, I will show how each of these sources of power exert their influence. The first, *The power to structure*, relates to metaphor's connection with framing and setting categories of thought. As Lakoff and Turner note, "Metaphorical mappings allow us to impart to a concept structure which is not there independent of metaphor" (64). As an example, Lakoff, in his guide for progressive politics, *Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*, highlights the way the metaphorical expression "tax relief" employs the TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION metaphor. The metaphorical expression *tax relief* holds considerable power as it suggests that "For there to be relief there must be an affliction, an afflicted party, and a reliever who removes the affliction and is therefore a hero. And if people try to stop the hero, those people are villains for trying to prevent relief" (3). The extent of the TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION metaphor's power is seen in an example where Lakoff meets with Democratic senators as they prepare to release a tax plan in response to President Bush's. Lakoff writes, "They had their version of the tax plan, and it was their version of tax relief. They were accepting the conservative frame. The conservatives had set a trap: The words draw you into their worldview" (4). As Lakoff's story working with progressive politicians shows, the language that is used and accepted plays a role in framing how issues and ideas are considered.

Such framing structures our thought. Take, for example, the following instance of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor that will be further described in Chapter 4. Connecticut College's website states: "You may use up to 16 credits toward graduation" ("FAQ – Course

Credits”). The domain of education does not inherently focus on moving “towards” something, yet this element of movement is structured onto Education by the domain of Journey. The view of education as a journey with the very specific destination of graduation is a common concept that influences the way many people think about school. It is, however, a concept that is largely formed by metaphor, and, furthermore, could be formed by a variety of alternative metaphors that would promote different views. Consider the idea of education as a journey of growth, or as a journey of exploration. In both instances, framing the educational journey in different ways provides a different way of considering education.

The second source of power listed by Lakoff and Turner, *The power of options*, refers to the optional components of a general metaphor that “allow us to enrich the basic metaphorical structure and derive new understandings of the target domain” (65). As an example, consider, again, the EDUCATIONS IS A JOURNEY metaphor. This JOURNEY schema contains the goal of journey as an option, but does not specify what this goal might be. An expression like, “You are encouraged to explore the curriculum” uses the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, with the goal of the journey to be making a discovery. Other options for the goal of the Journey include learning and, what is seen most commonly, earning a degree. The choices made in regards to the various options for the general schema of a metaphor play a large role in, again, structuring the frame that informs our understanding of the topic. As Lakoff and Turner note, “Such options allow us to enrich the basic metaphorical structure and derive new understandings of the target domain” (65).

The third power, *the power of reason*, takes place when we “borrow patterns of inference from the source domain to use in reasoning about some target domain” (65). The EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor plays an important role in how we reason about education and learning. For example, consider the patterns borrowed when we refer to students taking an “accelerated program” (“Advanced Placement and Advanced Standing”). If someone is on an “accelerated” journey, they expect to move quickly and not pay much attention to their surroundings. When the “journey” term *accelerated* is used to describe an aspect of education, the same reasoning is applied: we can get through school as quickly as possible, or we could *decelerate* and more thoroughly immerse ourselves in study.

The fourth power, *the power of evaluation*, takes place when, along with the “entities and structure from the source domain to the target domain,” we also import the “way we evaluate the entities in the source domain” (65). Consider the following statement made in Drexel University’s Advanced Placement policy: “Consideration of AP performance may accelerate a student’s progress in his/her respective degree program” (“Academic Policies”). Here, we again see the metaphorical expression *accelerated*, but this time it is paired with a similar expression, *progress*. In the domain of JOURNEY, both *accelerated* and *progress* are evaluative terms, especially when their antonyms are considered – to decelerate and regress. When we import the way we evaluate journeys on to education, school becomes something through which one should accelerate, as *getting through*, not necessarily learning, is viewed as the desired goal. *Progress* must always be made towards this goal, and if progress is not made, this metaphorical expression suggests that if there is no *progression*, then there is

regression. Use of *accelerated* and *progress* put forth a specific frame through which we can view the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and this frame makes value judgments.

The final source of power listed by Lakoff and Turner is *the power of being there*. By this, Lakoff and Turner suggest that conceptual metaphor's mere "existence and availability" makes them "powerful as conceptual and expressive tools" (65). This power is due, in part, to metaphor's ubiquity – as Lakoff and Turner note, "Because they can be used so automatically and effortlessly, we find it hard to question them, if we can even notice them" (65). This power of being there is seen in the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor when we consider just how frequently the metaphor is employed in discourse surrounding education. Consider the Advanced Placement program – whose very name makes use of the metaphor. Metaphors of journey are so common in discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement exams that it seems it would be more challenging to not use them than actually using them. Similar to the aforementioned "dead" metaphors, the constant and seemingly natural presence of these EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors makes them easy to accept – the fact that these metaphors are there – and there with such frequency – makes them powerful.

Conclusion:

Much of the power held by metaphor comes from the fact that it is often considered an innocuous component of language. As the five features of the traditional concept of metaphor provided by Kovecses and the five sources of power provided by Lakoff and Turner suggest, critical attention to metaphor and the roles they play in framing the way we

think offers us fresh insight on a wide range of subjects that serve as the focus of our day-to-day communication. This critical attention can also help us understand the politics behind the language that we use and shed light on the evaluative statements we may unknowingly make. Finally, critical attention might show us the consequences of our metaphor use, and help us in producing a language that would align our frames with our values.

Section II: The Conceptual Metaphor of Journey:

Introduction:

Following the previous section's look at the development of the theory of conceptual metaphor, this section turns its attention to a specific sort of conceptual metaphor – that of JOURNEY. The metaphor of journey seems to be as old as the concept of metaphor itself. As Bishop Hunt notes, “since the earliest of times, the act of traveling, or proceeding from one place to another, has been seen as a natural metaphor for learning, for the acquisition of experience and knowledge” (44). Hunt then offers examples of JOURNEY metaphors from Homer, Thucydides, Virgil, Dante, and Chaucer. This section will focus on recent theories of metaphor that relate to JOURNEY. To begin, I will summarize the ways Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor, in the seminal text *Metaphors We Live By*, relates the metaphor of journey to orientational metaphors, as well as the relation between coherence and consistency in metaphor. Building off of Lakoff and Johnson's theories of conceptual metaphor, I will shift attention to Lakoff and Turner's analysis of the JOURNEY metaphor in

literature. Finally, the consideration of the JOURNEY metaphor will conclude with a look at a variety of examples of the metaphor used in discourse focusing on education and writing.

Journey and the Orientational Metaphor:

Lakoff and Johnson devote a considerable amount of time to distinguishing orientational metaphors from structural metaphors. Instead of structuring one concept in terms of another, an orientational metaphor “organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another” (14). The label *orientational* comes from the spatial orientation of metaphors: there are “up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral” (14) spatial orientations. As an example, consider the phrase: “I’m feeling out of it today.” This phrase makes use of an in-out orientation to express a lack of focus or mental clarity where LACK OF CLARITY IS OUT. Such a phrase makes sense because it makes use of a spatial orientation that, according to Lakoff and Johnson, is like other orientational metaphors in that it is not arbitrary, but, in fact, has a “basis in our physical and cultural experience” (14). Thus, the numerous orientational metaphors that we come across each day, such as HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN in phrases like *she’s on top of the world* and *he’s depressed*, are understood.

The theory of orientational metaphors is crucial to understanding the Journey metaphor as the front-back orientation is expressed by terms like *forward* and *towards*. The orientational aspect of the journey metaphor is highlighted in Alan Partington’s corpus-based analysis of metaphor use in White House press briefings. Partington notes how “The briefings clearly contain a systemic metaphor concerning moving forward which seems to be of the type PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION, with the variation MOVING FORWARD IS

NECESSARY” (276). The front-back orientation is emphasized by Partington’s assertion that “The press sees immobility as stagnation, as culpable lethargy and so the administration must project itself as being in a state of perpetual motion” (276). Such “perpetual motion” is closely associated with the concept of journey, as the movement typically works towards a destination. In Partington’s study, this destination is suggested by the presence of the words *objective(s)*, *goals*, and *reach* in the keyword list (277).

A powerful component of orientational metaphors is their evaluative function. To go back to the “I’m feeling out of it today” example, the application of the in-out orientation is accompanied by an evaluation that to be *out* is bad. This evaluation comes from a spatial orientation that, according to Lakoff and Johnson, is “rooted in physical and cultural experience” (18) where to be *in* is good. For another example, consider this use of the in-out orientation: “I’m in the loop.” Here, being *in* is positive, while, conversely, to be “out of the loop” would be negative. Such evaluation is also found in the orientational metaphors of journey. Partington asks, “And if FORWARD MOTION is necessary and a good thing in this discourse type, then what is bad? Going *backwards* of course” (277). Partington finds evidence that suggests that even slowing down is understood as a negative, as evidenced by the following excerpt from a White House press briefing: “we shouldn’t let it get *bogged down* in trying to have another debate, because that inevitably will *slow down* this process” (277). The implicit goal in this briefing is to reach a destination, and any obstacle or movement away from the destination is viewed in a negative light.

Coherence vs. Consistency:

Along with the concept of orientational metaphors, understanding the difference between coherence and consistency helps in understanding the role and pervasiveness of metaphors of journey. Lakoff and Johnson, in *Metaphors We Live By*, note that metaphors “are more likely to involve coherence than consistency (44). This claim of coherence over consistency means that while two metaphors do not form a single image that would make them consistent, if they share “a major common entailment” (44) by being “subcategories of a major category” they can remain coherent with each other. The concept of coherence is crucial for the metaphor of journey because so many subcategories are involved in its formation. For instance, different journey metaphors can involve a variety of speeds, paths, and modes of transportation, but all fall within the schema of Journey. As an example, Lakoff and Johnson begin with the metaphor AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY. This metaphor concerns the objective of an argument that “must have a beginning, proceed in a linear fashion, and make progress in stages toward that goal” (90). For an example of the ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson offer, “We will *proceed* in a *step-by-step* fashion” (90). The ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY metaphor can be imagined as an anchor that links to numerous related metaphors. To start, one component of the journey metaphor is that a JOURNEY DEFINES A PATH, as in, “He *strayed from the path*” (90). Lakoff and Johnson pair the two metaphors of AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY with A JOURNEY DEFINES A PATH to get AN ARGUMENT DEFINES A PATH, with “He *strayed from the line of argument*” (90) as an example. The coherence continues with a further extension to the metaphor THE PATH OF A JOURNEY IS A SURFACE with “We *covered* a lot of ground” (90) as an example. Lakoff and Johnson conclude this analysis of coherence in the metaphor of Journey by making a final

link with the metaphor THE PATH OF A JOURNEY IS A SURFACE. Examples of this metaphor include, “We have already *covered* those points” and “We have *covered* a lot of *ground* in our argument” (91). The way in which all of these instances of metaphor apply to the AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY metaphor lead Lakoff and Johnson to conclude that “the metaphorical entailments characterize the *internal* systematicity of the metaphor AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY” (91). Thus the instances of JOURNEY DEFINES A PATH, AN ARGUMENT DEFINES A PATH, and THE PATH OF A JOURNEY IS A SURFACE are all coherent with, and thus a part of, the original AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

Orientation and Coherence in Metaphors of JOURNEY:

Together, the theories of orientational metaphor and the coherence of metaphor are crucial in an analysis of Journey metaphors. While both theories are used by Lakoff and Johnson to show the systematic nature of metaphor, in the case of Journey metaphors they highlight how pervasive and wide ranging the metaphor can be. The metaphor of journey can take many forms, and can often be overlooked on account of its seemingly ubiquitous nature – an observation Lakoff and Turner make when they state, “Because they [metaphors] can be used so automatically and effortlessly, we find it hard to question them, if we can even notice them” (65). As the aforementioned examples show, any *forwards/towards* orientation, along with any reference to potential components of a journey, such as means of travel and landscape, may signify the presence of a journey metaphor.

The coherent and orientational aspects of the JOURNEY metaphor are on display in El-Sawad’s “Becoming a ‘lifer’? Unlocking Career Through Metaphor,” a study that uses metaphor to analyze working professionals’ views of their careers. El-Sawad begins by

noting that even the term *career* could be partly metaphorical, as it is “derived from the Latin word *carraria* meaning a road or carriageway” (27) and, in Ancient Greece, meant a “fast paced running of a course”(Van Maanen qtd. in El-Sawad, 27). For this study, El-Sawad interviewed twenty employees of different levels from a “large multi-national blue-chip corporation renowned for its strong paternalistic culture” (25). Each interview began with the prompt: “tell me about your career” (25) and, El-Sawad notes, “metaphors were offered freely within accounts without any prompt” (25). El-Sawad’s analysis showed that metaphors fell into four categories: spatial, competition, horticulture and journey (27), with eighteen out of the twenty participants making use of JOURNEY metaphors. In these eighteen uses, reference is made to “flying, driving and steering; paths, tracks, roads, and avenues; crossroads and turning points; maps and charts; meeting dead ends and getting lost” (27). The various types of travel, in terms of both mode and course, provide an example of the coherence of the JOURNEY metaphor. These metaphors may not use the same terms, but are bound by an idea of movement. References to orientation that suggest metaphors of journey are also present in the El-Sawad results. The five women who recently became mothers “feel their careers have halted as a result” (28). One spoke of taking a “step back” while another said she was “having to take a back seat for a few years.” Additionally, a worker who recently became a father described being “pulled backwards” (28). The orientational aspect of each of these statements relates the claim to the JOURNEY metaphor by putting forth a negative evaluation through use of a *back* orientation.

While El-Sawad’s study focuses on working professionals and their use of metaphor to describe their careers, numerous other studies, from other disciplines, perform similar analyses of the journey metaphor and offer additional examples of its orientational and

coherent aspects. Semino's "Methodological Problems in the Analysis of Metaphors in a Corpus of Conversations about Cancer" describes how in the DEVELOPMENT OF CANCER metaphor, "cancer is mapped onto the moving entity/traveler, the body onto a set of locations, speed of growth onto speed of movement, periods of remission onto pauses in the journey, and so on" (1279). Such usage relies on the coherence of JOURNEY metaphors, where body parts become pathways and variable speeds determine progress and regress.

In another example, Musolff's "Maritime Journey Metaphors in British and German Public Discourse: Transport Vessels of International Communication?" examines political discourse surrounding the European Union through an analysis of maritime JOURNEY metaphors. Musolff notes, "differences of speed among the members of the EU convoy are perceived as a problem, because the *slow ships* may hinder the *group's* progress and thus endanger its safety. If they 'insist' on going slowly, they will *be left behind* by the *fast ships*" (7). Regarding coherence, this study is based on maritime vessels, which coheres with the JOURNEY metaphor. The role of evaluation within this metaphor use highlights the orientational component of the maritime metaphors, where being "left behind" makes use of a back orientation, and the association between speed and progress.

A final example of a study that highlights the importance of coherence and orientation in the JOURNEY metaphor is Michael White's "Metaphor and Economics: The case of Growth." This study looks at the use of the term *growth* in business and economic discourse in an attempt to "investigate how variation in economic aggregates is put across in discourse" (131). Such an analysis is important, White argues, because "when economists and journalists deal with economic performance the metaphoric sense of *growth* is highly active and indeed more complex than what might be expected from a folk understanding of

the concept” (135). White divides the use of *growth* into two main categories, those that portray the economy as a living organism (135) and those that portray it as a mechanical process (141). The relation between growth and journey takes place in the instances referencing the mechanical process, and is summarized by White’s *motion paradigm*. There are three main components to the motion paradigm: first is “a schema consisting of a point of departure, a trajectory, and a goal” (143); second are the external factors that “aid or hinder the movement” (143); and third is that “the mechanical collocates of growth are essentially of the vehicular type suggesting the power and drive in motion that they originate” (144). In the mechanical instances of growth, “the decisive role played by aids and impediments in the strength and drive of the respective movements” (144) is crucial. This motion paradigm depends on the coherence of the JOURNEY metaphor by allowing for any sort of “vehicular type” of transport. Regarding orientation, White’s study places a heavy emphasis on the inferential structure of the term *growth*, and these inferences make considerable use of the front/back orientation. In the example, “The Prime Minister’s primary concern must be *to keep growth on track*” (142), such inferences are seen by use of train imagery that suggests a JOURNEY where the tracks represent forward motion.

In the study of the metaphor of JOURNEY in the discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement program, the theories of coherence and orientation of conceptual metaphor play a crucial role. To begin, coherence between metaphors of journey often is formed as a result of an orientational bearing. Looking for signs of orientation will play a large role in identifying metaphors to study. Once metaphors are identified, Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of orientation will be used to analyze the way in which JOURNEY metaphors frame concepts of education, learning, and writing.

The Journey Metaphor in Literature:

After his collaboration with Johnson for *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff continued the study of conceptual metaphor by applying the various theories that he and Johnson proposed to other fields. Regarding the metaphor of journey, Lakoff's collaboration with Mark Turner, *More Than Cool Reason*, offers the greatest insight. *More Than Cool Reason* begins by arguing that poetic language shares much with ordinary language, especially in regards to metaphor. Lakoff and Turner write: "great poets, as master craftsmen, use basically the same tools we use; what makes them different is their talent for using these tools, and their skill in using them, which they acquire from sustained attention, study, and practice" (xi). Lakoff and Turner go on to argue that "Because metaphor is a primary tool for understanding our world and our selves, entering into an engagement with powerful poetic metaphors is grappling in an important way with what it means to have a human life" (xii). In other words, Lakoff and Turner see *More Than Cool Reason* as much more than a study of literature—it is a study of a common device of which great literature offers strong examples.

Metaphors of journey are considered more than any other type of metaphor in *More Than Cool Reason*, and the attention begins early in the text, as Emily Dickinson's "Because I could not stop for Death—" and Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken" are the first poems presented. Lakoff and Turner note how both poems rely on our "implicit knowledge of the structure of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor" (3), and cite other notable works of literature that make use of the metaphor, including Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, the Bible's *Book of Matthew* and *Proverbs*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (7-8). As a conceptual metaphor, Lakoff and Turner note that LIFE IS A JOURNEY carries with it a

coherent organization of concepts that are used to perceive experiences. Lakoff and Turner list these correspondences:

- The person leading a life is a traveler
- His purposes are destinations
- The means for achieving purposes are routes
- Difficulties in life are impediments to travel
- Counselors are guides
- Progress is the distance traveled
- Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks
- Choices in life are crossroads
- Material resources and talents are provisions (3-4)

This list of correspondences re-iterates the ideas behind the coherence and orientational theories presented by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By*, as each correspondence describes the different sorts of subjects that may cohere with it. As an example, consider the “person leading a life” in the first correspondence. Using the term *schema* for the “skeletal form” of the metaphorical structure, and *slots* for “elements of a schema that are to be filled in” (61), Lakoff and Turner note that a “JOURNEY schema has a slot for TRAVELER that can be filled by any particular person whom we understand to be on a journey” (61). That the TRAVELER slot can be filled by anyone highlights how the theory of coherence enables the JOURNEY metaphor to be applied in so many ways. Furthermore, the orientational aspect of these correspondences can be seen in the second listed

correspondence, where *destinations*, by their very nature, require movement *towards* an entity.

By encompassing the theories of orientation and coherence of metaphor, Lakoff and Turner's list of correspondences between LIFE and JOURNEY is a valuable tool for recognizing the different ways in which the metaphor of journey may be employed. Because each of the nine correspondences offer a slot that may be filled in a variety of ways, searching for the presence of these slots is a strategy for finding instances of JOURNEY metaphors. As an example, consider Lakoff and Turner's reading of Dickinson's first line, "Because I could not stop for Death—." Lakoff and Turner note that when this line is read, we "understand that what the speaker could not stop are her purposeful activities," and, furthermore, "we can understand those purposes as destinations and her life as a journey to reach those destinations" (4). These understandings are connected to the list of nine correspondences—in particular the first and second, "The person leading a life is a traveler" and "His purposes are destinations," respectively. The presence of a JOURNEY metaphor may not be obvious in Dickinson's line, but because the slot of a *person* leading a life, paired with that of *purposes* that represent a destination, the JOURNEY metaphor may be discerned.

While the conceptual theory of metaphor discredits the idea that metaphor is limited to the realm of literary language, Lakoff and Turner's *More Than Cool Reason* shows that we can still learn about metaphor through the study of literary works. According to Lakoff and Turner, fine literature often offers particularly interesting examples of metaphor, which is seen in their analysis of Dickinson's very innovative use of the metaphor of JOURNEY in "Because I could not stop for Death—." Lakoff and Turner show how Dickinson makes use of numerous components of this metaphor. While Lakoff and Turner use these examples as

evidence for the claim that people inherently understand such references because of the metaphor's structural and conceptual nature, an added result of their analysis is the veritable checklist of potential components of the JOURNEY metaphor. This checklist will be utilized in my own analysis of JOURNEY metaphor use in discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement exams. But prior to focusing on the discourse involving Advanced Placement exams, I will first review other studies that look at the presence of the metaphor of JOURNEY in discourse involving education and learning.

The JOURNEY Metaphor In the Discourse of Education:

As Lakoff and Turner show in their explanations of the power of conceptual metaphor, metaphors of journey can hold a strong grip on the way we perceive our world. Furthermore, the manner in which conceptual metaphors affect perception has strong ties to ideology. The following section will focus on applications of the journey metaphor, its connections to ideology, and the manner in which these connections relate to education. The goals of this section are to catalogue a collection of sources that focus on metaphors used to talk about education and English studies, show how the metaphor of journey supports certain ideological perspectives of education, and, finally, to place my own study of the use of journey metaphors in discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement program in a context with similar studies.

Because metaphors of journey are ubiquitous and often used without concentrated thought, it is important to consider the ideological connections that are associated with them. Goatly's "Ideology and Metaphor" offers such a consideration through an analysis of the ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor, which he claims to be "One of

the most important clusters of conceptual metaphors or metaphor themes in the English language” (31). The forward orientation of this metaphor suggests a destination, which signifies a correspondence to the general Journey Metaphor category. According to Goatly, the ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor has a wide variety of adaptations, such as “DEVELOPING/SUCCEEDING IS MOVING FORWARD, INTENSE ACTIVITY IS SPEED, SUCCESS/EASE IS SPEED, and ACTIVITY/COMPETITION IS A RACE” (31). As evidence for the pervasiveness of this conceptual metaphor, Goatly describes how “a process or activity, whether it involves movement or not, is conceptualized as motion ... In particular, ACTIVITY/PROCESS is seen as *going on, going forward*” (31).

The ideological components of the ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor are suggested in its evaluative structure. Of this evaluative structure, Goatly writes:

An ‘improvement or successful development’ is *progress*, an *advance*, or a *leap*; if you ‘succeed’ or ‘improve’ you go places, *go far/a long way*, or *forge ahead*. The intensity or rate at which an activity or process takes place is then associated with *speed/pace: quick, fast, rapid, swift, brisk* are such familiar metaphors that they are hard to recognize as such; *rush* and *hurry* not only mean to move fast but ‘do something/act quickly (*He rushed his homework in order to watch the World Cup match*). Such speed metaphors often double up as metaphors for success. In contemporary society, obsessed with time and efficiency, to complete something quickly also implies completing it successfully. (31-2)

These evaluative components of the ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor that promote *progress* and *speed* have a strong connection to capitalism. Goatly writes that “in late capitalist society, it is ideologically significant that metaphors for activity and success should have developed into the highly elaborated theme of a competitive race” (33).

One of the examples of race metaphors provided by Goatly that best coincides with education is “Equality of speed” for “competitive equality.” In this metaphor, “if you *keep up with* people you work as well as they do, but if you *get behind* you may still be able to *catch up with* (‘reach the same standard or level as’) someone else” (33). In education, this example can be applied to the Advanced Placement program. For instance, the following excerpt from Yale University’s Office of Undergraduate Admissions website emphasizes Goatly’s equality of speed for competitive equality when it states, “The decision to accelerate may be made as early as sophomore year but, once made, may always be reversed. Only a small number of eligible students actually elect to graduate in fewer than eight terms. Many students who have the appropriate credits accelerate and then decelerate later” (“Acceleration and Credit”). In this example, Yale presents an ideal pace at which most students work. Of the few students that *accelerate* beyond this pace, “many” of these students will later *decelerate* back to the pace of their classmates.

The metaphors used by Yale’s Office of Undergraduate Admissions to describe their policy regarding Advanced Placement exams also promote the capitalist ideology that Goatly describes. Metaphorical adaptations of ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS are seen in the *accelerate/decelerate* descriptions, and portrays getting a degree as a race where

skilled and motivated students move quickly. Goatly writes that the ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor promotes the capitalistic view that “Winning the race is the ultimate success – as the slogan says, ‘It’s all about winning’” (33), and, in the end, “your list of success and failures will be your track record” (33). At Yale, and numerous other colleges and universities, performance in Advanced Placement exams are a part of this track record.

Goatly’s connections between metaphor and capitalist ideology are placed within the context of a university English Department in Leonard’s “It’s not an Economy, Stupid!” from *The Relevance of English: Teaching That Matters in Student’s Lives*. Leonard argues that “The value of the humanities – including most of what we now call English studies – is being implicitly and explicitly questioned in terms of what they bring to the state economies” (53). This argument pertains to the study of metaphor because of the word choice that defines this perspective of education. As Leonard notes, “Increasingly, words like productivity, producer, consumer, inputs, and outputs are used to describe what education is and why its quality is worse today than it was in the early ‘60s” (52). These terms suggest the same forward orientation seen in Goatly’s ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor. For instance, describing the “productivity” of students suggests they are productive *towards* something, as is emphasized in Leonard’s lamentation that people now measure “the relevance of English studies in dollars and in post-graduation employment figures rather than in terms of what individual human beings might learn and how they might grow intellectually” (54). By such “bottom-line” logic, Goatly’s claims regarding journey as employed by the ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor form the basis of the programmatic evaluation. For Goatly, this metaphor implies that “to complete something

quickly also implies completing it successfully” (33). Of course, Leonard disagrees with such a characterization of education. Speaking of college-level professors, he writes that “Most of us still assume that our primary purpose is to teach students how to learn, how to question appearances, and how to test fairly the strengths and limits of all sorts of ideas and practices” (57). In response to such views of the academy as a “vocational and technical training facility for the postindustrial future” (53), Leonard recommends we “pay attention to the language used in statehouses, university administrative offices, and the occasional opinion pieces in the media” (68). By being cognizant of the language used to describe education, the ideological frameworks employed by various metaphors will be better discerned.

Michael Engel, in *The Struggle for Control of Public Education*, performs such a study of the language used to describe education. As a result, Engel considers the ideological frame promoted by the ACTIVITY OR PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS metaphor as “nothing short of disastrous” (3). Engel notes that “more than ever before, one antidemocratic system of ideas – market ideology – almost exclusively defines the terms of educational politics and charts the path of education reform” (3). Making this shift towards market ideology particularly problematic is the “ideological confusion among many of those who might chart a different path” (5). Engel argues that “To a considerable extent, they have accepted the language and criteria of market ideology themselves, or, even worse, rejected the entire concept of ideological frameworks as fraudulent or obsolete in a postmodern era. Therefore, by default, conflicts over the direction of the public schools are played out within the political rules of the game defined by market ideology” (5). Such willful acceptance of a perspective that runs counter to one’s own values can, again, be explained by Lakoff’s theory of conceptual metaphor. Lakoff argues, “If you are unaware of your own deep frames and

metaphors, then you are unaware of the basis for your moral and political choices. Moreover, your deep frames and metaphors define the range within which your ‘free will’ operates. You can’t will something that is outside your capacity to imagine” (*Whose Freedom?* 15-16). In short, both Engel and Lakoff emphasize the crucial role that language plays in forming ideas, and, in the case of education, language choices must be considered critically.

According to Lakoff’s theory of conceptual metaphor, when Engel writes that “we cannot defend public education, mobilize a constituency behind it, or achieve the visions of democratic educators without a clear and convincing democratic ideological framework that provides a rationale for maintaining a socially owned, controlled, and financed school system” (7), an important component to setting such a framework is the language used to describe education. On this topic of language-use, Engel writes that “As state governments take increasing control of curriculum standards, the language of the market – competitiveness, efficiency, productivity – pervades the guidelines established by departments of education and imposes a uniformity of purpose on local schools. That language establishes a vocationalized curriculum on a national basis, even without federal action, and effectively precludes any use of schools as a means of democratic civic education” (15). One way in which such an imposition may be countered is through utilizing a different metaphor.

As Engel suggests, there are ways of talking and writing about education and curriculums that do not involve the ACTIVITY or PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS component of the JOURNEY metaphor and the capitalist ideology that logically follows. In seeking such alternatives, it is helpful to turn to sources that examine the metaphor of

JOURNEY as it relates to education, specifically those that focus on English studies. Two sources, in particular, offer a helpful distinction between ways of conceptualizing education by way of the JOURNEY metaphor: first is Bishop Hunt's "Travel Metaphors and the Problem of Knowledge," and second is Joseph Williams and Gregory Colomb's description of the University of Chicago's writing program in the book *Programs That Work: Models and Methods for Writing Across the Curriculum*.

In "Travel Metaphors and the Problem of Knowledge," Hunt notes that "Since the earliest times, the act of *traveling*, or proceeding from one place to another, has been seen as a natural metaphor for *learning*, for the acquisition of experience and knowledge" (44). Hunt cites such metaphor use in Homer, Thucydides, Virgil, Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth (44). The problem that Hunt references in the title of his article surfaces in an excerpt of a poem from this last figure. In *Prelude*, Wordsworth writes of a statue of Sir Isaac Newton: "The marble index of a mind forever / Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone (*Prelude*, III, 62-63, qtd. in Hunt, 44). For Hunt, Wordsworth's use of the metaphor of JOURNEY is different from those previously referenced because "Newton's explorations imply a journey of the mind which has no end in sight and no visible center to return to, a one-way ticket to infinity, so to speak" (44). This observation of a different application of a metaphor of JOURNEY leads Hunt to conclude that, "all metaphors of travel are not alike in their implications" (44).

While Hunt is writing before the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* and the subsequent influence of conceptual metaphors, he implies the importance of structure in what

Lakoff defines as conceptual metaphors. Hunt describes two different structures of the JOURNEY metaphor and the roles they play in conceptualizing knowledge. Hunt writes:

In simple logic, there are two patterns or geometrical designs to choose from. You can have a circular journey, a *round*-trip, in which you set out, as it were, from Ithaca and later, usually a lot later, return to where you started. Epistemologically this pattern implies that the world is knowable, is, in fact, substantially known already, and only waits for the individual traveler to discover it for himself in the course of his own odyssey

Alternatively, you can, in the simplest terms, go from one place to another, from point A to point B: from the shores of Troy to Latium, though Carthage and the sea may lie between. In geometrical terms, this represents a straight line. Its characteristics are that it is finite, that it ends at a definite point, and that the journey may be said to have been completed once the destination is reached. Since, however, the individual traveler ends up at a place *different* from where he started, the linear journey suggests a different concept of knowledge; namely, that *new truth* exists ‘out there’ for the traveler to discover: an exploration rather than an excursion (45).

Regarding education, the latter metaphor that focuses on linear journeys is most applicable. Of this “linear voyage,” Hunt describes “two intriguing variations” (45). A journey may “stretch out indefinitely into an endless straight line, implying unlimited extension of knowledge – and also, perhaps, a certain pathos for the finite mind engaged in such unending pursuits” (45). In the second version, “a journey which starts out in a straightforward direction may become stalled, halted, broken off” (45). According to Hunt, this latter version of journey may imply “epistemological frustration (the vanity or impossibility of

knowledge)” (45). Placed within the context of the educational issues described by Leonard and Engel, along with the presence of standardized exams such as those run the Advanced Placement program, the first version of Hunt’s linear voyage (one that stretches out indefinitely) represents the democratic view of learning. In this structure, the process of learning is valued, as is the practice of asking critical questions that do not have pre-defined answers. Conversely, Hunt’s second version coincides with the capitalistic framework that values a defined ending to any educational pursuit – such as standardized tests – that aid in quantifying and categorizing students. Furthermore, the goal of learning in such a destination-based journey is not to promote critical thought, but to perform well in a pre-determined task.

In an approach similar to Hunt’s, Joseph Williams and Gregory Colomb describe the University of Chicago’s Writing Programs by considering the JOURNEY metaphor. And like Hunt, Williams and Colomb focus on the differences between two variations of the journey metaphor that prompt vastly different conceptual frames. Williams and Colomb begin by noting that the metaphors that typically describe learning emphasize natural development and growth. Such a view prompts us to “visually graph development from low to high and progress from a starting point on the lower left to a goal on the upper right” (97). Williams and Colomb then go on to list the consequences of taking a strictly destination-based view of learning. To begin, they point to the value judgments embedded in the language used in describing performance of student writers: “‘regression’ is bad. A student who does not continue to perform at a level ‘reached’ earlier has ‘fallen back’ to a ‘lower’ level of performance. And whoever taught the student at that ‘lower level’ – teaching writing is a paradigm case – did not do the job right. The student failed to learn the ‘bas(e)ics’” (98).

The values expressed by such language imply that only forward movement is desirable. But, according to Williams and Colomb, “the most problematic consequences come when we rely on these linear models to make policy decisions about education” (99). These decisions, Williams and Colomb argue, “may be costly because evidence suggests that these models may not entirely comport with reality” (99). In regards to English studies and the Advanced Placement program, such evidence is provided by the previously discussed work of Foster and other contributors to *Advanced Placement English: Theory, Politics, and Pedagogy*. Foster writes that “in the glow of the practical advantages of the AP, its complex assumptions and unarticulated premises seem not to have been much debated. It seems to have been taken for granted then (as it apparently still is) that, in the words of a recent AP pamphlet, ‘many young people can, with profit and delight, complete college-level studies in their secondary schools’” (4).

As an alternative to the strictly destination-based journey and its associated language, Williams and Colomb offer the alternative of “an ‘outsider’ trying to ‘get into’ a community” (101). This metaphor “models the movement of a learner situated outside a bounded field, who then ‘enters’ the field and so ‘joins’ the community by acting like its members” (101). Though still a metaphor of DESTINATION – the destination being an academic discourse community – and thereby still a metaphor of JOURNEY, this JOURNEY towards a discourse community differs from the strict-destination JOURNEY by not being necessarily linear. The destination of entering a discourse community does not depend on a step-by-step progression, and is not subject to “objectifiable levels of performance” that, according to

Williams and Colomb, “produces a system of testing that reductively categorizes students according to their cognitive/moral/social/academic development” (99). Of course, like the strict-destination metaphor, the discourse community-as-destination metaphor, if accepted, can prompt policy decisions about education. Such a curricula would be based on “the values, conventions, and styles of the communities that make that knowledge the object of their interest” (101), and for the outsider to gain this knowledge from insiders, usually some sort of apprenticeship is involved. Finally, concerning what is perhaps the most crucial aspect of this metaphor, Williams and Colomb write that “While the novice is committed to mastering the knowledge that the community thinks is important, the novice is equally committed to acquiring the *ways* of thinking that characterize that community” (101). The implications of such a goal for curricula make any standardized test worthless. In the case of the Advanced Placement program, a cumulative exam that a student takes prior to entering college to earn exemption from college-level work can be seen as taking away the opportunity for introductory internships that the metaphor values. As for the *ways* of thinking, preparing oneself to answer questions on an exam rarely equates to preparing to think like a member of a community, especially when the act of writing is concerned, as Iorio argues in *Advanced Placement English: Theory, Politics, and Pedogogy*. On the topic of critical thinking, Iorio writes that “AP teachers need to prepare student for a lifetime, not for just one AP test” (148).

Conclusion:

As is shown in the previous section, the conceptual metaphor of journey has many applications. Furthermore, this metaphor is used in a variety of forms to describe education and student development. The value judgements associated with various uses of the metaphor of journey in discourse involving the Advanced Placement exams will make up the majority of the analysis. But, before this analysis may be performed, the corpus representing the compiled Advanced Placement policy statements must be sifted through in a way that directs where the analysis will take place. In the following section, I will introduce three corpus-based studies that focus on metaphor. This introduction will explain how my own corpus-based analysis will work, and how it will lead to the critical examination of the application of the JOURNEY metaphor in the Advanced Placement policy statements.

Section III: Corpus-Based Studies of Metaphor:

Introduction:

The recent growth of corpus-based discourse studies provides an efficient approach to quantitative examination of metaphor use. In fact, a number of recent studies, such as “Methodological Problems in the Analysis of Metaphors in a Corpus Conversation About Cancer,” by Semino, et. al., Deignan’s “Linguistic Metaphors and Collocation in Nonliterary Corpus Data,” and Cameron and Deignan’s “The Emergence of Metaphor in Discourse,” consider various aspects of metaphor through the use of corpora analysis. What follows will be a summary of three of these studies. In these sources, there are three areas of particular interest: first, the methodology the author uses to identify metaphors, as deciding what is and

is not a metaphor is a crucial step in any metaphor analysis; second, the corpus techniques researchers use when studying the previously identified metaphors; and third, how the scholars employing corpus-based methods use the resulting quantitative data to connect to, or move towards, a quantitative analysis.

Koller's Corpus-Based Studies of Metaphor:

Two of the studies I will consider in this section are by Veronika Koller and consider metaphor in business discourse. In the first, “‘A Shotgun Wedding’: Co-occurrence of War and Marriage Metaphors in Mergers and Acquisitions Discourse,” Koller examines the metaphors of marriage as used in business discourse and, as a result of the quantitative analysis, notes “an underlying metaphoric concept of rape for hostile takeovers” (181-2) that is further investigated through qualitative analysis. Koller studies the presence of rape metaphors, arguing, “The way the co-occurrences found in the corpus are syntactically, functionally, and semantically linked gives rise to the claim that both war and marriage as well as, by extension, rape are conceptualized as equally legitimate means to an end, thus blurring the antonymy of consensual versus nonconsensual” (182). Koller comes to this conclusion by applying a variety of corpora tools and techniques.

To begin, Koller identifies 48 lemmas, or different expressions, of the conceptual metaphors from the domains of war and marriage that are present in the Merger and Acquisition discourse. Koller notes that “selecting these lemmas was facilitated by having first identified the conceptual metaphors underlying the anecdotal metaphorical expressions”

(188). Examples of lemmas with which Koller works include *hostage*, *suitor*, *hostile bid(s)*, *husband* and *wife* (191). Working with these 48 lemmas, Koller uses a computer-based word search to find the frequencies of the sought-after metaphorical expressions in the 162-article corpus with which she worked. The resulting search provides concordance lines, which Koller reviews to make certain each term is used metaphorically. Koller notes that “metaphor identification was obviously based on ‘informed intuition [used to] decide whether a particular citation of a word is metaphorical [and] whether a linguistic metaphor is a realization of a particular conceptual metaphor” (189).

After verifying the presence of each metaphor, Koller groups the concordance lines containing the appropriate metaphors into two groups: frequency per publication and frequency per word class. With these two groupings, Koller is able to determine the “overall frequency of the expressions derived from the two domains and their frequency in relation to each other” (189). According to Koller, the results of this quantitative analysis “raised questions that could be answered only by qualitative analysis” (189). To consider these questions, Koller “recontextualized the concordance lines by looking at larger chunks of the text they are embedded in” (189). With these excerpts, Koller is able to examine the “process and aspect indicated by them in that context” (189) and determine “how dynamic or static and active or passive the implicitly gendered metaphorical agents are constructed and, subsequently, to go beyond the text dimension and see how these connections shape the discourse and practice of M&A discourse as a supposedly male domain” (190). For Koller, “going beyond the text dimension” is crucial, as the results from the quantitative analysis

mean very little without the accompanying qualitative analysis, while the qualitative analysis is not possible without the direction provided by the quantitative.

In “Of Critical Importance: Using Electronic Text Corpora to Study Metaphor in Business Media Discourse,” Koller offers a more focused consideration of how cognitive linguists can best use corpora, especially in relation to the study of metaphor. Koller notes how Lakoff and Turner, and the majority of those who have followed in the study of conceptual metaphor, have not made use of corpus tools. According to Koller, this must change, as “Relying on introspection, or extrapolating from the analysis of selected sample texts, runs the risk of addressing the idiosyncratic rather than the typical, the individual rather than the socially shared” (240). In other words, Koller argues that results from corpus techniques validate the study of conceptual metaphor by reducing the possibility of subjectivism.

To illustrate this argument in favor of corpus techniques, Koller offers a case study that examines metaphors in business media discourse by creating corpora from articles published between 1996 and 2001 in four different business publications. Similar to the “Shotgun Wedding” study, this case study is lemma-based in that it analyzes “a headword (for example *prey*) which can be split up into several lexemes, including phrasal ones (for example *prey*, *to prey* [*up*]*on*). These lexemes in turn comprise various word forms (for example *preying*, *preys*, *preyed*)” (245). With the lemmas and associated word forms chosen, concordance lines are created and “edited manually to filter out non-metaphorical instances”

(248). In this study, Koller is more explicit about her movement from the quantitative to the qualitative. She writes:

Although the corpora were manually tagged for metaphoric expressions, rendering the results amenable to inferential statistics (Kretzschmar, Meyer and Ingegneri 1997: 174), the function these expressions and their underlying conceptual metaphors have at the textual, interpersonal and, most importantly, ideological level were deemed more important than their statistical significance. Thus I did not formulate, and seek to validate, hypotheses but rather took descriptive statistics as a starting point for qualitative text analysis, a method which I consider most suitable for addressing questions of the possible socio-cognitive impact of metaphoric expressions in discourse (248).

Thus, in order to lend validity to the possibly subjective analysis of language-use and connections to ideology, Koller avoids initial hypotheses and lets the data drive the qualitative research. In this instance, results showing war and fighting metaphors as the most frequent, followed by metaphors of sports and mating, lead to qualitative analysis involving gender.

Partington's Corpus-Aided Discourse Study of metaphor:

Similar to Koller's "Of Critical Importance," Partington's "Metaphors, Motifs and Similes Across Discourse Types: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) at Work" considers recent advancements in the practice of corpus-based research on metaphor. To do

so, Partington analyzes four CADS studies, two of which are his own. Partington is primarily concerned with “the strategic and evaluative use of metaphor and what this can tell us about the users and the discourse context” (267), and his summaries and analysis of the four CADS-based research projects focus on “uncovering the network of systemic metaphors used in a particular discourse” in order to “hypothesize how actors in an institutional setting (purport to) see their world and their own behavior in it” (267).

To uncover a discourse’s “network of systemic metaphors,” Partington advocates the use of comparison corpora. As he states, “it is only possible to both uncover and evaluate the particular features of a discourse type by comparing it with others” (269). Partington pays particular attention to modularized corpora where subsections, or modules, may be compared to each other, or to all other sections combined (270). To do a comparison study with such a modularized corpora, Partington summarizes the previously considered studies to determine the research questions CADS can investigate and outline a standard methodology for such an approach. The research questions Partington developed are of three types⁷:

- (i) How does *X* achieve *Y* with language?
- (ii) What does this tell us about *X*?
- (iii) Comparative studies: how do *X1* and *X2* differ in their use of language? Does this tell us anything about their different principles and objectives? (270)

Partington’s outline for CADS research that attempts to answer one or more of these questions is as follows:

Step 1: Design, unearth, stumble upon the research question

⁷ Partington’s work, as well as the work he summarizes, is concerned with political discourse, thus, “Where *X* is a political figure or institution and *Y* is a political objective” (Partington, 270).

Step 2: Choose, compile or edit an appropriate corpus

Step 3: Choose, compile or edit an appropriate *reference* corpus/corpora

Step 4: Make frequency lists and run a *Keywords* comparison of the corpora

Step 5: Determine the existence of *sets* of key items

Step 6: *Concordance* interesting key items (with varying quantities of co-text)

(273)

Partington's methodology does not account for identification of metaphors – instead, he depends on keyword lists. He describes a process where he begins by preparing multiple keyword lists from the modularized corpora, using WordSmith Tools. The keyword lists are “perused closely and items which appeared in more than one keyword list or which seemed to fall into some sort of semantic set were then concordanced” (269). The approach Partington describes sounds like a version of the “informed intuition” that is guided by the keyword lists described by Koller in the article “War and Marriage Metaphors in M&A Discourse” (189).

Once corpus data is collected and analyzed, Partington states that “more qualitative types of research are given their rein” (279). Partington sees this step towards qualitative analysis as crucial. On the one hand, the qualitative analysis aids the quantitative because the “Quantitative corpus analysis does nothing if not arouse the researcher’s curiosity to delve deeper using qualitative means” (279). At the same time, the quantitative analysis plays an important role validating any qualitative analysis. Referring to non-corpus based studies of metaphor, Partington states that “too many of these studies have been distinguished by a predilection for inventing suitable examples which, from the point of view of modern data-

based linguistics, constitutes an unwarranted intrusion of the analyst into the data field” (268). For Partington, the corpus-aided data validates the qualitative analysis that follows.

Conclusion:

The three studies considered in this section offer valuable insight into the aforementioned areas of interest: (1) metaphor identification, (2) corpus techniques, and (3) movement from quantitative to qualitative research. The way in which these studies handle these three methodological concerns provides a strong argument and model for the practice of corpus-based analysis of metaphor. In particular, the co-dependence of quantitative and qualitative analysis that the three studies exhibit offers an exciting approach to analysis. The idea of a corpus-based study as simply “counting words” is discredited, as the numbers lead directly to qualitative study. Furthermore, the criticism of a purely qualitative analysis of metaphor – that the researcher is seeing only what he or she wants to see – is accounted for. Because of these complementing roles of the qualitative and quantitative, any results may be better understood and trusted.

Regarding the other two areas of interest, metaphor identification and the corpus techniques used, the descriptions offered here are only a preview of what will be considered in much greater depth in the methodology section. The purpose for including both issues so early is to better connect the more traditional, qualitative analysis of conceptual metaphor to that of the corpus-based analysis of which this study will also make use.

Chapter Conclusion:

The goal of this chapter was to make the case that a close analysis of the metaphors used to describe the Advanced Placement exams, and the process of granting credit and exemption on account of these exams, would offer valuable insight into the role of the Advanced Placement program in the current educational landscape, with particular relevance to college-level FYC programs. The advent of two linguistic innovations, the theory of conceptual metaphor and the methodologies of corpus-based analysis, make such a study not only possible, but also meaningful. As this chapter explained, the metaphors we use determine the frames we employ and, therefore, have great power. By highlighting the patterns of metaphor use through corpus-based methods, this study will expose the frames used to structure thought about the Advanced Placement program, education in general, and the value of writing. With a clearer understanding of the language used to talk about the Advanced Placement program, it is my hope that the flaws of the program, as it relates to the study of writing, may be highlighted, and Writing Program Administrators will review policies concerning acceptance of Advanced Placement English exam scores. If enough Writing Program Administrators choose not to allow Advanced Placement English exam scores to count for credit and exemption of First-Year Writing courses, then the College Board could be pressured into changing the exam in a way that better reflects the values of the discipline, as stated in the “WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition.”

With the foundation of the theory of conceptual metaphor and corpus-based methods of its study established, attention may be turned to the corpus-based component of this study. The next chapter will begin by describing the methods used to compile and analyze the corpus, and then share the results of the analysis.

Chapter III: Metaphor Identification and Arranging Data

Introduction:

Following the model of Partridge and Koller, this chapter will begin the analysis of metaphor use in the discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement Exams by utilizing a variety of corpus-based tools from WordSmith software. This portion of the study has two overall goals. The first is to decipher any patterns in the use of metaphor in the collective corpus and comparatively between separate sub-corpora. The second goal is to locate where examples of these patterns take place. The results surrounding these two areas of inquiry will prompt and guide the qualitative analysis of Chapter 4.

This chapter will begin with a description of methodology that describes the data collection, corpus formation, metaphor identification, and implementation of WordSmith tools for analysis. Following the methodology section will be a presentation of the various ways in which the data from the implementation of WordSmith tools is arranged. The data presented at the end of this chapter will be the focus of the quantitative analysis to take place in Chapter 4.

Methodology:

Section I – Establishing a Working Corpus:

My goal in this study is to investigate the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors used in the discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement Exams in order to discern the way education, or, more specifically, FYC, is framed for in-coming college students. The first step in performing this investigation is to create a corpus – a task requiring many decisions. The corpus for this study consists of two sub-corpora, each of which is formed from

materials directed to an audience of Advanced Placement examinees and soon-to-be college students. The first sub-corpus, which is by far the largest, is a collection of university statements of policy that describe processes of accepting and applying Advanced Placement Exam scores for course exemption and credit. This sub-corpus can be divided into numerous, more specific, sub-corpora that represent various categories of colleges and universities. The second sub-corpus is compiled from materials produced by the College Board – the branch of Educational Testing Services (ETS) that administers the Advanced Placement Exams. The College Board sub-corpus is substantially smaller than the university statement of policy sub-corpus.

The compiling of both sub-corpora involved numerous decisions on issues ranging from formatting to appropriate content. The following will describe the formation of each.

The University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus:

The University Statement of Policy Sub-Corpus is, by far, the largest and most important for this study. The first step in creating this corpus was to decide which colleges and universities ought to be included, and, when dealing with the sub-corpora of this corpus, how they ought to be divided. Two sources were used to guide these decisions. The first source is the College Board’s list of “The 200 Colleges and Universities Receiving the Greatest Number of AP Grades” from 2006. As the title suggests, this list identifies the schools that make the most use of the Advanced Placement program. The second source is the Basic Classification System from the Carnegie Foundation. This classification system includes numerous options that allow users to create lists that categorize “All accredited, degree-granting colleges and universities in the United States represented in the National

Center for Education Statistics IPEDS system” (“Carnegie Classifications FAQs”) into a variety of classifications. The “Basic Classification” system allows researchers to customize searches using a variety of classifications. These all-inclusive classifications include an “Enrollment Profile” that classifies colleges and universities based on the amounts of undergraduate students in relation to graduate students and two-year vs. four-year institutions, an “Undergraduate Profile” that classifies schools as “inclusive,” “selective,” and “more selective,” and the “Basic Classification,” where divisions include “public” vs. “private” colleges and universities and “research universities” with either “very high research activity” or “high research activity.”

To create the University Statement of Policy Sub-Corpus, lists were created to direct the search. In the case of the College Board’s “The 200 Colleges and Universities Receiving the Greatest Number of AP Grades,” the list was ready for use. Working with the Carnegie Foundation’s Basic Classification System was more involved. Seven separate lists were created using the Basic Classification System’s customizing tool. These seven lists, followed by their abbreviated name in parentheses, include:

Four-year Inclusive Colleges and Universities (Inclusive)

Four-year Selective Colleges and Universities (Selective)

Four-year More Selective Colleges and Universities (More Selective)

Four-year Public Colleges and Universities (Public)

Four-year Private Colleges and Universities (Private)

Four-year High Research Colleges and Universities (High-Research)

Four-year Non-High Research Colleges and Universities (Non-High Research)

Using the eight lists as an identification guide, I searched each college or university's website for a statement regarding the school's policy for accepting Advanced Placement exam scores for credit or exemption. If the school had a policy specific to the FYC program, I used that, but most schools only offered a general statement that applied to all programs⁸. Schools that appeared on more than one Carnegie Foundation list were only searched for once to prevent repetition. Once a statement was found, I copied the text, including any attached headlines, and pasted it onto a separate Word document. Each new Word document was saved, and then copied into the collected corpus, as well as each applicable sub-corpus. In the end, policy statements from 645 colleges and universities were found, resulting in a main corpus of 103,148 words. The number of schools and total word counts for each of the University Statements of Policy sub-corpora are as follows:

Sub-Corpus Category	Schools Included	Total Word Count
AP Top 200	198	41,936
Inclusive	72	8,304
Selective	221	27,274
More Selective	212	39,283
Public	301	46,825
Private	334	54,349
High-Research	188	36,811
Non-High Research	457	67,289

⁸ Citation information for the 645 college and university web pages used to compile this corpus is available in Appendix 4.

The College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus:

The next corpus is compiled of materials released by the College Board via the website “AP Central” [<http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/Controller.jspf>] to an intended audience of Advanced Placement examinees and students about to enter college. The College Board AP Statements Sub-Corpus includes the following texts:

- “About AP,” an introduction to the Advanced Placement program that seeks to answer the questions “Why Participate?” and “How Do I Enroll?”
- “The Bulletin for AP Students and Parents,” a guide to the Advanced Placement program
- “English Language,” a description of the English Language and Composition Advanced Placement Exam
- “English Literature,” a description of the English Literature and Composition Advanced Placement Exam
- “Exam Choice Guidelines,” an explanation of policies regarding taking multiple exams, re-taking exams, and prior preparation for exams
- “Exam Grades,” a description of how test scores are distributed to consumers and colleges and universities
- “Frequently Asked Questions,” a questions and answer page that covers logistics of taking an Advanced Placement exam and using the scores
- “Registering,” an explanation of how to register for an Advanced Placement exam

Similar to the University Statements of Policy Corpus, the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Corpus was formed by copying the text of each web page onto a

separate Word document. The texts of all documents were then combined, resulting in a corpus of 5,093 words.

The Complete Corpus:

In total, the corpus consists of 108,246 words from 653 different sources and represents two general categories of sources: the College Board and colleges and universities. Important to note is the vast difference in scale of the two corpora; the college and university statement corpus makes up 95.29% of the complete corpus. It is my hope that such a collection of texts will offer insight into how the AP exams are framed for examinees and college-bound students. This collection of texts may also show how education, in general, is presented to this audience.

Section II – Metaphor Identification:

Introduction:

With the corpus compiled and the sub-corpora arranged, attention turns to the selection of words and terms that represent instances of the metaphor of JOURNEY. The identification of metaphor is a complicated and much-debated process. In a critique of the methods of past studies in conceptual metaphor, Semino et. al. note that “most claims about the existence of particular metaphors from Reddy (1979) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) onwards have been based on lists of decontextualized sentences, all supposedly realizing the same underlying mappings in the minds of speakers of a language” (1273). Semino, et. al. go on to argue that “cognitive metaphor theory still lacks a fully explicit procedure for metaphor identification and analysis” (1292). In response to criticisms of the sort voiced by Semino, et.

al., much effort has been made to explain and defend various means of metaphor identification.

For this study, an approach labeled *unilateral identification* by Low (49), but also termed *informed intuition* by Deignan (180), will be used. Low describes two advantages associated with unilateral identification. First, “The researcher can set up identification criteria specific to the research project – which people other than the researcher might find hard to employ” (49), and, second, “it is possible to be highly responsive to the text being studied and to bring a wide range of experience from areas such as linguistics and literature to bear concurrently on identification decisions” (49). But Low also identifies two “serious dangers” of this approach, and both are consequences of the aforementioned advantages. First, “there is always going to be a measure of subjectivity or randomness in identifying expressions which are not actually referred to, or demarcated by the speaker(s), as metaphoric” (49). Such subjectivity is highlighted by the fact that the identification method allows for specific criteria. The second disadvantage is that “metaphor researchers are likely to have a heightened sensitivity to metaphors with which they have been working in the recent past. This may lead to consistently over-interpreting expressions which are only peripherally relatable, or just about relatable with hindsight” (49). Here, a researcher’s “wide range of experience” can be a detriment. In each step of the metaphor identification process, measures were made to account for these potential pitfalls.

Prior to Low’s descriptions of the various means of identifying metaphor, he states that “the nature of the identification procedure adopted needs to fit the aims of the research” (49). The aims of this research project require only a certain instance of metaphor, that of journey, to be highlighted. As noted in Chapter 2, the metaphor of JOURNEY can take many

forms, in part because of its connections to the theories of orientation (14) and coherence (44) in metaphor as described in Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*. In short, coherence between metaphors of journey often is formed as a result of an orientational bearing. Thus, to locate metaphors of JOURNEY in the overall corpus, signs of orientation will play a large role. To direct the search for these signs of orientation, Lakoff and Turner's list of correspondences between LIFE and JOURNEY will be used. This list, presented below, offers nine correspondences that show how the metaphor of JOURNEY may be employed in reference to LIFE, or in the case of this project, EDUCATION.

- The person leading a life is a traveler
- His purposes are destinations
- The means for achieving purposes are routes
- Difficulties in life are impediments to travel
- Counselors are guides
- Progress is the distance traveled
- Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks
- Choices in life are crossroads
- Material resources and talents are provisions (3-4)

To identify EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors for this project, I will use this list as a guide. Specifically, Lakoff and Turner's list of correspondences will determine what words I search for as being possibly indicative of an instance of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The four steps used to identify the metaphors for this study, and what will be done with the results, are as follows.

Metaphor Identification – Step 1:

To employ Lakoff and Turner’s list of correspondences, I worked with a word frequency list formed by running the collected corpus through the WordSmith wordlist tool. The word frequency list presents all words used in the collected corpus in alphabetical order. This list contains 3,922 entries and includes the number representing each word’s order, the word, the frequency of the word’s use in the corpus, and the proportion of the word’s use. As an example, the first ten entries from the complete word list are below:

N	Word	Freq.	%
1	A	2,028	1.85
2	AB	26	0.02
3	ABBEY	1	
4	ABILENE	1	
5	ABILITIES	3	
6	ABILITY	13	0.01
7	ABITUR	7	
8	ABITURAND	1	
9	ABLE	12	0.01
10	ABOUND	1	

Here, we see that the word “able” is the ninth word in alphabetical order, is used eleven times in the entire corpus, and occurs at a frequency of 0.01 percent.

With the word frequency list created, I reviewed each word from the word frequency list to determine if it could possibly signal a metaphor of JOURNEY. To perform this review, Lakoff and Turner’s list of correspondences, paired with the role of orientation and

coherence and consistency in metaphors of journey, were crucial. As Lakoff and Turner's list and Lakoff and Johnson's theories of conceptual metaphor show, a form of metaphor like JOURNEY can be constructed in a variety of ways. The purpose of reviewing each word was to locate any instance in the collected corpus that could possibly be a metaphor of JOURNEY. Once every word in the word frequency list was considered, 632 were flagged as possibly being part of a metaphor of journey⁹.

Each flagged word from the word frequency list represented a moment that needed to be further investigated. To perform this investigation, I used the WordSmith software to create a concordance of each word. These concordances present every use of each word in its original context. For instance, the word "aims" occurs once in the entire corpus. When using WordSmith software to create a concordance of "aims," the results are presented in the following manner:

```
1      ough examination. Credit by examination aims to give students the opportunity to
      88,078
```

The "1" signifies that this is the first entry for the word "aims." The second component presents the word in context – "aims" is in the center, in-between the words that precede and follow it. The final component, the number on the second line of the concordance, indicates where this use of "aims" is found in the complete corpus. For an example that contains more than one entry, consider the word "ahead," which is found three times in the corpus:

```
1      (IB) classes in high school can get you ahead in college before you even leave h
      45,419
```

⁹ See Appendix 5 for list of flagged words

2 ind how your AP scores can help you get ahead. Students who earn scores of 3, 4,
75,307

3 courages well-prepared students to move ahead in their academic programs at a ra
34,858

After creating concordance lists for all 632 flagged words, there was a total of 12,216 separate concordance entries. Some words occur in the complete corpus with great consistency, and thus they have long concordance lists. For instance, the word “advanced” is used 1,838 times in the corpora while the word “students” was used 1,368 times – meaning they represent 1,838 and 1,368 concordances, respectively. A less extreme example is found in the word “following,” which results in 177 concordances.

Metaphor Identification – Step 2:

With 532 pages of concordances, the next task was to eliminate instances where the flagged word was not part of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. For the second step of identifying metaphors, I set out to pare down this list of 12,216 concordances by reading through each one and highlighting those that might contain a metaphor of journey. If it was clear that the concordance did not contain an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, I removed it from the working list of concordances. An example of a concordance that does not contain an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is found in the first entry for “encourage,” whose concordance reads: “some writing assignments should encourage students to write effectively.” In this instance, the word “encourage” relates to “writing effectively,” and not to any of Lakoff and Turner’s nine correspondence – in particular to number 5, “Counselors are

guides,” which prompted the flagging of “encourage” in the first place. Thus, the concordance was eliminated from the working list.

After this second step in the metaphor identification process, the list of concordances went from 12,216 to 1,922. While individual concordances were cut from most of the flagged words, the high number of eliminated concordances can be attributed to certain words that occurred at a very high frequency. For instance, the words “student,” “student’s,” and “students” were flagged because of their possible connection to Lakoff and Turner’s first correspondence, *The person leading a life is a traveler*. These three words accounted for 2,160 of the 12,216 total entries, and 1,974 were removed from the working list after this second step of the identification process, leaving 186 entries to be considered in the second round.

Other terms that prompted specific decisions involved the words *toward/towards* and *achieve/achieved*. With *toward/towards*, the role of prepositions becomes a concern. In Koller’s “Of critical importance: Using electronic corpora to study metaphor in business media discourse,” prepositions were eliminated from consideration. She writes: “Although they undoubtedly play a crucial role for spatial metaphors (e.g., market entry), ‘their non/verb colligates are too general to yield any imagery or to make manifest any specific schemata’ (Goatly 1997: 91)” (246). In the case of *toward/towards*, I decided that they could lead to identifying applicable metaphors that would otherwise go undetected, so I included the terms in my search. I did, however, do so with a set of restrictions. I omitted any use of *toward/towards* that referred to a specific class, requirement, or program. I kept for further consideration any instance that referred to graduating/graduation or earning a degree because they potentially fit with four of Lakoff and Turner’s correspondences: (2) *His purposes are*

destinations, (6) Progress is the distance traveled, (7) Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks, and (9) Material resources and talents are provisions.

With *achieve/achieved*, a similar set of guidelines was used. Any usage of *achieve/achieved* that referred to a test score, as in “students who achieve satisfactory scores of 3 or above,” was omitted because the achievement did not refer to a landmark in a journey, as Lakoff and Turner’s 7th correspondence describes. However, concordances where *achieve/achieved* was used in reference to an achievement that suggested progress towards an academic goal was left for the second round. Examples of such uses of *achieve/achieved* include: “students may achieve advanced standing,” “have already achieved certain learning outcomes,” and “have independently achieved college-level proficiency.”

Another major decision relating to the first round of metaphor identification dealt with handling terms that included the words *advance/advanced*. There were 1,868 concordances with these words – many of which were used in reference to the Advanced Placement program. Because such references are to a proper noun and are thus impossible for college and university representatives to avoid when clarifying policies, I omitted these from consideration. The term “advanced placement” is an instance of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor as it relates to three of Lakoff and Turner’s nine correspondences, so any instance where the term was used not as a proper noun counted as an instance of metaphor. For the same reason, the term “advanced standing” qualified as metaphorical, as did instances of “advanced credit.”

Metaphor Identification – Step 3:

For the third step in the metaphor identification process, I set out to eliminate any double entries in the remaining 1,922 concordances. Because my search for metaphors, up to this point, has been based on single words, if a single journey metaphor contained four words from the list of flagged words, that single metaphor would be represented by four concordance entries on the working list. The WordSmith software presents concordance data without any reference to the direct source – in the case of this corpus, the school from where the Advanced Placement policy statement, or the College Board text, came. To find this information, I searched for the phrase provided in each concordance with the basic Word program search tool. These searches directed me to the complete source where I could study each potential metaphor of journey in its complete context. At the same time, I was able to add the source information to each concordance, a necessary tool for the work that follows the metaphor identification process.

By observing each concordance entry in its original and full context, I was able to find and remove any redundant concordance entries. An example of such overlap is seen in the following instance from Texas Tech University. The concordance results from the Texas Tech University policy statement include these five entries, all of which concern the single sentence “The objective of the AP is to allow students to begin work toward college credit while still in high school”

(<http://www.depts.ttu.edu/officialpublications/catalog/ADCLEP.html#ENGLAP>).

of the Advanced Placement Program. The objective of the AP is to allow students

71,287

ctive of the AP is to allow students to begin work toward college credit while s

71,300

am. The objective of the AP is to allow students to begin work toward college cr
71,303

of the AP is to allow students to begin work toward college credit while still i
71,306

AP is to allow students to begin work toward college credit while still in hig
71,307

The keywords “objective,” “begin,” “students,” “work,” and “toward” account for each individual concordance entry. Because each keyword occurs within the same sentence and together build an instance of metaphor, I omitted all but the 71,303 entry. The 71,303 entry, with the keyword “students” as the anchor, was kept because it is the one concordance that contains each of the five relevant keywords, and best captures the essence of the metaphor.

The process of examining each concordance entry in its original and full context also gave me a better opportunity to note, like in the second step of the identification process, when a concordance entry was not representative of an instance of metaphor. The elimination of redundant concordance entries and additional instances where a metaphor was not present, reduced the total number of concordances to 1,134, a reduction of 788 from the start of the third step in the metaphor identification process.

Metaphor Identification – Step 4:

The fourth and final step in the process of identifying metaphors of journey in the corpus involved using the Lakoff and Turner list of nine correspondences of the JOURNEY metaphor to classify each of the remaining 1,134 concordances. I was able to use the nine correspondences as a tool to critically review each concordance. If the text in the

concordance was not represented by at least one of the nine correspondences, it was removed from the working list. The result of this fourth step of the identification process was a reduction of 283 concordances, making for a final list of 851 metaphors of journey. This fourth step resulted in the added benefit of identifying each moment of metaphor in relation to Lakoff and Turner's nine correspondences. The manner in which these identifications will be used is described later in the chapter.

Metaphor Identification – Conclusion:

In each of the four steps of the metaphor identification process, I tried to avoid letting the disadvantages of informed intuition, or, as Low describes it, unilateral identification, leave too large a mark on the results. I did my best to avoid the first disadvantage – the “measure of subjectivity or randomness in identifying expressions” (49) – by limiting the subjective nature of the choices in the identification process. While subjectivity will always exist in decisions like this, by first highlighting only words that could relate to a journey, I created the first collection of possibilities without looking at the words in context. Such a format limited the role of my subjective reasoning. Step two, where I reviewed the collected concordances and decided what was and was not a metaphor, required a great deal of subjective reasoning. To compensate, step four, where I had to label each instance of metaphor with Lakoff and Turner's nine correspondences, required me to link my own reasoning with that of a pre-defined set of terms. The fact that this fourth step resulted in the removal of over 24% of the remaining concordances shows why the subjective nature of these decisions must be accounted for. Because of the steps taken, and that each metaphor

can be connected to at least one of Lakoff and Turner’s correspondences, I am confident that I have limited the negative effects of the subjective nature of metaphor identification.

The second disadvantage that Low describes – the “heightened sensitivity to metaphors with which they have been working in the recent past” (49), was also corrected, in a large part, by the fourth step of identifying each metaphor by Lakoff and Turner’s nine correspondences. Also helpful in limiting the “heightened sensitivity” were the parameters I set surrounding certain terms and words. While more thoroughly described in the explanation of step 2 of the metaphor identification process, setting parameters on common terms like *towards*, *advanced*, and *students* helped account for this sensitivity.

Overall, I am confident that the final list of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors is a sound one. While the pitfalls of unilateral identification and informed intuition are, most likely, impossible to avoid, I feel that I limited their damage by using the four aforementioned steps.

Section III – Arranging the Data:

After the initial 12,216 concordances identified after step one of the metaphor identification process were narrowed to the final 851 instances of metaphor, the next step was to arrange the vast amount of data to facilitate analysis. To do this, I created a collection of five spreadsheets that help present the collected data in a manageable way. The first of these spreadsheets, titled Collected Data Chart (see Figure 1), indicates how each of the 851 metaphors stand in relation to the variety of categories I hope to consider in the study. Specifically, each instance of metaphor is represented by a row in the spreadsheet – meaning the chart has 851 rows. The columns begin with the source (the school or College Board

source from where the metaphor comes). Each of the next nine columns represents Lakoff and Turner's nine correspondences of journey metaphors. For instance, if a metaphor relates to the second, sixth, seventh, and ninth correspondences, as many of the metaphors based on the word "toward" do, a "1" is marked in the "#2," "#6," "7," and "#9" columns. The next two columns, numbers 12 and 13, are for Public and Private schools, respectively. Again, a "1" marks the appropriate cell for each school. Columns 14, 15, and 16 are devoted to the selectivity of the school, as defined by the Carnegie Foundation's Basic Classification System. Columns 17 and 18 represent, with the mark of "1," Non-High Research and High Research schools, respectively. And finally, column 19 refers to the list "The 200 Colleges and Universities Receiving the Greatest Number of AP Grades." Again, a "1" is entered into the box of schools on this list, while the boxes of all other schools are left empty. Figure 1, below, shows entries 500-509 from the complete spreadsheet. Following Figure 1 is Figure 2, which shows the totals from the Collected Data spreadsheet.

Figure 1: Collected Data Chart (Sample)

School	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	Pub.	Pri.	Inc.	Sel.	More Sel.	Non Res	High Res	Top 200
Simons Rock																	
Col. of Bard		1				1	1		1		1			1	1		
Skidmore																	
College		1				1	1		1		1			1	1		
Skidmore																	
College		1				1	1		1		1			1	1		
Smith																	
College		1				1	1		1		1			1	1		
Smith																	
College		1	1			1	1				1			1	1		
Sonoma																	
State U		1				1	1		1	1			1		1		
SC																	
State U		1				1	1			1		1				1	
SE MO																	
State U		1				1	1		1	1			1		1		
SE MO																	
State U		1				1	1		1	1			1		1		
SE OK																	
State U		1				1	1		1	1		1			1		

The final results for the Collected Data Chart are seen in Figure 2. First, the total metaphor counts for each of Lakoff and Turner's nine correspondences are presented. Next, are the total metaphor counts for each sub-corpora category.

Figure 2: Collected Data Chart Totals

Lakoff 1	Lakoff 2	Lakoff 3	Lakoff 4	Lakoff 5	Lakoff 6	Lakoff 7	Lakoff 8	Lakoff 9
37	666	40	22	1	704	749	1	213
Public	Private	Inclusive	Selective	More Selective	Non-Res	High Res	Top 200	
337	493	74	221	448	505	328	358	

The Collected Data spreadsheet allows readers to see how the metaphors of journey were used in the texts that make up the corpus. However, because there are 851 rows, analyzing it can be difficult. By using basic tools to sort and tally the data, I was able to use this Collected Data spreadsheet to create other charts that offered a more focused view of the results. What follows are four charts that represent four different arrangements of the data from the Collected Data spreadsheet.

The first of the four arrangements, titled Schools in Complete Corpus Chart, sets out to catalogue the percentages of schools that use the metaphor of journey. The complete chart can be seen in Figure 3. This chart indicates, in the first column, how many schools were represented in the original corpus – for both the complete corpus and each sub-corpora. Because each of the nine correspondences are applicable to the entire corpus, the total number of schools in the original corpus was used – 644. The second column presents the number of colleges and universities represented on the Collected Data spreadsheet – or, the colleges and universities whose policy statements contain a metaphor of journey. The third and final column shows, for the complete corpus, each sub-corpora, and the nine correspondences, the percentage of schools that make use of the journey metaphor in their Advanced Placement policy statement versus those that do not. This chart accomplishes two objectives. First, it shows how many schools have Advanced Placement policy statements that make use of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor compared to those that do not. Second, it hints at patterns of frequency in relation to different types of metaphors of journeys and schools. It is important to note, however, that all of the data in this chart relates to the number of Advanced Placement policy statements I was able to find. If a college or

university was listed by the Carnegie Foundation’s Basic Classification System or the College Board’s “200 Colleges and Universities Receiving the Greatest Number of AP Grades,” but did not make a policy statement available on its website, the college or university was not counted in the “# Schools in Corpus” column. This is why, for instance, there are only 198 colleges and universities for the “Top 200” column.

Figure 3: Schools in Complete Corpus Chart

	# Schools in Corpus	# Schools w/ Meta	% Schools w/ Meta vs. Total Schools
Complete Chart	644	362	56.20%
Lakoff 1	644	27	4.10%
Lakoff 2	644	317	49.20%
Lakoff 3	644	31	4.80%
Lakoff 4	644	20	3.10 %
Lakoff 5	644	1	0.10%
Lakoff 6	644	330	51.20%
Lakoff 7	644	345	53.50%
Lakoff 8	644	1	0.10%
Lakoff 9	644	151	23.40%
Public	301	160	53.00%
Private	334	200	59.80%
Inclusive	72	35	48.60%

Selective	221	118	53.30%
More Selective	212	169	79.70%
Non-Res	457	254	55.50%
High Res	188	110	58.50%
Top 200	198	121	61.10%

The second of the four arrangements, the Schools with Metaphor Chart, is similar to the Schools in Complete Corpus Chart in that it concerns the percentage of schools that make use of the metaphor of journey. However, where the Schools in Complete Corpus Chart concerns the percentage of schools that make use of the metaphor in relation to all of the schools in the corpus, the Schools with Metaphor Chart provides the percentages of the number of schools in each category in relation to the total number of schools with metaphor – which is 362. This chart accomplishes two objectives. First, it shows the frequency with which the nine correspondences defined by Lakoff and Turner occur when a metaphor of journey is used. This information clarifies how the metaphor of journey is employed in the corpus. Second, by limiting the focus to schools that use metaphor of journey, the chart allows for comparison between sets of sub-corpora.

Figure 4: Schools with Metaphor Chart

	# Schools w/ Metaphor	% Schools in Category vs. Total Schools w/ Metaphors
Complete Chart	362	100%

Lakoff 1	27	7.40%
Lakoff 2	317	87.50%
Lakoff 3	31	8.50%
Lakoff 4	20	5.50%
Lakoff 5	1	0.20%
Lakoff 6	330	91.10%
Lakoff 7	345	95.30%
Lakoff 8	1	0.20%
Lakoff 9	151	41.70%
Public	160	44.10%
Private	200	55.20%
Inclusive	35	9.60%
Selctive	118	32.50%
More Selective	169	46.60%
Non-Res	254	70.10%
High Res	110	30.30%
Top 200	121	33.40%

The third of the four arrangements, titled Metaphor Dispersion Chart and seen in Figure 5, highlights the total number of metaphors used and how they are dispersed according to the entire corpus, by each of the nine correspondences, and the eight sub-corpora. Specifically, the first column, labeled “# of Metaphors,” represents how many

metaphors, out of the total of 851, are found in each category. The second column offers the percentage of the total number of metaphors used in each category in relation to the total of 851.

Figure 5: Metaphor Dispersion

	# of Metaphors	% of Total Metaphors
Complete Chart	851	100%
Lakoff 1	37	4.30%
Lakoff 2	666	78.20%
Lakoff 3	40	4.70%
Lakoff 4	22	2.50%
Lakoff 5	1	0.10%
Lakoff 6	704	82.70%
Lakoff 7	749	88.00%
Lakoff 8	1	0.10%
Lakoff 9	213	25.00%
Public	337	39.60%
Private	493	57.90%
Inclusive	74	8.60%
Selective	221	25.90%
More Selective	448	52.60%
Non-Res	505	59.30%

High Res	328	38.50%
Top 200	358	42.00%

The fourth and final arrangement, labeled the Words per Metaphor Chart, concerns the words per metaphor count of the corpus, each sub-corpora, and the nine correspondences. Seen in Figure 6, the first two columns offer the total EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor count and the total number of words from that category's corpus. For the third column, the total number of words is divided by the total metaphor count to get the Words per Metaphor calculation. The fourth column presents the Words per Metaphor information in relation to the Complete Corpus. For instance, in the Complete Corpus, a metaphor of journey takes place, on average, every 121 words. In the Public corpus, there are an additional 17 (+17) words per metaphor, while in the Private corpus, there are 11 (-11) fewer words per metaphor. The Words per Metaphor chart offers another lens through which to view the frequency of metaphor, and how this frequency varies within sub-corpora.

Figure 6: Words per Metaphor Chart

	Metaphors	Words	Words/Metaphor	+/-
Complete Corpus	851	103,175	121	=
#1	37	103,175	2,788	+2,667
#2	666	103,175	154	+33
#3	40	103,175	2,579	+2,458
#4	22	103,175	4,689	+4,658

#5	1	103,175	103,175	+103,054
#6	704	103,175	146	+25
#7	749	103,175	137	+16
#8	1	103,175	103,175	+103,054
#9	213	103,175	484	+363
Public	337	46,824	138	+17
Private	493	54,362	110	-11
Inclusive	74	8,304	112	-9
Selective	221	27,275	123	+2
More Selective	448	39,301	87	-34
Non-Res	505	67,312	133	+12
High Res	328	36,817	112	-9
Top 200	358	41,937	117	-4

Chapter Conclusion:

The goal of this chapter has been to clarify all of the steps that have led to the quantitative analysis that will begin with the next chapter. I hope to have explained the decisions behind the creation of the corpus and sub-corpora and the ways in which I utilized the WordSmith 3.0 program. I also present my process of metaphor identification. The subjective nature of the “informed intuition” approach to metaphor identification leaves much room for doubt. By explaining the steps taken to guard against this subjectivity, I hope to instill confidence on the part of readers that the analysis of this study is based on a sound

collection of metaphors – a collection that could be achieved by anyone who follows the four steps described in this chapter.

The final section of this chapter shows how the results of the WordSmith data were organized. When I started this study, I naively figured that once I created the corpus and sub-corpora, entered them into the WordSmith program, and then identified the metaphors, I would be able to use the results instantly. I quickly learned, however, that arranging and presenting the results was just as important, and almost as laborious, a process. The five charts presented in this chapter show how the WordSmith and metaphor identification results are organized. The first chart shows the original format of results, of which the subsequent four charts are variations. These four charts will be the focus of the quantitative analysis of the next chapter.

Chapter IV: Quantitative Analysis of Journey Metaphors in Advanced Placement

Discourse

Introduction:

Building the corpus, running it through the WordSmith programs, identifying metaphors, and sorting each EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor according to sub-corpora and Lakoff and Turner's nine correspondences resulted in the collection of a large amount of data. There are lists of total metaphor counts, words per metaphor counts, and percentages of schools and use of metaphors. And each piece of data is repeated for each of the nine correspondences and 8 sub-corpora. The purpose of this chapter is to consider this broad collection of data in a manner that leads to a qualitative analysis to take place in Chapter 5.

The quantitative analysis to be performed in this chapter is divided into three sections. First is a brief description and analysis of results pertaining to the complete corpus. Looking at the data without considering the sub-corpora or type of journey metaphor will offer a general sense of how the metaphor of journey is used in the corpus. The complete corpus results will serve as a backdrop, and point of comparison, for the more specified analysis that will follow. The second section will be devoted to the sub corpora. Specifically, the two main sub-corpora will be considered, as well as the nine sub-corpora that exist within the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus. By comparing the various results by type of school, as classified by the Carnegie Foundation's Basic Classification System and College Board's "The 200 Colleges and Universities Receiving the Greatest Number of AP Grades," it is my hope that patterns of use by different types of schools may be discerned. The third section will focus on the nine correspondences of JOURNEY metaphors, as defined by Lakoff and Turner in *More than Cool Reason*. In each of the latter two sections, attention will be

given to the results presented in each chart found in Chapter 3. The chapter will conclude by bringing the analysis together to form larger conclusions that will then be used in chapter five's qualitative analysis.

Section I: The Complete Corpus

Complete Corpus Analysis:

The picture presented by the totals relating to the complete corpus offers little of substance; the meaningful analysis comes with comparison. However, it is important to lay the framework for the analysis to come by sharing the initial totals relating to the compiled texts. What follows will be a presentation of these corpus-wide results, followed by analytic commentary.

There are a total of 644 schools represented in the complete corpus. Of these 644 schools, 362 were found to make use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor in the Advanced Placement policy statement that is made available to students. Thus, 56.2% of all schools represented in the complete corpus make use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

Shifting focus from the schools that make up the corpus to the text of the corpus, there are 851 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in the complete corpus. Of these, 16 occurred in the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus, leaving a total of 835 metaphors of journey in the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus. With 362 colleges and universities making use of such metaphors, this comes to an average of 2.3 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors per Advanced Placement policy statement, or 1.29

EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors per school when the original 644 schools making up the corpus is considered.

Another way of viewing the results of the 851 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in the complete corpus is through the words per metaphor count. The complete corpus contains 108,241 words, which equates to 121 words per metaphor.

As previously noted, little can be claimed in relation to the results, when standing alone, of the complete corpus. One of the main uses of this data will be as a tool for comparing percentages and words per metaphor counts of the various sub-corpora and nine correspondences. The analysis of the former begins in the next section.

Section II: The Sub-Corpora

Introduction:

The analysis of the sub-corpora will begin with a look at the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus and the various sub-corpora that exist within it. The results of this analysis lead to conclusions that can be investigated through the qualitative analysis of Chapter 5. The next component of the Sub-Corpora Analysis section focuses on the results of the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Corpus. The results from this sub-corpus will be presented and then compared to the Complete Corpus and University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus. This section will conclude with a series of questions, prompted by the analysis, which will guide the qualitative analysis of Chapter 5.

University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus Analysis:

Within the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus, there are nine sub-corpora

that allow for valuable comparison. In particular, I am interested in the different evaluative levels that each of these sub-corpora represent, and how the use of the metaphor of journey within these levels show patterns that may connect to perspectives of, or values in, education. The nine sub-corpora may be further divided into four groups. First, there is the public and private division, second is the level of selectivity, third is the research level, and fourth is the division between colleges and universities that are among the top 200 to accept Advanced Placement credit compared to those that are not. I use the term “levels” because of the evaluative way in which the categories frame schools in a hierarchical fashion. Two of the four categories – those concerned with research and selectivity – are labeled according to level, with more research and greater selectivity described as *higher*, and are thus viewed more favorably. Regarding the top 200 list, the way in which the Advanced Placement program is viewed as a marker of prestige for students moving from high school to college-level studies suggests a hierarchy within schools that accept Advanced Placement scores at a high rate versus those that do not. Therefore, the Top 200 category will be considered as a higher level compared to the Non-Top 200 category. The division between public and private institutions can also be considered in terms of hierarchical levels. In 2008-09, the average price for a private four-year college or university was \$25,143. For public four-year colleges and universities, the average price was \$6,585 (“Pay for College: 2008-09 College Prices – Keep Increases in Perspective”). Such disparity between the two types of schools shows that, on average, a private school is much more expensive, and therefore more exclusive, than public schools.

It is my hypothesis that the level-divisions within these four groups will show patterns in use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. In working with the results, I will

look for evidence of these patterns within the different levels, determine the severity of these patterns, and open the door to the quantitative study that, paired with the qualitative analysis, will lead the way to conclusions concerning what the use of the metaphor of journey may say about the four groups, each sub-corpora, and, more generally, ways of thinking about education.

Analysis of School Numbers in the Nine Sub-Corpora within the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus:

The analysis of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor using the nine main sub-corpora will begin by looking at the schools that make use of the metaphor. To do so, an excerpt of the Schools in Complete Corpus Chart presented in Chapter 3, will be used. This excerpt, seen in Figure 1, isolates the sub-corpora.

Figure 1: Schools in Complete Corpus Chart – Sub-Corpora Excerpt

	# Schools in Corpus	# Schools w/ Meta	% Schools w/ Meta vs. Total Schools
Public	301	160	53.00%
Private	334	200	59.80%
Inclusive	72	35	48.60%
Selective	221	118	53.30%
More Selective	212	169	79.70%
Non-Res	457	254	55.50%

High Res	188	110	58.50%
Top 200	198	121	61.10%
Non-Top 200	446	241	54.00%

In viewing results from the chart, the hierarchy described above seems to be reflected by the number of schools making use of journey metaphors. As a point of comparison, consider the results from the complete corpus. In the complete corpus, 56.2% of the schools used a metaphor of journey. In the sub-corpora, schools in four of the eight categories used metaphors of journey with greater frequency. These categories include: Private Schools, More Selective Schools, High-Research Schools, and the top 200 schools accepting AP credit. Note that each sub-corpora with a higher frequency of schools using metaphors of journey compared to the complete corpus represents the highest level within its group.

The above chart shows that a private school makes use of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor in their Advanced Placement policy with 6.8% more frequency than a public school. Showing a similar ratio, a school listed in the top 200 for accepting Advanced Placement credit makes use of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor with 7.1% more frequency than a school not included in this list. As for research level, a school labeled “High” includes an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor with only 3% more frequency than a “Non-High” school. The differences within these three groups shows a pattern of the higher level schools being more likely to make use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Worth noting is that the research level of the school accounted for the smallest frequency variance between the two groups. The research level of a school is a designation that, compared to the other categories considered in the sub-corpora, coincides less with the

hierarchical values of incoming students. Highlighting this is the fact that the High-Research designation contains a mix of schools from all three levels of selectivity – with most being from “Selective” and “More Selective.” The fact that the research category represents the smallest discrepancy between types of schools and the frequency of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor sharpens the focus on what educational values of schools coincide with the use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

The most interesting numbers on this chart relate to the level of selectivity. No group within the sub-corpora is more closely concerned with issues of prestige, desirability, and high cost of tuition than selectivity. Schools labeled “Inclusive,” representing the lowest level of selectivity in terms of prestige, desirability, and, most likely, cost, make use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor at a rate of 48.6%. This is a lower percentage of schools than any other sub-corpora. Selective schools, representing the middle of the three levels of selectivity, use EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors with only 4.7% more frequency with a rate of 53.3%. Only the Inclusive and Public sub-corpora have a lower frequency. For the More Selective sub-corpora, the rate jumps to 79.7% – a 31.1% increase in frequency from the Inclusive sub-corpora. In fact, schools from the More Selective sub-corpora include an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor with 18.6% more frequency than the next highest sub-corpora.

The differences in percentages of schools from the selectivity group using EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors are striking. Also interesting is the progression from “Inclusive” to “More Selective.” This progression and set of percentages suggest that the more selective a school is, the more they will promote the idea EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY in their Advanced Placement policy. As we see with the relative lack of difference in use of the

metaphor of journey in the two different research levels of school, the great disparity that takes place within the selectivity group is very telling. A picture is beginning to develop concerning where the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is most frequent, and why this may be the case.

Analysis of Metaphor Counts of Nine Sub-Corpora within the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus:

With the analysis of the frequency with which categories of schools use EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors complete, attention now turns to the frequency of metaphors used within each sub-corpus. Replacing the number of schools with the number of metaphors provides another lens through which patterns in use may be deciphered. To guide this analysis, three charts are offered – two of which are excerpted from charts presented in Chapter 3, while the third combines data from two previously presented charts.

The first of these three, Figure 2, shows how many EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors occur in the complete corpus, and then for each sub-corpus. These numbers are then equated, in the next column, into a percentage that shows the likelihood of a metaphor being in a specific sub-corpus. For instance, the 337 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors occurring in the Public sub-corpus equals 39.6% of all metaphors in the complete corpus. Figure 3 presents the amount of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in a different manner. Again, the chart begins with the number of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that occur in the complete corpus, and then for each sub-corpus. Following the metaphor count is the number of words in each sub-corpora, which then leads to the Words per Metaphor count that is presented in the next column. A final column shows the +/- ratio of each sub-corpus in

relation to the Words per Metaphor count of the complete corpus. Paired with the analysis of the use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in schools, the analysis of the data from these two figures will offer a complete picture of how the various sub-corpora make use of the metaphor. Figure 4 is offered to help clarify the results of Figures 2 and 3 and support connections between the analysis of metaphor counts of this section with the analysis of school counts of the previous section. This chart shows the average word count of policy statements from the colleges and universities of each sub-corpus.

Figure 2: Metaphor Dispersion Chart – Sub-Corpora Excerpt

	# of Metaphors	% of Total Metaphors
Complete Chart	851	100%
Public	337	39.60%
Private	493	57.90%
Inclusive	74	8.60%
Selective	221	25.90%
More Selective	448	52.60%
Non-Research	505	59.30%
High Research	328	38.50%
Top 200	358	42.00%
Non-Top 200	476	55.90%

Figure 3: Words per Metaphor Chart – Sub-Corpora Excerpt

	Metaphors	Words	Words/Metaphor	+/-
Complete Corpus	851	103,148	121	=
Public	337	46,824	138	+17
Private	493	54,362	110	-11
Inclusive	74	8,304	112	-9
Selective	221	27,275	123	+2
More Selective	448	39,301	87	-34
Non-Research	505	67,312	133	+12
High Research	328	36,817	112	-9
Top 200	358	41,937	117	-4
Non-Top 200	476	56,138	117	-4

Figure 4: Words per School Chart – Sub-Corpora Excerpt

	Words	# Schools in Corpus	Avg Words per School
Complete Corpus	103,148	644	160.1
Public	46,824	301	155.5
Private	54,362	334	162.7
Inclusive	8,304	72	115.3
Selective	27,275	221	123.4
More Selective	39,301	212	185.3
Non-Research	67,312	457	147.2

High Research	36,817	188	195.8
Top 200	41,937	198	211.8
Non-Top 200	56,138	446	125.8

In the first category of sub-corpora – that of public/private colleges and universities – a clear disparity is seen. In the public school sub-corpus, there are a total of 337 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, resulting in 39.6% of the total number of metaphors found in the corpus. In the sub-corpora of private colleges and universities, there are 493 metaphors, resulting in 57.9% of the total. The Public sub-corpus contains an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, on average, every 138 words. In the Private sub-corpus, the rate is every 110 words. The differences in use of metaphors between the Public and Private sub-corpora are slight, but noticeably holding to the pattern seen in the analysis of schools within sub-corpora. As Figure 4 shows, there are 7 more words in the average Private college or university statement than is found in Public colleges and universities. There is, however, a difference of 28 words per metaphor between the Public and Private sub-corpora, with the greater frequency occurring in the Private sub-corpora. This, paired with the fact that 57.9% of all metaphors occurring in the corpus take place in the Private sub-corpora, shows that students reading the Advanced Placement policy of private colleges and universities will encounter the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor more often.

The hierarchical nature of the use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is again seen in the analysis of metaphor counts. Of the 851 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in the entire corpus, 505, or 59.3%, take place in policy statements from Non-High Research schools. 328, or 38.5%, metaphors take place in High Research schools. But while there is a

20.8% difference in the presence of metaphors between the two sub-corpora, the High Research sub-corpus is only 54.6% of the size of the Non-High Research sub-corpus. The quantity of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, paired with the disparity in size of these two corpora, means that EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors are used with greater frequency in the High Research sub-corpus. In the Non-High Research corpus, a metaphor occurs, on average, every 133 words, while in the High Research corpus the rate is every 112 words. Pair this with the fact that the average policy statement for each High Research college or university is 48.6 words longer compared to schools from the Non-High Research corpus, and it is clear that students reading Advanced Placement policy statements from High Research schools will encounter EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors with greater frequency.

The difference between the Top 200 and Non-Top 200 sub-corpora is similar to what is seen with the Non-High Research and High Research corpora. The Non-Top 200 corpus is considerably larger than the Top 200 corpus, thus the Non-Top 200 corpus contains considerably more EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors. But when considering the frequency of metaphors per policy statement, the Top 200 corpus outpaces its counterpart. In this instance, the Words per Metaphor count is identical at 117, but the fact that the average policy statement from a Top 200 college or university is 86 words longer than schools in the Non-Top 200 category means, again, that students reading policy statements from the Top 200 corpus are more likely to encounter EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors.

As was the case when considering the frequency with which categories of schools use EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, the most interesting results concerning the frequency of metaphor counts occur with the sub-corpora representing the level of selectivity. As Figure 2 shows, over half, 52.6%, of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors occurring in the

complete corpus come from More Selective schools. Meanwhile, 25.9% of these metaphors come from Selective schools, while only 8.6% come from Inclusive schools. The heavy use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in the More Selective corpus is further highlighted by the Words per Metaphor count. While the Inclusive and Selective corpora contain a metaphor at an average of every 112 and 123 words, respectively, the More Selective corpus contains one for every 87 words. Furthermore, the average statement of a More Selective school is 185.3 words long, 70 words longer than the average Inclusive school's and 61.9 words longer than a Selective school's. The high frequency of metaphors in the More Selective corpus, paired with the longer policy statements, means that students reading the Advanced Placement policies from highly selective, and therefore competitive, schools will encounter considerably more EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors than if they were to be reading statements from less competitive schools.

Conclusion of Analysis of Nine Sub-Corpora within University Statements of Policy

Sub-Corpus:

Analyzing and comparing the nine sub-corpora representing different categories of schools resulted in some very interesting findings. All of these findings, though, come together to suggest that the more prestigious (i.e. more research, more selectivity, higher tuition) a college or university is, the more likely it is to include EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors. This peculiar use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and its possible implications, will be probed in Chapter 5. In the next section, attention shifts to the smaller of the two main sub-corpora – the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus.

Analysis of The College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus:

Because the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus is bigger and breaks down into more sub-corpora, I devote more attention to it compared to the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus. To complete the picture of main corpus, though, it is important to note data resulting from the second of the two main sub-corpora. Figure 5 below presents data that will show how the presence of metaphor in the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus relates to that of the College and University Sub-Corpus and the Complete Corpus.

Figure 5: Main Sub-Corpora Comparison Chart

	The College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus	The College and University Sub-Corpus	Complete Corpus
Word Count	5,093	103,153	108,246
Metaphor Count	16	835	851
Words/Metaphor	318.3	123.5	127.1
Total Sources	8	645	653
Words/Source	636.6	159.9	165.7
Metaphors/Source	2	1.29	1.3

The College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus is made up of 5,093 words and contains sixteen uses of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Clearly, the scale of this corpus is miniscule compared to the University Statements of Policy Corpus. An EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor occurs in the College Board Advanced Placement texts

at a rate of 318 words per metaphor – considerably higher than the 121 words per metaphor count in the collected corpus. With eight sources comprising the sub-corpus, the sixteen EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors equates to an average of two metaphors per source. This average is higher than the 1.29 metaphors per source found in the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus. However, the difference in rate of metaphors per source speaks more to the fact that the texts that make up the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus are nearly four times longer than their University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus counterparts.

Overall, the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus does not offer nearly as much insight concerning patterns of use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor compared to the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus. Because the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus cannot be broken down into further sub-corpora, and is comparatively quite small, the most that can be taken from the data is that EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors occur with substantially less frequency. In a later section of this chapter, the results from metaphor analysis of the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus will be viewed through the lens of Lakoff and Johnson's nine correspondences. The results from the nine correspondences study will supplement the findings of this section and lead to a qualitative analysis that will take place in Chapter 5.

Conclusion of Sub-Corpora Analysis:

The analysis of the two main sub-corpora, and the additional sub-corpora as defined by the Carnegie Foundation's Basic Classification System complete, have resulted in the formation of a question that will be pursued in the qualitative analysis of Chapter 5. Because

higher-level schools (e.g. More Selective, High Research, Top 200 in AP score acceptance, and Private Schools) use EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors with greater frequency than their lower-level counterparts, is there a difference in the way that these different types of schools employ EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors? Specifically, is there evidence of different evaluative and/or ideological statements being made through the metaphors?

With this question established, attention now shifts to an analysis of the different types of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors used in the corpus. Where the above section highlights patterns concerning where the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors take place, the following section will focus on what types of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors are used.

Section III: Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondences

Introduction to Analysis of Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondences:

Lakoff and Turner's *More than Cool Reason* extends the work of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* to the study of poetic metaphor. As Lakoff and Turner apply the theory of conceptual metaphor to the more traditional field of poetic metaphor, they analyze a handful of poems with the lens of conceptual metaphor. Part of Lakoff and Turner's argument is that even the metaphors found in poetry, often seen as the most artistic of metaphors, depend on common conceptual metaphors – only they use these metaphors in a more innovative fashion (8). Fortunately for this study, two of the poems Lakoff and Turner analyze, Dickinson's "Because I could not stop for death" and Frost's "The Road Not Taken," concern the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In considering the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, Lakoff and Turner describe the metaphor by defining the various forms it can take – thus giving them a structure by which they can study the poems. These forms identified by

Lakoff and Turner are examples of coherence – each correspondence representing a relating sub-group of the larger LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

Though Lakoff and Turner are concerned with the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, there is a strong connection to the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The principles of coherence surrounding the metaphor of JOURNEY apply to both LIFE and EDUCATION. In reviewing the use of metaphor in the Advanced Placement policy statements, it became clear that Lakoff and Turner's nine correspondences could be used to study the networks of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors used in the Advanced Placement policy statements. The list of correspondences is as follows:

1. The person leading a life is a traveler
2. His purposes are destinations
3. The means for achieving purposes are routes
4. Difficulties in life are impediments to travel
5. Counselors are guides
6. Progress is the distance traveled
7. Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks
8. Choices in life are crossroads
9. Material resources and talents are provisions (3-4)

The goal of using Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondence is to get a better sense of the forms that the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor takes in the Advanced Placement policy statements. Because each of the Nine Correspondences represents a slight variation on the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, it is my hope that studying the rate at which each correspondence is used will highlight patterns. This quantitative analysis, and any resulting

patterns, will then be used to direct a qualitative analysis of the different correspondences. In particular, it is my hope that the patterns from the nine correspondences of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors will highlight any ideology that the metaphors might be supporting.

The quantitative analysis of Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondences is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the complete corpus. The two sections that follow concern each of the two main sub-corpora, the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus and College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus, respectively, and how Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondences are used in them.

Analysis of Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondence in the Complete Corpus:

To study how the Nine Correspondences are employed in the Complete Corpus, a chart, Figure 6, was compiled from data presented in charts collected in Chapter 3. Figure 6 focuses on the number of metaphors through which each correspondence is associated. Specifically, the first column of data shows the total number of metaphors for each correspondence. The second column presents the percentage of this total number for each correspondence in relation to the total number of metaphors present in the corpus. As an example, with Correspondence #1, there are 37 metaphors so designated, which, using the 851 total EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors from the complete corpus, comes to 4.3%. The last two columns concern the words per metaphor counts. In the third column are the Words per Metaphor counts, which is achieved by dividing the total word count of 103,148 by the number of metaphors of each correspondence. The fourth and final column is devoted to the plus/minus words per metaphor counts. This column compares the Words per Metaphor number of each of the nine correspondences to that of the complete corpus. For instance, in

the complete corpus there is an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor for every 121 words. For Correspondence #2, such a metaphor occurs, on average, every 154 words. In comparing the Words per Metaphor rates of the complete corpus with that of Correspondence #2, the result is a +33 word count.

Figure 6: Metaphor Dispersion and Words per Metaphor Chart – 9 Correspondences

	Metaphors	% of Total Metaphors	Words/Metaphor (total 103,148)	+/-
Complete Corpus	851	100%	121	=
#1	37	4.30%	2,787	+2,666
#2	666	78.20%	154	+33
#3	40	4.70%	2,578	+2,457
#4	22	2.50%	4,688	+4,657
#5	1	0.10%	103,148	+103,027
#6	704	82.70%	146	+25
#7	749	88.00%	137	+16
#8	1	0.10%	103,148	+103,027
#9	213	25.00%	484	+363

Through Figure 6, we see that there is great disparity in the use of different correspondences. Five of the correspondences, numbers 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8, relate to less than 5% of the total number of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, and two of these correspondences, numbers 5 and 8, contain only one EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor out

of the total 851. Contrasting with these 5 correspondences that see little use are three correspondences, numbers 2, 6, and 7, that relate to over 75% of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors occurring in the complete corpus. Falling in between these extremes of use is Correspondence #9, which relates to 213 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, or 25% of the total found in the complete corpus.

Analysis of Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondence in the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus:

To consider the dispersion of metaphors within the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus, another chart, Figure 7, was designed to focus solely on numbers of schools. The first column of data shows how many schools use the applicable corresponding EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, while the second column shows the percentage of schools that use the corresponding metaphor compared to the 644 schools in the total corpora. The third column shows another percentage – that of the number of schools making use of a particular correspondence in relation to the total number of schools using EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which is 362.

Figure 7: Lakoff and Turner’s 9 Correspondences and the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus:

	# Schools w/ Meta	% Schools w/ Meta vs. Total Schools	% Schools in Category vs. Total Schools w/ Metaphors
Complete Chart	362	56.20%	100%
Lakoff 1	27	4.10%	7.40%

Lakoff 2	317	49.20%	87.50%
Lakoff 3	31	4.80%	8.50%
Lakoff 4	20	3.10 %	5.50%
Lakoff 5	1	0.10%	0.20%
Lakoff 6	330	51.20%	91.10%
Lakoff 7	345	53.50%	95.30%
Lakoff 8	1	0.10%	0.20%
Lakoff 9	151	23.40%	41.70%

Upon first glance, the results from the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus relating to Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondences are very similar to what was found when looking at the Complete Corpus. Of the nine correspondences, three are used with comparatively great frequency, while four other correspondences are hardly used at all. In the middle is a correspondence that is used sparingly, but with enough frequency that the resulting numbers are worth looking at. A close look at all of these numbers from the three general groups will highlight the patterns of use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and lead to the more qualitative analysis to take place in Chapter 5.

The most notable characteristic of the two charts is the heavy use of some correspondences and the near complete lack of use of others. Specifically, correspondence #5, “Counselors are guides”; and correspondence # 8, “Choices in life are crossroads,” occur only once and are so rare that the numbers need not be further explored.

More interesting are the correspondences that occur more than once, but are still relatively rare – numbers 1, 3, and 4. Correspondence #4, “Difficulties in life are

impediments to travel,” is the least occurring correspondence of the three. Used by only 20 schools, this type of metaphor was used in an Advanced Placement policy statement with a frequency of 3.1% of schools. Overall, Correspondence #4 is used 22 times, or 2.5% of all metaphors, and occurs at a rate of 4,689 words per metaphor. Correspondence #1, “The person leading a life is a traveler,” is used 37 times in the corpus. This equates to 4.3% of all of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, and comes to a 2,787 words per metaphor count. 27 schools make use of this type of metaphor, meaning a student will encounter it when reading a college or university’s Advanced Placement Policy with a frequency of 4.1%. Last of this group is Correspondence #3, which occurs forty times in the policy statements of thirty-one different schools. These results mean 4.8% of the policy statements make use of this type of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and they account for 4.7% of all the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors used. The words per metaphor count for Correspondence #3 is 2,578. Chapter 5 will include qualitative analysis of the “The person leading a life is a traveler,” “The means for achieving purposes are routes,” and “Difficulties in life are impediments to travel” correspondences in an attempt to determine how they are similar to each other and different from the clusters of correspondences that see very heavy and very low use.

The correspondences that are heavily used include numbers 2, 6, and 7. Correspondence #2, “His purposes are destinations,” sees the least amount of use of the three. This correspondence occurs 666 times by a total of 317 schools, which is nearly half of the total. 78.2% of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors relate to this correspondence, and it occurs, on average, every 154 words in the complete corpus. The two most frequently used correspondences are #6 and #7. Correspondence #6, “Progress is the distance traveled,”

occurs 704 times in 330 policy statements. Meanwhile, Correspondence #7, “Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks,” occurs 749 times in 345 schools. Correspondences #6 and #7 are found, respectively, in 82.7% and 88% of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in the complete corpus, and occur at an average rate of 146 and 137 words per metaphor, respectively. Both correspondences occur in just over half of all of the college and university policy statements that make up the complete corpus.

Falling in between the correspondences that see exceptionally low and high use is Correspondence #9, “Material resources and talents are provisions.” With 213 entries, Correspondence #9 is used by 151 schools, which comes to 23.4% of all schools in the corpus. 25% of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in the complete corpus are connected to Correspondence #9, and it is found, on average, every 484 words. Correspondence #9 sees 453 fewer instances than the next highest correspondence, #2, which occurs 666 times. At the same time, Correspondence #9 is 5.3 times more frequent than the next lowest correspondence (#3). Reasons for the distinct space that Correspondence #9 occupies in the middle of the extreme groups will be considered in Chapter 5.

Analysis of Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondence in the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus:

The final portion of quantitative analysis concerning Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondences relates to the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus. Figure 8, below, shows the total metaphor counts for each of the Nine Correspondences, the percentage of use for each correspondence within the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus, and the words per metaphor count for each correspondence. Also

included, for comparison purposes, are the percentages of use and words per metaphor counts for each correspondence from the Complete Corpus.

Figure 8: Lakoff and Turner's 9 Correspondences and the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus:

	Total Metaphors	% of Total in Sub-Corpora	% of Total in Complete Corpus	Words per Metaphor	Words per Metaphor in Complete Corpus
Lakoff #1	9	56.25	4.3	565.8	2,787
Lakoff #2	5	31.25	78.2	1,018.6	154
Lakoff #3	0	0	4.7	5,093	2,578
Lakoff #4	2	12.5	2.5	2,546.5	4,688
Lakoff #5	0	0	0.1	5,093	103,148
Lakoff #6	5	31.25	82.7	1,018.6	146
Lakoff #7	5	31.25	88	1,018.6	137
Lakoff #8	0	0	0.1	5,093	103,148
Lakoff #9	1	6.25	25	5,093	484

Where the Complete Corpus and the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus showed identical patterns in the use of the Nine Correspondences, the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus sees some very different results. The most notable difference concerns Correspondence #1, "The person leading a life is a traveler." In the Complete Corpus and the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus, this

correspondence was used in less than 5% of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors. In the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus, this 56.25% of the metaphors applied to this correspondence.

The other major difference found in the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus relates to correspondences 2, 6, and 7. In the Complete Corpus and University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus, these correspondences are connected to over 75% of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors. In the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus, these three correspondences are each used 5 times, which comes to 31.25%. These three correspondences, “His purposes are destinations,” “Progress is the distance traveled,” and “Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks,” are used with far less frequency.

The differences in Correspondences 1, 2, 6, and 7 exhibited in the College Board Advanced Placement Statements Sub-Corpus are striking. In Chapter 5, examples of these correspondences occurring in the different corpora will be analyzed in an effort to determine why such a difference exists.

Conclusion of Analysis of Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondences:

Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondences have proven to be a useful tool in analyzing the use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in the Complete Corpus and various sub-corpora. Without this tool, the analysis of such metaphors would be limited to comparing the numbers of metaphors used within the various sub-corpora of the University Statements of Policy Sub-Corpus. While such comparison is important and leads to important conclusions, it provides only a partial picture. By using the Nine Correspondence to see the

frequency in which variants of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor are used, I will be able to gain additional insight into their evaluative, and possibly ideological, nature.

The qualitative analysis of the Nine Correspondences completed in this chapter represents the first step in the process of determining what this evaluative nature is. In Chapter 5 I will continue the process by analyzing examples from the sub-corpora in an effort to determine why certain correspondences are used more frequently than others, and why the two main sub-corpora use the correspondences at such different rates. Specifically, I will pursue the following questions:

- Why are Correspondences 2, 6, and 7 used with such a high frequency? What does this tell us about the two corpora?
- Why are Correspondences 1, 3, 4, 5, and 8 used with such little frequency? What does this tell us about the two corpora?

Conclusion:

The quantitative analysis of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in Advanced Placement policy statements has yielded some intriguing results. In considering the various categories of schools, the data shows that the more prestigious the college or university, the more likely it was to make use of such a metaphor. This pattern was exhibited most clearly in the Selectivity sub-corpora. These results showed that the more selective the school, the more frequently it made use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors.

Equally interesting results came from the analysis of data from the study of the Nine Correspondences. Through this portion of the study, it became clear that certain forms of the

EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor are utilized with great frequency, while other forms are hardly used at all.

In the conclusions to the sections devoted to quantitatively analyzing the Sub-Corpora and the Nine Correspondences, I present the questions that developed from studying the data. These questions serve as the bridge between the quantitative analysis of this chapter to the qualitative analysis that will take place in the next chapter.

In the next chapter, the results of this quantitative study will be used to guide a qualitative analysis of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors. In particular, this qualitative portion of the study will look at sample moments of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in an attempt to explain the patterns seen through the quantitative analysis, and make claims regarding the significance of these patterns.

Chapter V. Qualitative Analysis of Journey Metaphors in Advanced Placement

Discourse

Introduction:

The quantitative analysis of Chapter 4 resulted in two general findings. First, colleges and universities from the more prestigious categories used the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor with more frequency than colleges and universities from the less prestigious categories. Especially noteworthy was the distribution of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors by Selectivity of school, with More Selective schools containing 52.6% of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, compared to the 25.9% and 8.6% found in the Selective and Inclusive schools, respectively. The second finding concerns the types of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors used in the discourse surrounding the Advanced Placement program. Of the nine correspondences of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, three are used with comparatively great frequency, four are used rarely, while the last correspondence falls in the middle.

In the following chapter, I will further investigate the second of these findings through an analysis of samples of texts from the corpus. By following the quantitative analysis with qualitative analysis, my goal is to see how the different types of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors are employed and how the use of this metaphor may promote certain perspectives on education and writing. It is my hope that the qualitative analysis of this chapter will highlight the way in which patterns of language promote these perspectives, and how, in the future, Writing Program and University Administrators can make choices regarding use of metaphors that better reflect the values of the institutions they represent.

Chapter 4 presents the finding that the more prestigious colleges and universities used the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor with more frequency than their less-prestigious counterparts. This finding does not lend itself to qualitative analysis because the categories are so broad that there are hundreds of non-distinguishable examples in each category. Instead, I will present, in the final section of this chapter, statements concerning the Advanced Placement program from two universities known to be the most prestigious in the United States: Harvard and Yale. Comparing the Advanced Placement policies of these two institutions will highlight how two of the most prestigious institutions in the United States employ the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor and provide models for how the metaphor may be used to achieve different objectives.

Section I: Qualitative Analysis of Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondences of Metaphors of Journey

To present the qualitative analysis relating to the various correspondences of EDUCATION IS JOURNEY metaphors, I will begin by looking at Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 together. After considering how the three most frequently used correspondences relate to each other, I will then examine each of the nine correspondences on an individual basis. Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 may be grouped together because of the high rate of co-occurrence of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that exists between the three. There are a total of 496 instances of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that make use of correspondences #2, #6, and #7 at the same time. These 496 metaphors represent 74% of all metaphors associated with Correspondence #2. For metaphors relating to Correspondences #6 and #7, 70% and 66%, respectively, utilize all three correspondences concurrently. After

analyzing a variety of examples of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that make use of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, I will then present an argument concerning the reason for, and consequences of, the high rate of co-occurrence within the three correspondences.

Co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7

As noted above, Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 relate to over three quarters of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in the complete corpus. Looking at each of these correspondences individually, the near-ubiquitous presence of these types of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors is highlighted. First, consider Correspondence #2, *His purposes are destinations*. This correspondence can be found a total of 666 times in the statements of 317 of the total 362 colleges and universities found to use at least one EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Correspondence #6, *Progress is the distance traveled*, occurs 704 times in the complete corpus and is found in 330 of the total 362 colleges and universities. The most frequently used correspondence is #7, *Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks*. Correspondence #7 occurs 749 times in the complete corpus, and is found in 95.3% of all schools making use of at least one EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. With such high levels of occurrence among these three correspondences, it is likely that crucial concepts promoted by the conceptual metaphor of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY will be derived from them and the ways in which they interact with each other.

The 496 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors where correspondences #2, #6, and #7 co-occur account for 58% of the total 851 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in the complete corpus. One reason behind the high frequency of co-occurrence for these three correspondences is that often-used phrases and patterns found in many university and college

policy statements form EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that relate to the three correspondences. Specifically, EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that reference speed, timing, position, and action coincide with the three correspondences.

For a metaphor that references speed and timing, consider the following excerpt from Duke University's "AP, IPC, and PMC Credit." This policy statement reads: "Additional AP/IPC/PMC credits may be used as acceleration credits in order to graduate early. Acceleration is defined as completing the requirements for the bachelor's degree one or two semesters earlier than the original expected graduation date" ("AP, IPC, and PMC Credit"). In this statement, the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is built around the reference to "acceleration credits" and the ability to "graduate early." With both references, it is suggested that the goal of education is to finish quickly, thus the *purpose is the destination* – as seen in Correspondence #2. The reference to "acceleration" emphasizes the product over the process, where progress is determined by speed and not development of skill. The fact that students are *accelerating* to their "graduation date" emphasizes the landmark. In this case, the *landmark* is "graduation," which, again, is a mark of progress rather than the development of skill. The emphasis on product over process connects the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor to Correspondences #6 and #7.

The most frequently used variation of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor occurs with phrases used to suggest the position of students. Two phrases, in particular, are used with considerable frequency and required careful consideration in the coding process before being labeled as an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The first of these phrases concerns the use of the term "advanced." Of course, in writing about the Advanced Placement Program, colleges and universities will use the term "advanced" with great frequency, though

often “advanced” will be part of a proper noun. In studying EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, I was not interested in the term “advanced” when used as a proper noun. Instead, I wanted to see how colleges and universities adopted the language of the Advanced Placement program to describe their own curriculum and policies. To do so, I removed from consideration any use of the term “advanced” that is part of a proper noun – which, in this case, is most often the Advanced Placement Program. To highlight the difference, consider the following excerpt from Adrian College’s policy statement: “A score of 4 or 5 on an Advanced Placement examination automatically qualifies a student for advanced placement and advanced credit” (<http://www.adrian.edu/Catalog/AcPol.php>). In this statement, a reference to the College Board’s Advanced Placement program is made when the statement refers to the scores on the exams that the Advanced Placement program offers. Such a reference is not, in the context of this study, considered an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. However, in the latter half of the sentence, the term “advanced” is used in a different fashion. When the policy statement notes that a certain score on the Advanced Placement examination “qualifies a student for advanced placement and advanced credit,” we see the language of the program being appropriated to describe the position of the student. With such an appropriation of the word “advanced,” an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is created.

The Adrian College policy statement is one of many to use the term “advanced” as an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor to describe the position of student. Like the use of the word “accelerate,” such metaphors relate to correspondences #2, #6, and #7. Correspondence #2, *His purposes are destinations*, coincides with the use of “advanced,” be it in relation to “advanced placement,” “advanced credit,” or “advanced standing,” because of the suggestion

that the goal of being a student is to advance through requirements as quickly as possible. Similar to the use of “accelerate,” use of “advanced” promotes the idea that the end result of education is not knowledge or the development of a skill, but a degree. A similar emphasis connects the metaphorical use of “advanced” to Correspondences #6 and #7, *Progress is the distance traveled* and *Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks*, respectively. When stating that an exam “automatically qualifies a student for advanced placement and advanced credit,” as Adrian College does, progress is defined as the accumulation of credits and the avoidance of curricular requirements. When students qualify for “advanced placement and advanced credit,” their progress is, again, determined by how close they are to earning a degree rather than the development of knowledge and skill.

The use of “advanced” as an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor perfectly illustrates crucial points that Lakoff and his collaborators make about the power of conceptual metaphors. The term “advanced” may seem innocuous, but it is this quality that makes the word so powerful. As Lakoff and Turner note in *More Than Cool Reason*:

For the same reasons that schemas and metaphors give us power to conceptualize and reason, so they have power over us. Anything that we rely on constantly, unconsciously, and automatically is so much part of us that it cannot be easily resisted, in large measure because it is barely even noticed. To the extent that we use a conceptual schema or a conceptual metaphor, we accept its validity. Consequently, when someone else uses it, we are predisposed to accept its validity. For this reason, conventionalized schemas and metaphors have *persuasive* power over us” (63)

The fact that the word “advanced” is used so frequently does not mean that it ceases to be an instance of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. This high frequency, Lakoff and Turner

would argue, makes the use of “advanced” a powerful metaphor in framing how education is considered.

The second EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor that is used frequently, relates to the position of students, and required careful consideration in the process of coding relates to the use of “towards.” Like other corpus-based studies of metaphor (Koller “Of critical importance” 246) I was deliberate in how I handled the identification of prepositions. I was so deliberate that toward/towards was the only preposition I included, and this preposition was included with care. As noted in Chapter 3, I omitted any use of *toward/towards* that referred to a specific class, requirement, or program and kept any instance that referred to graduating/graduation or earning a degree because of the potential fit with Lakoff and Turner’s correspondences.

One example of the word “toward” being used to form an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is found in the following excerpt from the Randolph Macon Women’s College Admissions Department’s Frequently Asked Questions page concerning Advanced Placement: “Entering students who have earned scores of ‘3’ or better on AP Program examinations may be considered for advanced placement in college courses and for credit toward graduation at the discretion of the department chairs involved” (“Frequently Asked Questions: Advanced Placement Program”). In “for credit toward graduation,” the word “toward” emphasizes the final destination of graduation. Similar to certain uses of “advanced,” Randolph Macon Women’s College’s use of “toward” relates to Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. For Correspondence #2, *Progress is the distance traveled*, “graduation” represents the *destination* that is presented as the purpose. Students are not encouraged to use Advanced Placement credit to challenge themselves or learn more – they

are encouraged to simply use the credit to reach the final destination. Regarding Correspondence #6, *Progress is the distance traveled*, the logic that any act that gets a student closer to graduation represents progress is emphasized through promotion of the idea that accumulation of credits via the Advanced Placement examination score may be used “toward graduation.” Again, we see *progress* being defined not in terms of what and how well something is learned, but by how close it gets students to the end goal of graduation. A similar logic connects Randolph Macon Women’s College’s use of “toward” to Correspondence #7, *Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks*. In referencing “credit toward graduation,” credits are presented as *landmarks* by which students may gauge their *progress* towards graduation. The use of “toward” as an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor emphasizes the accumulation of credits over the development of skill and knowledge.

The frequent use of both “advanced” and “toward” in the construction of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors points to certain values that the conceptual metaphor promotes. To summarize, these terms and, by extension, the three correspondences convey the message that the goal, or *purpose*, of education is the final destination of graduation. While it may be natural to view graduation as a goal, the idea takes on heightened relevance in EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors built around the terms “advanced” and “toward” because graduation is presented as the only purpose. Other goals commonly associated with education – such as learning, growth, and development – do not fit within the conceptual frame provided by “advanced” and “toward.” Associated with the emphasis placed on the goal of graduation is the position of students in relation to this goal. References to such positions relate to Correspondences #6 and #7 and, for the most part, concern the concept of credits. Both

“advanced” and “toward” highlight the currency of credits and their role in getting students closer to graduation. While such thought regarding credits may be common in the college and university environment, it is the exclusivity of the thought that is significant in the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that co-occur with Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. The power of the terms “advanced” and “toward” is seen in the way they consistently and subtly promote a view of education where the only goal is to graduate and credits serve as markers signifying how close students are to meeting this goal.

To follow the analysis of the co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, I will analyze each of the nine correspondences separately. For each, I will offer quotes from policy statements and the subsequent analysis will lead to commentary concerning the values promoted by such metaphor use.

Correspondence #1: Use of *The person leading a life is a traveler* Metaphors

As noted in Chapter 4, Correspondence #1, *The person leading a life is a traveler*, is used by 27 of the 362 colleges and universities that make use of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. There are 37 instances of this correspondence in the entire corpus, which comes to one metaphor for every 2,787 words. Of the nine correspondences, Correspondence #1 is the third least frequently used form of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor found in the corpus.

One example of Correspondence #1 comes from the Advanced Placement policy statement from Eastern Mennonite University. The statement reads: “Through college-level AP courses, you enter a universe of knowledge that might otherwise remain unexplored in high school” (“Advanced Placement (AP) Courses and Examinations”). While this

EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor also relates to Correspondence #3, *The means for achieving purposes are routes*, it involves Correspondence #1 because of the emphasis on the student, or, as stated in the policy statement, “you.” The vast majority of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in the complete corpus have an implied person/traveler. For instance, in the frequently used “AP credits may be used toward graduation,” it is a student using the credits that is on the metaphorical JOURNEY. The explicit presentation of this person/traveler in the Eastern Mennonite University statement emphasizes the student’s role as, in this case, an explorer. In this particular example, the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor promotes a different set of values than those found in metaphors with the co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. Eastern Mennonite University’s emphasis on the exploratory quality of education does not promote a singular focus on the graduation and the accumulation of credits to get students closer to it. The difference between the student focused on exploration versus the student focused on graduation will be further examined in the next chapter. However, for the sake of the analysis, Eastern Mennonite University’s employment of Correspondence #1 lacks an inherent value judgment concerning the purpose of education. Eastern Mennonite University’s reference to *The person leading a life is a traveler*, like other EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors employing Correspondence #1, lacks a clear and decisive frame as it could promote an *education as exploration* view of education just as easily as it could promote an *education as path to graduation* view of education.

Correspondence #2: Use of *His purposes are destinations* Metaphors

As stated in the previous section that examined the co-occurrence of Correspondence #2, #6, and #7, there are 666 uses of Correspondence #2 found in the complete corpus. This correspondence can be found in the statements of 317 different colleges and universities, or 87.5% of all schools that contain at least one instance of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Correspondence #2 is one of the three correspondences found in the policy statements of over 85% of all colleges and universities containing at least one EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Of course, the majority of these metaphors involving Correspondence #2 relate to instances of “advanced” and “toward” that are described above, but other forms of Correspondence #2 exist, too. One example is found in the University of San Francisco’s “Credit by Advanced Placement” statement, which reads: “For a student seeking a Bachelor of Arts degree, an AP language score of 4 or 5 will cover language courses numbered 101, 102, and 201” (“Credit by Advanced Placement”). As with the previously examined instances of co-occurrence of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, this instance of Correspondence #2, by emphasizing the student’s goal of a degree, frames the purpose of education as being to graduate. Unlike Correspondence #1, which does not inherently frame education in a certain manner, Correspondence #2, with its focus on *destinations*, automatically frames the goal of education as being to finish it.

Correspondence #3: Use of *The means for achieving purposes are routes* Metaphors

Lakoff and Turner’s Correspondence #3, *The means for achieving purposes are routes*, occurs 40 times in the complete corpus, making it the fourth least frequently occurring correspondence in the complete corpus. An example of Correspondence #3 occurs in the Bridgewater College Advanced Placement policy statement. The statement reads:

“The College considers the results of the College Level Examination Program (CLEP) as a means of determining advanced placement for students who have not followed the traditional pattern of preparation” (“Advanced Placement”). The reference to “the traditional pattern” suggests a route for which the purpose is preparation, and thus an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is formed.

The Bridgewater College instance of the *route* metaphor promotes the idea that there is a typical path that students take in preparation for more “advanced” courses. Bridgewater College manages to reference the “traditional pattern” without promoting an evaluative frame because the “traditional pattern of preparation” is neither positive nor negative. Bridgewater College manages to construct an evaluative-neutral EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor by not making the purpose of the route to be graduation, which allows them to also avoid making an implicit claim concerning the purpose of education. Of course, the use of “advanced placement” as a common noun that occurs earlier in the sentence provides an evaluative frame, as described above in the analysis of co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, but the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor relating to the “route” is separate.

Correspondence #4: Use of *Difficulties in life are impediments to travel* Metaphors

With only twenty-two recorded instances, Correspondence #4, *Difficulties in life are impediments to travel*, is the third least frequently used version of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor found in the complete corpus. Data presented in Chapter 4 shows that Correspondence #4 occurs, on average, every 4,688 words in the complete corpus. Northern Illinois University’s on-line Credit by Exam Brochure makes use of Correspondence #4 with the following: “CBE offers several advantages to new students. These advantages include

allowing students to skip introductory classes and move to higher level classes, earn proficiency credit for previously mastered information, shorten the time to a degree, and save tuition dollars” (“Northern Illinois: Credit By Examination”). This excerpt portrays “introductory classes” as something that costs money, lengthens the amount of time it takes to earn a degree, and stands in the way of higher-level classes. This use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor assumes that these introductory courses hold students back, rather than provide them with skills necessary to develop or improve upon critical thinking skills and get acclimated to university-level coursework. In this excerpt, moving beyond such classes, but not necessarily learning from them, is seen as a mark of progress.

The EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor from Northern Illinois University presents introductory coursework, and education in general, in a manner similar to what is seen in EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that employ co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. There are, however, instances of Correspondence #4 that do not promote this negative view of education. One such example is seen in Central Christian College of Kansas’ “Advanced Placement Program” statement, which reads: “This program serves as an ‘academic bridge’ that helps to smooth transition from secondary school to college. Central Christian College will grant credit to students who reach the appropriate level of achievement on the Advanced Placement Examinations” (“Advanced Placement Program”). This statement acknowledges the difficulty in the transition between “secondary school to college” and the “academic bridge” is meant to lessen the severity of this difficulty so it does not become an impediment to any students’ educational journey. Because this EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor does not focus on the goal of simply getting through certain requirements in order to graduate, it avoids promoting a negative view of education.

As is seen with the two examples of Correspondence #4, this type of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor does not inherently promote the negative view of college and university work that is seen in the co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. While there are instances, like the example from Northern Illinois University, that promote such a view, there are an equal number of instances that promote the academic challenge of the Advanced Placement Program or advanced classes as a healthy challenge.

Correspondence #5: Use of *Counselors are guides* Metaphors

Correspondence #5, *Counselors are guides*, is tied for the least frequently used correspondence in the corpus. Both Correspondences #5 and #8 are used only once. The only school to make use of Correspondence #5 is Swarthmore College, and even this use is one of the subtlest EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in the complete corpus. The metaphor occurs in Swarthmore College's "Advanced Placement Credit" policy statement, which reads: "This guide lists the credit and/or placement awarded for exam scores taken prior to Swarthmore matriculation" ("Advanced Placement Credit"). By referring to the chart that presents credit information as a "guide," the statement from Swarthmore College presents a metaphor where a guide assists students as they apply Advanced Placement exam scores in an effort to gain credit or placement. Within the construction of this EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, no evaluative judgement concerning education or college-level work is made. The "guide" does not promote a quick passage to graduation, nor does the guide demean the value of introductory course work.

Correspondence #6: Use of *Progress is the distance traveled* Metaphors

Correspondence #6, *Progress is the distance traveled*, is used by 330 colleges and universities, or 91.1% of schools using an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

Correspondence #6 is the second most frequently used of the nine, behind only Correspondence #7. Similar to Correspondence #2, the majority of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors involve use of “advanced” or “towards.” One example of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor associated with Correspondence #6 that is not centered around “advanced” or “toward” occurs in the policy statement from Grambling State University. Grambling State’s statement, “Credit by Examination and Other Non-Traditional Sources,” begins with the following: “In recognition of the value of non-traditional learning experience, Grambling State University offers students the opportunity to get a head start in college. College credit may be awarded for knowledge gained through reading, private study, and/or work experience” (“Credit by Examination and Other Non-Traditional Sources”). The EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor in this statement centers around the term “head start.” This term presents the goal of a college education to be a destination—a destination to which students get closer with each credit they collect. While graduation is not explicitly referenced in Grambling State University’s metaphor, the reference to “head start” suggests a race to the finish, which may be seen as graduation. As is seen in the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors built around the terms “advanced” and “towards,” the “head start” metaphor also promotes a view of education where the only goal is to graduate and credits serve as markers signifying how close students are to meeting this goal. With this conception of education, a student’s learning and development is not acknowledged.

Correspondence #7: Use of *Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks* Metaphors

As noted in Chapter 4, Correspondence #7, *Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks*, is used more than any of the other correspondences. Occurring 749 times in the complete corpus, 95.3% of all schools making use of at least one EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor make use of Correspondence #7. On average, a metaphor making use of Correspondence #7 occurs every 137 words in the complete corpus. The University of Massachusetts policy statement titled “Advanced Standing” contains a unique instance of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor employing Correspondence #7. The statement, phrased as a question and answer, reads: “What if I earned some college credits through my local college or Advanced Placement credits? Does that make me a transfer student? Congratulations, you’ve got a leg up on your college career. This means you will be admitted as a freshman with advanced standing” (“Advanced Standing”). There are two instances of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in this excerpt, and both relate to Correspondence #7. First is the term “advanced standing,” which is considered in the section concerned with co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. The second metaphor, found in the phrase “you’ve got a leg up on your college career,” is a more unique use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

The concept of getting a “leg up” on someone or something suggests either a foot race or a climb, for which the objective of both is to finish quickly. A “leg up” refers to forward movement – be it of the vertical or horizontal type. In the University of Massachusetts’ use of this phrase, note what a student gains a “leg up on” when they “earn college credits” through Advanced Placement exams. Students do not get “a leg up” on their peers, but on their “college career.” Such a construction of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor frames college not as a race against fellow students, but a race against time.

Whether the metaphor refers to a climb or a foot race, the goal is to finish. When placed onto the context of education, the goal becomes to graduate, and to do so as quickly as possible. As was seen with the instances of co-occurrence in Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, this EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor emphasizes the goal of graduation while ignoring the typical educational goals of learning and development.

Correspondence #8: Use of *Choices in life are crossroads* Metaphors

Like Correspondence #5, Correspondence #8, *Choices in life are crossroads*, is used only once in the entire correspondence. And like Correspondence #5, the connection between Correspondence #8 and the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is subtle. This one use of Correspondence #8 comes from Yale University: “The examinations mentioned above are the only way to gain acceleration credits from such work in high school, and these credits are only applicable if the student decides to accelerate” (“Acceleration and Credit”). Yale University’s use of “accelerate” will be examined in greater detail later in this chapter. As it concerns Correspondence #8, the use of “decides” is what makes this EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor interesting. Yale University offers students the chance to “accelerate” through their undergraduate education, but to do so, students must make a choice – to accelerate or not to accelerate. The decision that students make in regards to this choice plays a major role in how their education (which replaces the term “life” from Lakoff and Turner’s original list of Nine Correspondences) proceeds. In this particular instance of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the implications of Correspondence #8 are that a student can choose to increase the speed through which they go through the Yale University undergraduate curriculum, and that, in doing so, they will arrive at graduation more quickly than if they had

chosen not to accelerate. As is seen in examples connected to Correspondences #2, #4, #6, and #7, Yale University's use of Correspondence #8 advances the idea that the purpose of education is to finish, and not to learn or develop.

Correspondence #9: Use of *Material resources and talents are provisions* Metaphors

The last of the nine correspondences, *Material resources and talents are provisions*, is the one correspondence that occurs at a rate not comparable to any other correspondence. With 213 occurrences in the complete corpus, Correspondence #9 occupies a distinct place between the five correspondences that occur between one and forty times, and the three most frequently used correspondences that occur over 650 times each. Correspondence #9 occurs, on average, once every 484 words in the complete corpus, and is used by 151 of the 362 colleges and universities containing at least one EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

One reason for the high frequency of Correspondence #9 is that many EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that include the preposition "toward" present the material resource of "credits" as a provision that students can use in order to graduate. The "Advanced Placement Frequently Asked Questions" page from Brandeis University offers an example of such a use of "toward." The statement reads: "As you will see, in addition to credit(s) towards your Brandeis degree, your score on an AP exam may allow you to fulfill certain university requirements (i.e. foreign language, school distribution, quantitative reasoning)" ("Advanced Placement Frequently Asked Questions"). "Credit(s)" in this case, are presented as resources that students accumulate through work and effort. These resources are used to reach graduation in that the JOURNEY is complete once enough provisions are accumulated. The use of "toward" in EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors extends the co-occurrences found in

Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 to include Correspondence #9. And as is the case with co-occurrences of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, the presence of “toward” in Correspondence #9 promotes a view of education where the only goal is to graduate and credits serve as markers signifying how close students are to meeting this goal. In this view, the role of learning and development is not acknowledged.

There are numerous instances of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors making use of Correspondence #9 that do not involve applying credits “toward” graduation. For an example, the Brandeis University “Advanced Placement Frequently Asked Questions” also includes the following EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor:

For some students, claiming AP credits has allowed them more flexibility to undertake advanced level work in a department or program, take fewer courses during the academic year, graduate with a B.S., pursue one of Brandeis's joint M.A./B.A. programs, take a leave of absence, or even graduate early. These are all options that may be available to you with AP credit(s), but they are certainly not required.”

(“Advanced Placement Frequently Asked Questions”)

The suggestion that Advanced Placement credits provide students “more flexibility” that may be used for a variety of purposes, including the ability to “graduate early,” involves an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor that makes use of Correspondence #9. This EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, again, presents the resource of credits as a provision that may be used to make the JOURNEY easier and/or faster. This EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor’s connection to Correspondence #9 serves the same function found in the use of “toward” – the objective of learning and development is overshadowed by the objective of graduating.

Another interesting use of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor relating to Correspondence #9 comes from Ohio Wesleyan University. This statement, which makes use of the word “provision,” reads:

The University makes provision for students of unusual ability or preparation who desire to accelerate the time required to earn a degree. For this reason, students who plan to enter Ohio Wesleyan are encouraged to take the advanced placement examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), administered by the Educational Testing Service, which also administers the Scholastic Assessment Test. (“Advanced placement credit is given by the following departments”)

In the Ohio Wesleyan University statement, talent of “unusual ability or preparation” prompts the university to make “provision for students.” This “provision,” through, in part, Advanced Placement examinations, allows students to “accelerate the time required to earn a degree.” The way this EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor focuses on speeding through a degree promotes the idea that the JOURNEY of education is best finished quickly. What makes this instance of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor different from others that have been considered in this study is the acknowledgement of “ability” and “preparation.” By referencing students’ knowledge and development, Ohio Wesleyan University conflates two objectives of education – to finish and to develop.

Collectively, the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that make use of Correspondence #9 promote the view that a college education is best finished quickly. I found no instance of Correspondence #9 whose EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor presents material resources as aiding learning and development in students. The resources referenced in these metaphors consistently highlight the fact that accumulation of credits via the

Advanced Placement program can be used to finish quickly, or, as is seen in the Brandeis University statement, to ease the process of finishing.

Conclusion of Qualitative Analysis of Lakoff and Turner's Nine Correspondences of Metaphors of Journey

The quantitative analysis presented in Chapter 4 show that four of the nine correspondences defined by Lakoff and Turner occur substantially more than the other five. In particular, Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 occur in over 85% of the college and university statements that include at least one instance of an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The other correspondence in this group of four, #9, occurs in over 41.7% of these college and university statements. For context, the next most frequently occurring correspondence was #3 at 8.5%.

In pairing the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Nine Correspondences as they relate to the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, a clearer picture emerges of how the conceptual metaphor is employed by colleges and universities. Each of the Nine Correspondences of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor highlights different aspects and views of the JOURNEY. For instance, EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that include Correspondence #2, *His purposes are destinations*, emphasize certain goals for education which are different from EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that include Correspondence #3, *The means for achieving purposes are routes*. With Correspondence #2, the focus is on graduation, and, for the most part, how to reach graduation more quickly. With Correspondence #3, the focus of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is on the options students have. While such metaphors may relate to graduation, their focus is not inherently

related to the completion of the degree. What is inherent in Correspondence #3 is a focus on the steps involved with learning and earning a degree.

Of the Nine Correspondences for EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, four are constructed in such a way as to focus on the end results of education. Correspondences #2, #6, #7, and #9 all present the goal of education as being to finish, so any metaphor connected to these four correspondences will adopt a similar frame. A different view concerning the goal of education is that it should foster learning and development in students.

Correspondence #3 is the lone correspondence that presents the fostering of learning and development as the goal. The remaining four, Correspondences #1, #4, #5, and #8, do not offer an inherent perspective on the purpose of education. For instance, Correspondence #1, *The person leading a life is a traveler*, could be found in an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor that promotes the purpose of education as graduation just as easily as it could be found in a metaphor that promotes the purpose to be learning and development.

When examining the results of the corpus-based studies that relate to the Nine Correspondences, the disparity in frequency of occurrence between the different correspondences is striking. In particular, Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 are used so frequently that an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor relating to each correspondence is found in nearly half of all college and university Advanced Placement policy statements. Specifically, Correspondence #2 is found in 49.2% of all policy statements, while Correspondences #6 and #7 are found in 51.2% and 53.5% of all policy statements. At the same time, Correspondences #1, #3, #4, #5, and #8 occur so rarely that each is found in an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor in less than 5% of all policy statements. Thus, high school students, or recent graduates, investigating the options they have when it comes to

applying Advanced Placement exam scores to college- and university-level requirements, will encounter many EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors making use of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. At the same time, these prospective college and university students will encounter relatively few EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors making use of Correspondences #1, #3, #4, #5, and #8.

The patterns in frequency of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors employing different correspondences are crucial because the three most frequently found correspondences, Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, promote the same view of education. Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 are found in 78.2%, 82.7%, and 88%, respectively, of all EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in the complete corpus, and each one of these metaphors supports the idea, be it explicitly or implicitly, that the purpose of education is to finish as quickly as possible. The idea that the goal of education is to finish as quickly as possible—even if the speed sacrificed learning and development—would probably not be embraced by many, if not all, of the colleges and universities that promote such a perspective with their use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors.

There are two explanations for why those responsible for writing policy statements for colleges and universities make choices in language that embrace a perspective that runs counter to the educational goals of learning and development. The first explanation is that the Advanced Placement program and its role in encouraging students to graduate as early as possible has become so commonplace that the language that promotes this perspective can be appropriated without hardly anyone noticing. For instance, the message promoted by the metaphors found in references to students' "advanced placement" credits being used "towards" graduation are rarely considered by both speaker and listener. The second

explanation behind these peculiar language choices is that in the competition to attract the strongest and most talented students, colleges and universities must offer a competitive policy concerning how Advanced Placement examination scores will be handled. In an effort to appeal to prospective students, colleges and universities must highlight the ways Advanced Placement examination scores can be used to make their JOURNEY to graduation as easy as possible. Part of the effort to make the Advanced Placement policy as appealing as possible entails adopting language that highlights the role Advanced Placement can play in making each student's JOURNEY shorter, faster, or easier. I suspect that it is a combination of the two, an unconscious appropriation of language promoted by the College Board and the Advanced Placement program and a need to appeal to and attract talented potential students, that has caused the writers of these college and university policy statements to make the language choices they make.

The consequences of these language choices on incoming and current college-level students cannot be determined for certain. However, if the theory of conceptual metaphor promoted by Lakoff and his collaborators is to be believed, the consistency of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7 in particular, will play a role in shaping how students perceive college-level work and its purpose. As Lakoff and Turner write, "Metaphors allow us to borrow patterns of inference from the source domain to use in reasoning about some target domain. For example, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is one of the most powerful tools we have for making sense of our lives and for making decisions about what to do and even what to believe" (65). When investigating the policy statements of colleges and universities, in-coming college and university students are bombarded with EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that advance the

view that the purpose of education is to finish as quickly as possible. According to Lakoff and Turner, because “We not only import entities and structure from the source domain to the target domain, we also carry over the way we evaluate the entities in the source domain” (65), the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in college and university Advanced Placement policy statements may inform the ways in which in-coming students view requirements such as First-Year Composition.

In this context of First-Year Composition courses, a requirement from which many in-coming students hope to earn exemption, it is easy to imagine the effect of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that make use of Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. These metaphors advance the idea that First-Year Composition courses are simply an obstacle to get through as students make their way to the destination of graduation. In the more extreme examples of these metaphors, as was seen in the policy statements from Grambling State University and Ohio Wesleyan University, the most notable aspect of a First-Year Composition course is that it slows students down. Instead of viewing First-Year Composition courses as providing a crucial introduction to the discourse communities of higher education, these metaphors frame the courses as a tedious task. The fact that universities and colleges promote this frame speaks to the subtle power of conceptual metaphors.

Section II: Qualitative Analysis of Categories of Colleges and Universities and Their Use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY Metaphor

Chapter 4 presented data showing that the more prestigious the college or university, the more likely it is to include an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor in its Advanced Placement statement of policy. While there are a variety of ways in which a college or

university can be defined as “more prestigious” within the various sub-groups defined by the Carnegie Foundation’s Basic Classification System, the most dynamic example is found in classification of Selectivity. With the Carnegie Foundation’s Basic Classification System, a college or university is defined as “Inclusive,” “Selective,” or “More Selective.” The chart presented below shows how colleges and universities from these different levels of selectivity make use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

Figure 1: Use of Education is a Journey by Selectivity

	Schools in Corpus	Words in Corpus	Avg Words per School	Metaphors in Corpus	Words Per Metaphor
Inclusive	72	8,304	115.3	74	112
Selective	221	27,275	123.4	221	123
More Selective	212	39,301	185.3	448	87

There are a few crucial points to note in the above chart. First is the average word per school count for Selective and More Selective colleges and universities. Colleges and universities in the More Selective category average 61.9 more words per policy statement than their Selective counterparts. Second is the number of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in each category’s corpus. There are more than twice the number of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors found in colleges and universities from the More Selective category compared to the Selective category. The third point comes in the form of the words per metaphor count. The policy statements from More Selective colleges and universities include

an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, on average, every 87 words. Meanwhile, the policy statements from Selective colleges and universities include an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, on average, every 123 words. The 36 word difference in words per metaphor, paired with fact that the average policy statement from More Selective colleges and universities is 61.9 words longer than the average policy statement from Selective colleges and universities, means that when high school seniors read a policy statement from a More Selective college or university, they will encounter, on average, 2.12 EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors. When high school seniors read a policy statement from a Selective college or university, they will encounter, on average, a single EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

To examine the pattern of more prestigious colleges and universities employing more EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors compared to their less prestigious counterparts, I will present excerpts from the policy statements of two of the most prestigious schools in the country: Harvard and Yale. I have chosen to focus on Harvard and Yale not because they are two of the most well-known educational institutions in the country, but because their use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors is both striking and, when juxtaposed with each other, representative of two very different approaches. The focus on Harvard and Yale is not meant to provide a comprehensive explanation of the ways more prestigious colleges and universities use EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in relation to their less prestigious counterparts. Rather, it is meant to highlight the different choices we have when talking or writing about use of Advanced Placement examination scores, and the consequences that follow from these choices.

Qualitative Analysis of Yale University Statement

The Yale University policy statement, titled “Acceleration and Credit,” describes the school’s handling of Advanced Placement examination scores. At 850 words, Yale’s policy statement is 5.3 times longer than the average college or university statement. This policy statement is notable for the frequency of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, and the bold way in which it presents the value of education.

To highlight the view of education put forth by Yale University’s “Acceleration and Credit” statement, consider the following excerpt:

In addition to being able to enroll in advanced-level courses, students with exceptional preparation in certain areas may be eligible to accelerate – that is, to complete their degrees and graduate early by acquiring sufficient acceleration credits. Acceleration credits are acquired by high scores on Advanced Placement examinations, International Baccalaureate examinations, A-level examinations, or other international examinations. (“Acceleration and Credit”)

In this excerpt, the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is found in its various uses of the verb *accelerate*. This verb, as is seen in “students with exceptional preparation in certain areas may be eligible to accelerate – that is, to complete their degrees and graduate early by acquiring sufficient acceleration credits,” creates an EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor that relates to Correspondences #2, #6, and #7. These correspondences are invoked because the students accelerate towards a destination, which is the completion of a degree. Furthermore, progress is defined by how close students get to graduation, and this progress is determined by the accumulation of “acceleration credits.”

While it may seem natural to strive for the goal of graduation, by structuring EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors around Correspondences #2, #6, and #7, Yale University's "Acceleration and Credit" statement promotes a distinct frame. In the process of emphasizing the goal of speed and reaching graduation as quickly as possible, these EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors also promotes the courses Yale University offers in a distinctly negative light. Specifically, Yale University courses – especially introductory level courses – are presented as obstacles to get past as students speed to a degree. The EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors Yale University uses to describe their Advanced Placement policy does nothing to suggest that the courses they offer are valuable in any way outside of the credits they supply.

When a prospective student reads Yale University's "Acceleration and Credit" statement, I doubt they notice the subtle messages promoted by the language that make up their EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors. Because the language that forms these metaphors is so subtle, and because the focus on reaching graduation is so common, it is easy to accept the frame these metaphors promote. However, when juxtaposed with EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that promote a different frame, the consequences of each are highlighted. The EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors from Harvard College's *Advanced Standing at Harvard College* booklet are perfect for such juxtaposition.

Qualitative Analysis of Harvard Statement

Harvard College provides incoming students with a booklet titled *Advanced Standing at Harvard College*¹⁰ that explains how Advanced Placement examination scores may be used. At over 3,700 words, Harvard College’s policy statement is over 23 times longer than that of the average college or university, and is 4.3 times longer than the Yale University policy statement. Throughout the booklet, Harvard College makes use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that promote a frame that is quite different from those found in typical EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors, such as those found in the Yale University policy statement.

To illustrate, consider the following excerpt from Harvard College’s *A Brief Summary of Advanced Placement and Advanced Standing at Harvard College*:

Students who choose a concentration based on their high school or other pre-college experience can find themselves without an alternative if the passion for this field wanes. The result might be a lackluster completion of an academic agenda already outgrown. One strategy for guarding against this is to explore new areas through the Core. However, the best protection lies in approaching the whole academic program with an open mind and a sense of adventure. Students should explore and experiment as much and as early as possible. (“General Information”)

In this excerpt, students are cautioned against choosing a concentration too early because it may leave them with no “alternative” if their initial interest decreases. This use of the

¹⁰ The Harvard College policy statement examined in this chapter is not the policy statement included in the Complete Corpus. The policy statement in the Complete Corpus, titled “Advanced Placement and Advanced Standing” is considerably shorter and references the *Advanced Standing at Harvard College* booklet as containing “a comprehensive discussion of the pros and cons of accepting Advanced Standing.”

EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is unlike the others in that it cautions students from depending too heavily on a single “route” to lead them to their destination. This metaphorical usage implies that it is not the speed or amount of distance traveled during the journey, but the knowledge that is gained that is important.

This idea of an alternative route leads to the more explicit commentary about approaching college-level work within EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that promote the frame EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION. This commentary arises from two suggestions: first, “explore new areas” while taking introductory courses, and, second, view all courses, introductory or not, “with an open mind and a sense of adventure.” In short, “Students should explore and experiment as much and as early as possible.”

To emphasize the differences between the frames of exploration and destination within the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor, I will consider another excerpt from Harvard College’s *A Brief Summary of Advanced Placement and Advanced Standing at Harvard College*. My analysis of this excerpt will lead to a revised version of Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondences that highlights how EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors promoting *exploration over destination* create a different frame through which education may be considered. The statement reads:

To the greatest extent possible, the first term should be devoted to an exploration of Harvard’s academic landscape. Developing a sense of what seems interesting and challenging, and what are a reasonable work load and learning pace, will serve students well in the decision whether or not to pursue Advanced Standing (“General Information”).

Lakoff and Turner's original Correspondence #1 states that *the person leading a life is a traveler*. In *A Brief Summary of Advanced Placement and Advanced Standing at Harvard College*, the notion that the student is not just a *traveler* but an explorer is made clear in the excerpt's first sentence: "the first term should be devoted to an exploration." Regarding Correspondence #2, which originally states that *His purposes are destinations*, Harvard College's goal for students "Developing a sense of what seems interesting and challenging" suggests that students' *purpose* is not to finish, but to learn and discover. The reference to finding a "reasonable work load and learning pace" supports this change in Correspondence #2, as well as changes to Correspondences #3 (*The means for achieving purposes are routes*), #4 (*Difficulties in life are impediments to travel*), and #6 (*Progress is the distance traveled*). By promoting the idea that progress is learning the optimal amount, and the route that supports this progress as best, the Harvard policy statement shifts focus away from the purpose of graduating. With this shift, the route that leads students to graduate quickly is not presented as inherently good. Furthermore, a workload that is too easy or difficult, or a pace that is too slow or fast, is the wrong route – even if such a route impedes students' ability to progress through school and graduate as quickly as possible. Finally, the excerpt's suggestion that awareness of "a reasonable workload and learning pace, will serve students well in the decision whether or not to pursue Advanced Standing" forces a re-conceptualization of Correspondences #7 (*Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks*). The Harvard policy statement implies that routes are important to students as explorers because they serve as the means for discovery. In this excerpt, Advanced Standing is presented as being a positive route for some, but as a route that could prohibit discovery for others. Therefore, progress is not determined by external landmarks like accumulation of credits or getting

closer to graduation, but by more internal landmarks like pursuing and learning from topics that are “interesting and challenging.”

The preceding analysis can be summarized with a re-writing of Lakoff and Turner’s Nine Correspondences. Below is a presentation of the re-conceptualized list, with all but three correspondences (#5, #8, and #9) revised from the original in such a way that promotes a conceptual frame of exploration. Changes to the original list are noted with italics in the revised list.

	Original List of Nine Correspondences	Revised List of Nine Correspondences
1	The person leading a life is a traveler	<i>The student in school is an explorer</i>
2	His purposes are destinations	<i>The student’s purposes are discovery</i>
3	The means for achieving purposes are routes	The means for achieving <i>discovery</i> are routes
4	Difficulties in life are impediments to travel	Difficulties in <i>education</i> are <i>wrong routes</i>
5	Counselors are guides	<i>Teachers, counselors, and peers</i> are guides
6	Progress is the distance traveled	Progress is the <i>amount discovered and/or learned</i>
7	Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks	Things you gauge your progress by are <i>what you have discovered/learned</i>
8	Choices in life are crossroads	Choices in <i>education</i> are crossroads

9	Material resources and talents are provisions	Material resources and talents are provisions
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Conclusions from Comparison between Yale and Harvard Policy Statements

The analysis of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in college and university policy statements concerning Advanced Placement examinations shows that Yale University's use of the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphor is typical. By focusing on the destination of graduation, this use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors presents, for the most part, a negative view of university-level courses. As has been noted many times in this study, we do not have to think of education in terms of reaching graduation, but much of the language concerning Advanced Placement examinations encourages us to do so. If the theory of conceptual metaphor is to be believed, this type of language influences how we conceptualize, and, maybe more importantly, how we do not conceptualize, the purpose of the university. EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that focus on the destination are performed so efficiently that they could inform the way we think about college- and university-level courses.

Fortunately, there are alternatives to EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that promote the destination of graduation over all else. In *Don't Think of an Elephant*, Lakoff writes: "Reframing is changing the way the public sees the world. It is changing what counts as common sense. Because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames. Thinking differently requires speaking differently" (xv). Harvard College's *A Brief Summary of Advanced Placement and Advanced Standing at Harvard College* offers numerous ways to contest the ideas promoted by the typical EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY

metaphors, like those found in Yale University's "Acceleration and Credit" policy statement. The Harvard College policy statement's EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors present education in such a way that learning and growth receive precedent—not the requirements and credits that are required for graduation.

In the context of First-Year Composition programs, it is interesting to note that Harvard College's version of this course, the Expository Writing Program, is required of all students, no matter how high they score on an Advanced Placement English examination. This policy reflects the frame of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION that is found in EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors used in Harvard College's policy statement. These metaphors, and the frame they promote, highlight the key role FYC programs can play in a student's exploration. If such exploration-focused language were employed by more colleges and universities in Advanced Placement examination policy statements, the identity of college and university courses (and FYC courses in particular) could change, too. Such a shift in language may also prompt students to approach college- and university-level work with a heightened level of interest and investment.

Chapter VI. Conclusion

Imagine the following scene. A major figure in the field of Composition Studies, a figure whose research and arguments concerning the teaching of writing has, in the past, influenced the pedagogical approaches of teachers across the country, is a keynote speaker at the annual Conference for College Composition and Communication. The Professor argues for a new approach for teaching writing. Without offering evidence in the form of research, the Professor urges teachers of first-year writing to stop teaching writing as if it were a discursive act, and therefore to abandon any focus on the process of writing, collaboration, and the use of portfolios. Instead, the Professor suggests teachers focus on helping students develop skills necessary to respond to brief, timed writing assignments. Next, the Professor claims that it is time we stop focusing on rhetorical situation. The Professor urges teachers to stop encouraging students to consider the needs of different audiences and the intricacies between different genres and academic discourses. For the purpose of First-Year Writing courses, the Professor argues, we just need to make sure students can compose a coherent five-paragraph essay with a very clear thesis and sound use of sentence-level conventions. The Professor wraps up the speech by claiming that critical thinking is over rated. Writing, the Professor argues, should not be taught as a tool for learning and inquiry, and teachers should place much less emphasis on helping students develop skills of analyzing different texts and judging their validity. If students do need to work with outside texts as they respond to brief, timed writing assignments, the applicable excerpts of texts should be carefully chosen and provided by the teacher. And finally, as a concluding point, the Professor recommends that teachers of writing start preparing students for the practice of answering multiple-choice questions about writing.

How do you think the audience would react to this speech and the esteemed Professor? Would the Professor, in this imaginary scene, even be able to finish the speech? Would the audience, filled with fellow experts and teachers of writing, let the Professor finish? Would they jeer the Professor off the stage? I imagine that many people in the audience would think the speech were a joke. No expert in the field of Composition Studies would promote such an archaic approach to the teaching of writing. But what if the professor made it through the entire speech, and was taken seriously? What kind of response would follow? I imagine there would be a lot of anger in the audience, along with accusations that the Professor is promoting a return to the much-dismissed Current-Traditional Rhetoric. I also imagine that any respect the Professor had at the beginning of the speech would vanish by its end. I doubt there would be any one rushing to support the Professor after this speech, no matter how respected the Professor might be.

Granted, this scene might be difficult to imagine because it is so unlikely. The practices that make up the Current-Traditional Rhetoric approach to teaching writing have long been discredited. However, despite the ways in which the Professor's ideas are almost diametrically opposed to current thinking about the teaching of writing in the field of Composition Studies, the message of this speech currently is being promoted, only by a figure much more powerful than any respected professor in the Composition Studies, and in a venue much bigger and influential than the Conference for College Composition and Communication. This powerful figure is the College Board's Advanced Placement program, and the venue is the Advanced Placement English examinations. As was noted in Chapter 1, 438,007 Advanced Placement English examinations were administered to students in 2004. Furthermore, if all universities exempted students who scored a three or higher in one of the

Advanced Placement English exams, roughly 270,000 students would not have to take a FYW course. It is not a stretch to label the view of writing promoted by the Advanced Placement examinations as Current-Traditional Rhetoric. The examination consists of multiple-choice questions and brief, timed writing prompts and makes no room for revision, collaboration, or research.

If a figure in the field of Composition Studies were to make such a speech at the Conference for College Composition and Communication, there would no doubt be a fervent reaction – journals would be flooded with retorts and listserves would light up with responses. Why then, when the College Board’s Advanced Placement program is responsible for introducing so many students to college and university level academic discourse, do the practices they promote receive such little attention in the field of Composition Studies? In the past five years, only a single article¹¹ on the topic of Advanced Placement and its relation to FYC has been published in a major academic journal¹² that relates to the teaching of FYC or college- and university-level English courses. Even the September 2009 issue of *College Composition and Communication*’s Symposium titled “Exploring the Continuum . . . between High School and College Writing,” with contributions from Gerald Graff and Cathy Birkenstein-Graff, Doug Hesse, Dennis Baron, and Christine Farris, mentions the Advanced Placement program only once, in passing, despite the obvious role the program plays in this continuum.

¹¹ This one article, “Are Advanced Placement English and First-Year College Composition Equivalent?: A Comparison of Outcomes in the Writing of Three Groups of Sophomore College Students” by Kristine Hansen, et. al., appeared in *Research in the Teaching of English* in 2006.

¹² These academic journals include *College Composition and Communication*, *Research in the Teaching of English*, *College English*, and *Writing Program Administrators Journal*

I believe the answer to the question of why the subject of the Advanced Placement program receives such little attention from the field of Composition Studies is tied to the perception people have of the Advanced Placement program. The College Board fosters this view, as is seen on their website, which states that Advanced Placement students “Take courses that are developed by leading professors to reflect the level of learning happening at colleges throughout the country” and “Emphasize [their] commitment to academic excellence” (“About AP”). Elite high schools across the country support this perception by including in their promotional materials the number of Advanced Placement courses offered, as if this number directly correlates to high academic standards. The federal government also promotes the Advanced Placement program’s image of excellence. Secretary of the Department of Education Arne Duncan, in a statement to schools concerning how to use American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA or Stimulus) dollars, recommends that schools “Increase student participation in rigorous advanced courses such as Advanced Placement, International Baccalaureate, and dual enrollment in postsecondary credit-bearing courses and provide professional development for teachers and counselors to make the expansion possible” (“Federal Stimulus Dollars for AP and Pre-AP”). As is seen from the preceding examples, the Advanced Placement program is synonymous with prestige, excellence, and rigor. It appears as if colleges and universities across the country support this view of the Advanced Placement program. As the results of this study show, not only do many colleges and universities accept Advanced Placement examination scores for credit and exemption for various requirements, they also make use of metaphorical language that promotes the work of the Advanced Placement program while, at the same time, dismissing the value and purpose of the courses they offer.

By remaining silent on the subject of the Advanced Placement program and its role in introducing college and university students to academic discourse, I view the field of Composition Studies as complicit in the endorsements offered by colleges and universities and the EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors they use. It appears as if the field of Composition Studies is willing to passively accept the fact that the Advanced Placement English program advocates an approach to writing that counters nearly all of the Council of Writing Program Administrators' "Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition."

The passivity exhibited by the collective field of Composition Studies is unfortunate, considering how influential voices from members of this community could be. An article titled "Course and Exam Development: Ensuring Rigor Throughout the Process," available on the College Board website, notes that "AP courses are developed by Development Committees composed of an equal number of college and university academic faculty and experienced AP high school teachers for each subject field—usually six or eight in total—representing a wide range of secondary and postsecondary institutions" ("Course and Exam Development: Ensuring Rigor Throughout the Process"). The responsibilities of these committees include "Determining the general content and ability level of each exam" and "Writing exam questions." The article further describes the role of the Development Committees in ensuring alignment between the Advanced Placement examinations and current research and practices in the specific field. The article states:

Committee members also guide and review the considerable research and data analyses undertaken to ensure that **AP courses and exams adhere to high academic disciplinary standards for proficiency and excellence**. They bring to their tasks knowledge of the curricula and instructional practice, as well as a honed sense of the

abilities and skills critical in a given subject, and how students can demonstrate the mastery of such skills.¹³ (“Course and Exam Development: Ensuring Rigor Throughout the Process”)

This article from the College Board explains the efforts made to align Advanced Placement examinations with current practices and research from the respective field. The College Board claims that if misalignment is found between the Advanced Placement program’s English examinations’ approach to writing instruction and that of the vast majority of colleges and universities, they will be willing to make changes. In other words, if pressure is applied, the Advanced Placement English examinations could be restructured in a way that better reflects the practices of FYC, and at the same time better prepare in-coming college and university students to meet the expectation of the academic discourse communities they will soon enter.

As noted in Chapter 1, a model for an approach to the teaching and assessment of writing that better aligns with the practices of college and university writing programs, as well as the WPA “Statement of Outcomes for First-Year Composition,” already exists in the Advanced Placement program. The Advanced Placement Studio Art program, and its use of portfolio-based assessment, shows that timed assignments and multiple-choice questions are not the only method of assessment suitable for the Advanced Placement program. I believe that the possibility of adapting the methods behind the Advanced Placement Studio Art examination to the Advanced Placement English examinations needs to be further explored by both the College Board and members of the field of Composition Studies.

¹³ The bold font is from the original source.

Prompting members within the field of Composition Studies to view the Advanced Placement English program, its assessment practices, and its relevance to FYC courses, through a more critical lens is one of the results I hope for this study. Another result I hope to see from this study goes beyond FYC programs and to their upper-level administrations of colleges and universities. Just as I believe directors of FYC programs need to carefully review the assessment practices of the Advanced Placement English program, I believe college and university administrators need to review the way they present the nature and value of higher education in their Advanced Placement policy statements. As this study shows, the use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors in these policy statements is common, and these metaphors more often than not promote a view of higher education in which the act of graduating is more valued than learning and developing as a person. As this study shows in Chapter 5, there are ways of describing a college or university's approach to handling Advanced Placement examination scores that do not promote the view that the sole purpose of higher education is to graduate. I hope this study can make college and university administrators aware of the possible consequences that result from language choices they make in presenting Advanced Placement policies. In particular, administrations of colleges and universities ought to avoid the use of EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY metaphors that fixate on the destination of graduation in their Advanced Placement policy statements. These administrations need to take care to not blindly accept the greatness of the Advanced Placement program. These administrators need to view the program, and its relation to the goals and mission of their college or university, more critically. By changing the way they present their policies concerning Advanced Placement, perhaps college and university

administrators can also change the way in which students view not only classes like First-Year Composition, but also the purpose of their education.

Appendix I.

WPA Outcomes Statement for First-Year Composition

Introduction

This statement describes the common knowledge, skills, and attitudes sought by first-year composition programs in American postsecondary education. To some extent, we seek to regularize what can be expected to be taught in first-year composition; to this end the document is not merely a compilation or summary of what currently takes place. Rather, the following statement articulates what composition teachers nationwide have learned from practice, research, and theory. This document intentionally defines only "outcomes," or types of results, and not "standards," or precise levels of achievement. The setting of standards should be left to specific institutions or specific groups of institutions.

Learning to write is a complex process, both individual and social, that takes place over time with continued practice and informed guidance. Therefore, it is important that teachers, administrators, and a concerned public do not imagine that these outcomes can be taught in reduced or simple ways. Helping students demonstrate these outcomes requires expert understanding of how students actually learn to write. For this reason we expect the primary audience for this document to be well-prepared college writing teachers and college writing program administrators. In some places, we have chosen to write in their professional language. Among such readers, terms such as "rhetorical" and "genre" convey a rich meaning that is not easily simplified. While we have also aimed at writing a document that the general public can understand, in limited cases we have aimed first at communicating effectively with expert writing teachers and writing program administrators.

These statements describe only what we expect to find at the end of first-year composition, at most schools a required general education course or sequence of courses. As writers move beyond first-year composition, their writing abilities do not merely improve. Rather, students' abilities not only diversify along disciplinary and professional lines but also move into whole new levels where expected outcomes expand, multiply, and diverge. For this reason, each statement of outcomes for first-year composition is followed by suggestions for further work that builds on these outcomes.

Rhetorical Knowledge

By the end of first year composition, students should

- Focus on a purpose
- Respond to the needs of different audiences
- Respond appropriately to different kinds of rhetorical situations
- Use conventions of format and structure appropriate to the rhetorical situation
- Adopt appropriate voice, tone, and level of formality
- Understand how genres shape reading and writing
- Write in several genres

Faculty in all programs and departments can build on this preparation by helping students learn

- The main features of writing in their fields
- The main uses of writing in their fields
- The expectations of readers in their fields

Critical Thinking, Reading, and Writing

By the end of first year composition, students should

- Use writing and reading for inquiry, learning, thinking, and communicating
- Understand a writing assignment as a series of tasks, including finding, evaluating, analyzing, and synthesizing appropriate primary and secondary sources
- Integrate their own ideas with those of others
- Understand the relationships among language, knowledge, and power

Faculty in all programs and departments can build on this preparation by helping students learn

- The uses of writing as a critical thinking method
- The interactions among critical thinking, critical reading, and writing
- The relationships among language, knowledge, and power in their fields

Processes

By the end of first year composition, students should

- Be aware that it usually takes multiple drafts to create and complete a successful text
- Develop flexible strategies for generating, revising, editing, and proof-reading
- Understand writing as an open process that permits writers to use later invention and re-thinking to revise their work
- Understand the collaborative and social aspects of writing processes
- Learn to critique their own and others' works
- Learn to balance the advantages of relying on others with the responsibility of doing their part
- Use a variety of technologies to address a range of audiences

Faculty in all programs and departments can build on this preparation by helping students learn

- To build final results in stages
- To review work-in-progress in collaborative peer groups for purposes other than editing
- To save extensive editing for later parts of the writing process
- To apply the technologies commonly used to research and communicate within their fields

Knowledge of Conventions

By the end of first year composition, students should

- Learn common formats for different kinds of texts
- Develop knowledge of genre conventions ranging from structure and paragraphing to tone and mechanics
- Practice appropriate means of documenting their work
- Control such surface features as syntax, grammar, punctuation, and spelling.
-

Faculty in all programs and departments can build on this preparation by helping students learn

- The conventions of usage, specialized vocabulary, format, and documentation in their fields
- Strategies through which better control of conventions can be achieved

Composing in Electronic Environments

As has become clear over the last twenty years, writing in the 21st-century involves the use of digital technologies for several purposes, from drafting to peer reviewing to editing. Therefore, although the *kinds* of composing processes and texts expected from students vary across programs and institutions, there are nonetheless common expectations.

By the end of first-year composition, students should:

- Use electronic environments for drafting, reviewing, revising, editing, and sharing texts
- Locate, evaluate, organize, and use research material collected from electronic sources, including scholarly library databases; other official databases (e.g., federal government databases); and informal electronic networks and internet sources
- Understand and exploit the differences in the rhetorical strategies and in the affordances available for both print and electronic composing processes and texts

Faculty in all programs and departments can build on this preparation by helping students learn

- How to engage in the electronic research and composing processes common in their fields
- How to disseminate texts in both print and electronic forms in their fields

Appendix II.

From the “Goals” section of the English Language and Composition Course Description¹⁴

Upon completing the AP English Language and Composition course, then, students should be able to:

- analyze and interpret samples of good writing, identifying and explaining an author’s use of rhetorical strategies and techniques;
- analyze and interpret samples of good writing, identifying and explaining an author’s use of rhetorical strategies and techniques;
- apply effective strategies and techniques in their own writing;
- create and sustain arguments based on readings, research, and/or personal experience;
- write for a variety of purposes;
- produce expository, analytical, and argumentative compositions that introduce a complex central idea and develop it with appropriate evidence drawn from primary and/or secondary sources, cogent explanations, and clear transitions;
- demonstrate understanding and mastery of standard written English as well as stylistic maturity in their own writings;
- demonstrate understanding of the conventions of citing primary and secondary sources;
- move effectively through the stages of the writing process, with careful attention to inquiry and research, drafting, revising, editing, and review;
- write thoughtfully about their own process of composition;
- revise a work to make it suitable for a different audience;
- analyze image as text; and
- evaluate and incorporate reference documents into researched papers.

¹⁴ http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/repository/ap08_english_coursedes.pdf

Appendix III.

From “English Literature and Composition Course Requirements”¹⁵**Curricular Requirements**

- The teacher has read the most recent *AP English Course Description*, available as a free download on the AP English Literature and Composition Course Home Page. [AP English Literature and Composition Course Home Page](#)
- The course includes an intensive study of representative works such as those by authors cited in the *AP English Course Description*. (**Note: The College Board does not mandate any particular authors or reading list.**) The choice of works for the AP course is made by the school in relation to the school's overall English curriculum sequence, so that by the time the student completes AP English Literature and Composition she or he will have studied during high school literature from both British and American writers, as well as works written in several genres from the sixteenth century to contemporary times. The works selected for the course should require careful, deliberative reading that yields multiple meanings.
- The course teaches students to write an interpretation of a piece of literature that is based on a careful observation of textual details, considering the work's:
 - Structure, style, and themes
 - The social and historical values it reflects and embodies
 - Such elements as the use of figurative language, imagery, symbolism, and tone
- The course includes frequent opportunities for students to write and rewrite formal, extended analyses and timed, in-class responses. The course requires:
 - Writing to understand: Informal, exploratory writing activities that enable students to discover what they think in the process of writing about their reading (such assignments could include annotation, freewriting, keeping a reading journal, and response/reaction papers)
 - Writing to explain: Expository, analytical essays in which students draw upon textual details to develop an extended explanation/interpretation of the meanings of a literary text
 - Writing to evaluate: Analytical, argumentative essays in which students draw upon textual details to make and explain judgments about a work's artistry and quality, and its social and cultural values
- The AP teacher provides instruction and feedback on students' writing assignments, both before and after the students revise their work, that help the students develop:
 - A wide-ranging vocabulary used appropriately and effectively
 - A variety of sentence structures, including appropriate use of subordination

¹⁵ http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/public/courses/teachers_corner/51050.html

and coordination

- Logical organization, enhanced by specific techniques to increase coherence, such as repetition, transitions, and emphasis
- A balance of generalization and specific, illustrative detail
- An effective use of rhetoric, including controlling tone, establishing and maintaining voice, and achieving appropriate emphasis through diction and sentence structure

Appendix IV.

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¹⁶ To better facilitate navigation of the list, citations are alphabetically ordered by institution of origin’s name, not by the title of the entry, as MLA guidelines require.

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Appendix V.

Metaphor Identification Step I – List of Flagged Words

Word	Frequency	ACTION	5
ABILITIES	3	ACTIVE	2
ABILITY	13	ACTIVELY	1
ABLE	12	ADJUST	1
ABOUND	1	ADJUSTED	4
ABOVE	85	ADJUSTMENT	1
ACCEL	1	ADJUSTMENTS	1
ACCELERATE	12	ADMISSIBLE	1
ACCELERATED	14	ADMISSION	90
ACCELERATING	2	ADMISSIONS	134
ACCELERATION	40	ADMIT	2
ACCESS	5	ADMITS	1
ACCESSIBLE	1	ADMITTANCE	1
ACCOMMODATE	1	ADMITTED	17
ACCOMMODATION	1	ADVANCE	30
ACCOMMODATIONS	15	ADVANCED	1,838
ACCOMPANY	3	ADVANCEMENT	1
ACCOMPANYING	2	ADVANTAGE	9
ACCOMPLISH	2	ADVANTAGES	4
ACCOMPLISHED	4	ADVERSELY	1
ACCOMPLISHMENT	3	ADVICE	6
ACCOMPLISHMENT+	1	ADVISE	1
ACCREDITED	32	ADVISED	9
ACCREDITING	2	ADVISEE	1
ACCRUE	1	ADVISEES	1
ACCRUED	1	ADVISEMENT	5
ACCRUING	1	ADVISER	8
ACCUMULATE	2	ADVISERS	6
ACCUMULATED	1	ADVISING	14
ACCUMULATION	2	ADVISOR	40
ACHIEVE	14	ADVISORS	4
ACHIEVED	28	ADVISORY	1
ACHIEVEMENT	43	ADVOCATE	1
ACHIEVEMENTS	4	AGAINST	2
ACHIEVES	6	AHEAD	3
ACHIEVING	10	AIMS	1
ACQUIRE	2	ALIGNS	1
ACQUIRED	14	ALONG	6
ACQUIRING	1	ALTERNATE	5

ALTERNATIVE	4	BEGUN	1
ALTERNATIVELY	1	BETWEEN	8
ALTERNATIVES	1	BEYOND	9
APPLICANT	12	BOTTOM	1
APPLICANT'S	1	BOUND	3
		BREAKDOWN	1
APPLICANTS	37	BRIDGE	1
APPROACH	2	BUILD	2
APPROACHES	1	BUILDING	5
ARISE	3	BUILDS	1
AROUND	3	BYPASSING	1
ARRIVE	8	CANDIDATE	8
ARRIVING	3	CANDIDATE'S	1
ASK	11	CANDIDATES	21
ASKED	9	CARRIED	2
ASKING	1	CARRIES	2
ASSIGNS	2	CARRY	7
ASSIST	6	CARRYING	2
ASSISTANCE	5	CHALLENGE	32
ASSISTANT	2	CHALLENGED	6
ASSISTING	1	CHALLENGES	1
ASSISTS	1	CHALLENGING	6
ATTAIN	3	CHANGE	40
ATTAINED	5	CHANGED	5
ATTAINING	1	CHANGES	8
ATTAINMENT	5	CHOICE	21
ATTEMPT	5	CHOICES	5
ATTEMPTED	7	CHOOSE	11
ATTEMPTING	2	CHOOSES	1
ATTEMPTS	5	CHOOSING	4
AVENUE	2	CHOSEN	7
AVENUES	1	CIRCUMSTANCES	5
AVOID	1	COINCIDE	1
AWARD	88	COLLECT	2
AWARDABLE	1	COLLECTED	1
AWARDED	417	COLLECTING	2
AWARDING	33	COLLECTS	2
AWARDS	90	COMFORTABLE	1
AWAY	6	COMMENCE	1
BACK	10	COMMENSURATE	1
BEARING	2	COMPASS	1
BEFORE	102	COMPETITION	1
BEGIN	18	COMPETITIVE	1
BEGINNING	18	COMPLETE	81

COMPLETED	126	DIRECTED	13
COMPLETELY	1	DIRECTIONS	2
COMPLETES		DIRECTLY	76
COMPLETING	36	DIRECTS	1
		DISAPPOINTMENT	1
COMPLETION	95	DISTANCE	2
COMPONENTS	3	DOWN	1
CONCURRENCE	1	DROP	4
CONCURRENT	2	DROPPED	2
CONCURRENTLY	2	DROPPING	1
CONDITIONAL	1	DROPS	1
CONDITIONS	6	EARLIER	11
CONFLICT	1	EARLY	26
CONFUSED	2	EARN	237
CONGRATULATION+	1	EARNED	291
CONJUNCTION	9	EARNING	33
CONTINUATION	1	EARNNS	31
CONTINUE	3	EASIER	2
CONTINUING	4	EASILY	1
COUNSELING	3	EFFORT	4
COUNSELOR	23	EFFORTS	2
COUNSELORS	14	ELAPSED	1
CULMINATE	1	ENABLE	8
CULMINATION	1	ENABLES	7
DEADLINE	5	ENCOURAGE	8
DEADLINES	6	ENCOURAGED	25
DECELERATE	1	ENCOURAGES	18
DECLINE	6	END	34
DECLINING	1	ENDEAVOR	1
DETERMINATION	14	ENDEAVORS	1
DETERMINATIONS	2	ENTER	24
DETERMINE	70	ENTERED	11
DETERMINED	58	ENTERING	117
DETERMINES	9	ENTERS	1
DETERMINING	6	ENTRANCE	170
DEVELOP	7	ENTRY	11
DEVELOPED	15	EXCEED	10
DEVELOPING	1	EXCEL	2
DEVELOPMENT	10	EXHAUSTIVE	1
DEVELOPMENTAL	2	EXPERIENCE	45
DEVIATION	1	EXPERIENCED	2
DIFFICULT	3	EXPERIENCES	22
DIFFICULTIES	1	EXPLORATION	1
DIRECT	4	EXPLORATORY	2

EXPLORE	3	GUIDED	2
EXPLORING	3	GUIDELINES	28
EXTENDED	6	GUIDES	1
EXTENDS	1	GUIDING	2
		HARD	
EXTENSION	5	HASTEN	1
FAIL	5	HELD	3
FAILED	5	HELP	20
FAILING	1	HELPED	2
FAILURE	2	HELPFUL	4
FALL	38	HELPING	2
FALLING	1	HELPS	2
FARTHER	1	HIGH	475
FIND	19	HIGHER	272
FINISH	2	HIGHEST	5
FINISHING	1	HIGHLY	2
FIRST	124	IMMEDIATE	2
FLIGHT	1	IMMEDIATELY	6
FOLLOW	8	INCREASE	2
FOLLOWED	4	INCREASED	7
FOLLOWING	177	INCREASINGLY	1
FOLLOWS	30	INITIAL	7
FORTH	3	INITIALLY	1
FORWARD	15	INITIATE	1
FORWARDED	18	INITIATED	2
FORWARDING	1	INITIATING	1
FULFILL	53	INITIATION	1
FULFILLED	14	INITIATIVE	1
FULFILLING	4	INSTANT	1
FULFILLMENT	8	INTO	64
FULFILLS	4	JUMP	3
FULL	29	LAST	13
FURTHER	37	LATE	12
GAIN	21	LATER	27
GAINED	12	LEAD	4
GAINING	4	LEADERSHIP	1
GATES	2	LEADING	3
GO	13	LEADS	3
GOAL	4	LEAVE	6
GOALS	3	LEAVES	1
GOING	1	LEAVING	1
GROWN	1	LED	1
GUIDANCE	23	LIMIT	16
GUIDE	11	LIMITATION	3

LIMITATIONS	5	MOTIVATED	1
LIMITED	18	MOTIVATION	3
LIMITS	3	MOVE	7
LINE	7	NEAR	1
		NEAREST	1
LINEAR	1	NEARLY	2
LINK	14	NEXT	17
LINKS	4	OBJECTIVE	7
LOAD	8	OBJECTIVES	2
LOCATE	5	OBTAIN	34
LOCATED	4	OBTAINABLE	1
LOCATION	3	OBTAINED	43
LOCATIONS	3	OBTAINING	6
LONG	10	OFF	8
LONGER	3	OUT	40
LOSE	6	OUTCOMES	1
LOSING	1	OUTLAY	1
LOSS	1	OUTLINE	4
LOW	1	OUTLINED	11
LOWER	38	OUTLINES	2
LOWERED	1	OUTLINING	1
LOWEST	3	OUTSIDE	11
MAINTAIN	2	OVERLAP	3
MAINTAINED	2	OVERRIDE	2
MAINTAINING	1	PACE	2
MAP	1	PASS	20
MAPS	1	PASSAGE	7
MATERIAL	29	PASSED	28
MATERIALS	11	PASSES	7
MATRICULATE	1	PASSING	27
MATRICULATED	7	PAST	4
MATRICULATES	2	PHASES	1
MATRICULATING	5	PLACE	35
MATRICULATION	39	PLACED	29
MEET	65	PLACEMENT	1,803
MEETING		PLACEMENT'S	3
MEETS	2	PLACEMENTS	2
MENTORS	1	PLACES	4
MET	9	PLACING	3
MID	8	PLAN	26
MINIMAL		PLANNED	1
MINIMUM	117	PLANNER	1
MINIMUMS	1	PLANNING	8
MOBILITY	1	PLANS	5

PORTAL	1	REACTION	1
PORTFOLIO	13	RECEIPT	20
POSSESS	2	RECEIVE	448
POSSESSION	1	RECEIVED	125
		RECEIVES	32
POSSIBILITIES	1	RECEIVING	61
POSSIBILITY	4	RECENT	1
POSSIBLE	40	RECENTLY	1
POSSIBLY	1	RECEPIENT	1
PRECEDING	2	RECIPIENT	7
PRECISION	1	RECIPIENTS	7
PRECLUDE	5	RECOGNITION	15
PROCEDURAL	1	REDUCE	5
PROCEDURE	2	REDUCED	2
PROCEDURES	36	REDUCING	1
PROCEED	4	REDUCTION	1
PROCESS	26	REMAIN	8
PROCESSED	3	REMAINING	3
PROCESSES	3	REMAINS	1
PROCESSING	2	REMOVAL	1
PRODUCE	1	REMOVE	1
PRODUCED	2	REMOVED	2
PRODUCES	1	REPAIR	2
PROGRESS	10	REPEAT	15
PROGRESSING	1	REPEATED	5
PROMOTE	4	REPEATING	2
PROMOTED	1	REPEATS	1
PROMPTLY	1	REPETITION	3
PROVISION	1	REPETITIOUS	2
PROVISIONAL	2	REPETITIVE	1
PROVISIONS	1	REST	1
PURPOSE	12	RESTATES	1
PURPOSES	14	RESTRICTED	1
PURSUE	14	RESTRICTIONS	10
PURSUING	4	RESTS	2
PUSH	2	RETURN	4
QUALIFIES	4	RETURNED	2
QUALIFY	33	REVERSE	3
QUALIFYING	19	REVERSED	1
QUICK	1	REVERT	1
QUICKLY	1	REVERTING	1
REACH	2	REWARDED	1
REACHES	1	RIGOR	1
REACHING	1	RIGOROUS	8

RIGORS	2	SUCCESS	4
ROAD	1	SUCCESSFUL	81
ROOTED	1	SUCCESSFULLY	32
RUNNING	2	SUPPLEMENT	5
		SUPPLY	2
SCHEDULE	19	SUPPORT	12
SCHEDULED	6	SUPPORTED	1
SCHEDULES	3	SUPPORTING	2
SCHEDULING	2	SUPPORTIVE	1
SEEK	14	SUPPORTS	1
SEEKING	19	SWIFT	1
SHEPHERD	1	THROUGH	309
SHORT	1	THROUGHOUT	10
SHORTAGE	2	TIME	75
SHORTEN	3	TIMELY	1
SHORTENING	1	TIMES	8
SHORTER	1	TOLL	4
SHORTLY	2	TOP	13
SIGN	4	TOWARD	266
SIGNS	1	TOWARDS	39
SKILL	9	TRACK	1
SKILLED	2	TRADES	1
SKILLS	20	TRADITIONAL	16
SKIP	1	TRAIN	1
SKIPPED	2	TRAINING	13
SLIDES	1	TRANSIENT	2
SLIP	1	TRANSITION	2
SOUGHT	1	TRANSITIONS	1
SPEED	2	TRAVEL	2
STAND	2	UNDER	47
STANDING	165	UNDERTAKE	5
START	20	UNDERTAKEN	1
STARTED	1	UNDERTAKING	2
STARTING	5	UNDERTOOK	1
STARTS	1	UNENCUMBERED	1
STATUS	12	UNEXPLORED	3
STAY	1	UNSUCCESSFUL	5
STEADILY	1	UPPER	15
STEP	1	URGED	5
STILL	40	USE	65
STUDENT	468	USED	135
STUDENT'S	162	USEFUL	1
STUDENTS	1,368	USES	2
SUCCEED	1	UTILIZED	1

UTILIZES	1	WAYS	25
VALID	6	WITHDRAWN	1
VALIDATE	7	WITHDRAWS	1
VALIDATED	9	WITHHELD	4
		WITHIN	27
VALIDATING	3	WITHOUT	48
VALIDATION	11	WOODWORKING	2
VALIDITIES	1	WORK	212
VALIDITY	1	WORK'S	3
VALIDLY	1	WORKING	3
VIA	12	WORKLOAD	6
WAIT	2	WORKS	9
WAIVE	8	WORTH	6
WAIVED	6	YIELD	6
WAIVER	19	YIELDING	1
WAIVERS	4	YIELDS	2
WAIVING	1		
WAY	16		

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