METAPHOR IN (ARABIC-INTO-ENGLISH) TRANSLATION WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO METAPHORICAL CONCEPTS AND EXPRESSIONS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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Thesis Summary
Title: Metaphor in (Arabic-into-English) Translation with Specific Reference to Metaphorical Concepts and Expressions in Political Discourse

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Cognitive linguistics scholars argue that metaphor is fundamentally a conceptual process of mapping one domain of experience onto another domain. The study of metaphor in the context of Translation Studies has not, unfortunately, kept pace with the discoveries about the nature and role of metaphor in the cognitive sciences. This study aims primarily to fill part of this gap of knowledge. Specifically, the thesis is an attempt to explore some implications of the conceptual theory of metaphor for translation. Because the study of metaphor in translation is also based on views about the nature of translation, the thesis first presents a general overview of the discipline of Translation Studies, describing the major models of translation. The study (in Chapter Two) then discusses the major traditional theories of metaphor (comparison, substitution and interaction theories) and shows how the ideas of those theories were adopted in specific translation studies of metaphor. After that, the study presents a detailed account of the conceptual theory of metaphor and some hypothetical implications for the study of metaphor in translation from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. The data and methodology are presented in Chapter Four. A novel classification of conceptual metaphor is presented which distinguishes between different source domains of conceptual metaphors: physical, human-life and intertextual. It is suggested that each source domain places different demands on translators. The major sources of the data for this study are (1) the translations done by the Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS), which is a translation service of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the United States of America, of a number of speeches by the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein during the Gulf Crisis (1990-1991) and (2) official (governmental) Omani translations of National Day speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman. As far as the physical source domains metaphors are concerned, the study shows, in Chapter Five, how the concept of *image schema* is an indispensable tool for describing translation shifts. It is also suggested that this concept influences translators' handling of animal metaphors. As far as metaphors with human-life source domains are concerned, the study, in Chapter Six, shows that translators in the corpus made no attempt to keep many expressions of metaphors belonging to this category, either because those metaphors are built on folk theories regarding human psychology, or ideological orientations (as in the case of **SONS** and **TRANSACTION** metaphors in the Omani discourse), or because the source texts use culture-specific cognitive models of social agents (as in the case of women). The study in Chapter Seven explores the area referred to as *intertextual conceptual metaphors*. After presenting a theoretical framework which accounts for this special category of conceptual metaphors, specific aspects of this metaphor which cause translation problems for the FBIS translators are highlighted. The major conclusions of this study (Chapters Eight and Nine) thus highlight the significant contribution of the conceptual theory of metaphor for the study of metaphor in translation. Those conclusions include the identification of a set of procedures that translators use to handle conceptual metaphors, and an emphasis on the demands that the nature of the source domains of conceptual metaphors places on translators.

Keywords: Translation, Metaphor, Metaphor in Translation, Conceptual Theory of Metaphor, Political discourse, Culture, Translation Strategies and Procedures, Arabic, English

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INTRODUCTION

Metaphor is an area that is gaining increasing attention in contemporary Translation Studies. What began (in early studies like Dagut 1976, van den Broeck 1981 and Aphek and Tobin 1984) as reflections on why some individual metaphorical expressions, mainly in literary and religious texts, resist 'translatability' from one language into another language has become a distinctive area of inquiry within Translation Studies. This area, i.e., metaphor in translation (MiT, hereafter), is highly diverse, reflecting the different, sometimes conflicting, approaches to both translation and metaphor. The scope of this area is widening, especially if we take into account the new ideas and heuristics in Translation Studies, studies on metaphor and other fields that interact with these two phenomena. It is futile to attempt to give a framework that accounts for *all* the issues involved in this topic at this stage of research in this area.

This study will focus on, and limit itself to, the goal of *tracing implications of the major ideas of the conceptual theory of metaphor for the study of metaphor in the context of Translation Studies*. The conceptual theory of metaphor, i.e., the theory that sees metaphor as a conceptual mapping between domains (see **CHAPTER THREE**) rather than a non-literal linguistic expression, has dominated research on metaphor, but has only slowly been taking root in Translation Studies, since it was first introduced in 1980 by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their book *Metaphors We Live By*. This book and the studies that have taken its view of metaphor have presented proposals about metaphor which challenge the fundamentals of traditional, widely accepted views and have given rise to "a multidisciplinary interest in metaphor, almost a 'metaphoromania'" (Van Barbant 1986: 123). Despite these developments, the study of metaphor in the context of Translation Studies has not, unfortunately, kept pace with the discoveries about the nature and role of metaphor in the cognitive sciences. Very few translation studies have attempted to apply the conceptual theory (see **SECTION 3.5.**), and research in this area is still insufficient. This study aims primarily to fill part of this gap in knowledge.

The usefulness of any theory for a new context can be traced in two ways. First, one can examine the theory's ability to contribute to answering existing questions in the new context. In this case, *what can the conceptual theory of metaphor tell us about existing "classic" questions in the MiT literature?* Second, one can explore the theory's ability to

shed light on new areas which have not been studied in MiT research using the traditional approaches to metaphor. This study adopts both approaches. The areas that will be explored as well as the methodology used for this study will be discussed in detail in **CHAPTER FOUR**, after we have discussed the major ideas of the conceptual theory of metaphor in **CHAPTER THREE**.

0.1. Theoretical and Social Needs of the Study

We can distinguish between two types of needs which justify conducting this study: theoretical and social. The theoretical needs have to do with the existing body of knowledge both in MiT studies in general and in Arabic-into-English translation in particular. The social needs have to do with the actual cases of intercultural misunderstanding in which translation is involved between the Arab world and the English-speaking countries (see the cases studied in **SECTION 8.5.**).

The current state of MiT studies reflects an insufficient exploitation of the cognitive metaphor theory which has dominated the field of metaphor studies for two decades. As we shall see, most existing MiT studies deal with metaphor as an exceptional use of language, often connected to literary texts (see for example Dagut 1976 and 1987, Kruger 1993, García 1996 and Kurth 1999, *cf.* Al-Harrasi 1998: 40). This assumption has been shown to be imprecise by cognitive linguistics scholars (see Lakoff and Johnson: 1980b). New cognitive studies have shown that metaphor is a pervasive cognitive tool that is realised linguistically[1]. This idea opens new areas for research in Translation Studies, ranging from redefining what a metaphor is to types of texts that need to be studied.

In the existing body of knowledge on metaphor in Translation Studies, metaphor in the translation of political discourse has been almost totally neglected. Under the influence of traditional metaphor theories which link metaphor to creative language use only, most translation studies that have investigated metaphor have concentrated their efforts on analysing literary texts. Other text types have been given far less or no treatment at all. Yet metaphor studies have revealed that metaphor is an essential conceptual and linguistic tool in political discourse (see for example Lakoff 1991, Hepple 1992, Chilton and Lakoff 1995, Chilton 1996 and Schäffner 1995). Calls for studying texts other than literary texts have been reflected in statements such as that of Pisarska, who, speaking about translation

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[1] Metaphors can even be realised in pictures (see Forceville 1996).

studies, asserts that "all text types in which metaphors may occur should be studied objectively, since instances of metaphor in various types of texts may provide insights into possible regularity of use" (Pisarska 1989: 59). Given the pervasiveness of metaphor in political texts and the sensitive nature of these texts, researching metaphor in translation of these texts could afford useful new insights. The existing literature in studying metaphor in translation of political texts is still very limited (e.g., Schäffner 1996). By analysing data derived from political texts, this study attempts to fill part of the gap in knowledge in this area.

Studies investigating metaphor in translation from Arabic into English are rare. Metaphor has not been given its due attention in translation studies investigating translation from Arabic into English. The few existing studies concentrate on literary metaphors (Abu Libdeh 1991), religious metaphors (Zahri 1990 and Faiq 1998), or general comments on translation of metaphor (as in Menacere 1992 and Stock 1989).

A huge cultural gap exists between Arabic- and English-speaking countries. At the same time, a strong political relationship exists between the Arab world and the English-speaking countries, especially the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The cultural gap includes differences of language, religion, and worldview. Arabic metaphors are sometimes culture specific, a fact most noticeable when texts in which they are found are translated into a language that differs from Arabic in almost all its cultural aspects. Translation plays a central role in communication between the two worlds, especially at the political level, as the contemporary history of the Arab world shows. Our thesis aims at strengthening the study of metaphor in (Arabic-English) translation, which in turn might improve communication between the two very different cultures that these two languages represent.

The Intended Outcome of the Study

The intended outcome of this thesis is highlighting the relevance of the conceptual nature of metaphor for translation. Specifically, the original contribution of this thesis is intended to be in the following areas:

(1) the study's suggestion, based on notions of the conceptual theory of metaphor, of a different set of procedures of handling metaphor in translation than the existing ones in the literature,

(2) the study's exploration into the interaction between conceptual metaphors and social ideologies and the relevance of this interaction for translation,

(3) the study's exploration of the area of intertextual metaphors which has been both neglected in the studies of metaphor itself and in the existing MiT literature.

In short, then, while the existing studies stress the linguistic aspects of metaphor, this study is intended to highlight areas that are not part of the linguistic expression of metaphor, but are based on its more fundamental conceptual nature.

0.2. The Conceptual Theory of Metaphor: A Brief Introduction

What is the difference between seeing metaphor as a rhetorical device and seeing it as a conceptual process of mapping one domain of experience onto another domain? Answering this question will be the major aim of CHAPTER THREE, but we can address this question in brief here, in order to state the major objectives of this thesis.

The conceptual theory of metaphor holds that a metaphor is fundamentally conceptual. This means that what has been traditionally referred to as *metaphor*, such as the word *rose* in *I saw a rose* (where what is meant is *a beautiful woman*), is but an *expression* or *instantiation* of a deeper conceptual process of mapping the source domain ROSE[2] onto the target domain WOMAN. In many cases, this mapping *constructs* the abstract target domain. An example is the conceptual metaphor of political BALANCE, which maps the knowledge about physical balances to create a concept about relations between political entities. Source domains like BALANCE are not things we see with our eyes. In cognitive linguistics, they are called *image schemata*. Unlike the image of *rose*, which can perceptually be comprehended, BALANCE cannot. Image schemata are recurrent patterns in our experiences. We experience balance in scales and in our bodies.

The rich image *rose* and the image schema *balance* belong to physical life. That is, we either experience them or see them visually in our daily physical interactions. However, not all metaphors are like that. For example, there are conceptual metaphors whose source domains belong to some aspects of human life. These include aspects of human psychology, as in the metaphor AMERICA IS A MAD PERSON, and of social

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[2] Throughout this thesis, conceptual domains (like BALANCE) and conceptual metaphors (like LIFE IS A JOURNEY) will be presented in capital letters. This is in keeping with the standard system in cognitive linguistics (see for example Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

interactions, as in the metaphor **POLITICS IS A GAME**, which maps the notion of a game, a social event, onto political thinking.

One of the most important aspects of social interactions is ideology. Ideologies are worldviews which serve the power of a particular social group through legitimising existing social relations and differences of power (see Fairclough 1989: 2). An example is the masculinist ideology which assumes that man is (and should be) more powerful than woman. Such ideological views can sometimes be source domains which get mapped in specific conceptual metaphors. An example is the metaphor **OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF OMAN**, which maps the preference for sons rather than daughters to construct the political concept of **PEOPLE**. The topic of ideology has, generally speaking, been neglected in the existing MiT literature; this study, in CHAPTER SIX, will explore two cases of ideological metaphors and the different procedures employed by translators to handle them.

Intertextuality can provide source domains of metaphors. Intertextual domains are based on past experiences, such as the experience of the early Islamic wars during the time of Prophet Muhammed, which are recorded in the Qur'an. Such intertextual experiences can serve as source domains to make a metaphorical conceptualisation of a contemporary experience. An example of this is the conceptual metaphor **GULF CRISIS IS A JIHAD WAR**, which maps the knowledge about the wars of early Islam onto the contemporary experience of the Gulf Crisis following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. This topic will be discussed in detail in CHAPTER SEVEN of this thesis.

Another important idea in the conceptual theory of metaphor is that the *instantiation* of a particular conceptual metaphor can be of different types. It can, for example, be a lexical item such as the word *path* in *the path of development is very long*. It can, however, also take the form of expressions that are not traditionally associated with metaphor, such as idiomatic expressions. An example is the expression *dead-end* in *they are facing a dead-end in their love relationship*. Both *path* and *dead-end* realise the same underlying general conceptual metaphor **LIFE IS A JOURNEY**, where properties of moving from one place to another are mapped onto different aspects of life, such as development and love in the above examples.

0.3. The Main Objectives and Data of the Study

The major objective of this thesis is to explore the implications of the conceptual theory of metaphor for translation. The objective can be narrowed down to the following more specific goals.

- To examine the relevance of the idea of conceptual *mapping* for understanding how metaphors are handled in translation,

- To explore the possibility of the relevance of the concept of *image schema* in understanding translation procedures for handling conceptual metaphors,

- To explore how translators handle metaphors whose source domains are animals and colours (as these are two areas which were neglected in most of the existing MiT literature),

- To explore how translators handle metaphors whose source domains are culture specific, such as particular folk theories about human psychology,

- To explore and describe the different procedures used when translators handle ideological metaphors where the target addressees do not share the ideological assumptions that are accepted in the source culture,

- To explore the different translation problems that can be seen in translators' handling of *intertextual metaphors*, and

- To explore the implications of the conceptual theory of metaphor for the debate on the need for a theory of 'translation of metaphor,'

- To trace implications of this theory for practising translation, and teaching and training translators.

To fulfill these objectives, the thesis will analyse data belonging to genuine Arabic political texts and genuine published English translations. As shall be explained in detail in CHAPTER FOUR below, the major source of data is the translations produced by the FBIS (Foreign Broadcasting Information Service), a branch of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), of speeches by the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein delivered during the Gulf Crisis (1990-1991). Other data will be derived from Omani governmental translations of speeches by Sultan Qaboos bin Said, Sultan of Oman. The latter corpus fulfills a specific objective, namely that of seeing whether translators left traces of ideological

metaphors which are dominant in the Omani culture and which are not looked at positively by western culture.

0.4. Structure of the Study

This thesis is intended to proceed in a logical manner, beginning with a review of relevant theories, proceeding with a discussion of methodology and data analysis, then presenting conclusions and implications. The first three chapters deal with theoretical matters. Since this study belongs to the field of Translation Studies, CHAPTER ONE will be mainly concerned with presenting a general introduction to this field, in terms of its historical developments, major models of defining translation and the status of this interdisciplinary field. Different definitions and perceptions of what translation is influence, to a great extent, how metaphor has been seen and explained in translation. The following two chapters are concerned with how different concepts of metaphor lead to different views on handling metaphor in translation. CHAPTER TWO is devoted to the theories of metaphor which existed before the appearance of the conceptual theory. The proposals of the comparison, substitution and interaction theories will be discussed. This will be followed by a review of the MiT studies which adopted them. CHAPTER THREE will introduce the major ideas of the conceptual theory of metaphor and the way the theory differs from traditional approaches. Particularly, such concepts as mapping, image schema, and other aspects of metaphorical concepts will be discussed in detail. This will be followed by a discussion of the hypothetical implications that the proposals of the conceptual theory present for investigating metaphor in the context of Translation Studies.

The following four chapters present the data analysis of this thesis. CHAPTER FOUR will introduce the data and the methodology of the thesis. CHAPTER FIVE will deal with how translators handle metaphors with physical source domains. Specifically, it will, supported with illustrative examples, discuss the relevance of the concept of *image schema* for describing the translatorial action. The handling of animal and colour metaphors will also be discussed. CHAPTER SIX will be concerned with translators' handling of metaphors with human-life source domains, which include aspects of human psychology and social practices and values. The chapter will focus on the translators' treatment of metaphors that are built on social ideologies that exist in the source language and are not shared by the target language speakers, such as those built on masculinity. CHAPTER SEVEN will explore a special type of metaphor, namely intertextual conceptual metaphors. Since this type is

scarcely studied, the chapter will first present a theoretical exploration into the aspects which distinguish this type of metaphor and then, with examples, discuss the distinctive problems that this type of metaphor poses for translators.

The last two chapters are concerned with discussing the conclusions of the analysis of the preceding chapters (CHAPTER EIGHT) and with exploring their implications for translation practice and training and further research in the area of metaphor in translation (CHAPTER NINE).

CHAPTER ONE

Translation Studies

1.1. Introduction

Recent publications in Translation Studies, such as the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997), *Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998a), and most recently *The Translation Studies Reader* (Venuti 2000), highlight translation scholars' consolidation of the conviction that their research belongs to an independent field of study. Such publications signify the last stage of a series of developments in researching translation. While comprehensive reviews of the development of translation research can be found elsewhere,[3] our major concern in this chapter is to give a general overview of the discipline of Translation Studies and its main models.

1.2. The Discipline of Translation Studies

Several names have been suggested to refer to the discipline that takes translation as its focus of study, such as *science of translation* (e.g. Nida 1964 and 1969) and *translatology* (or *tradutologie* in French, Goffin 1971). Those names were gradually abandoned and the term *translation studies* became the standard name to refer to the discipline. Mona Baker notes that the term 'translation studies' was associated, at one time, with literary translation; however, it "is now understood to refer to the academic discipline concerned with the study of translation at large, including literary and non-literary translation, various forms of oral interpreting, as well as dubbing and subtitling" (Baker 1998b: 277).

The first translation scholar to present a map of the academic field of Translation Studies is James Holmes. His classic paper 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies' has become a turning point in attempts to give the theory of translation a proper academic status. The following figure shows the different branches of Translation Studies as suggested by Holmes.

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[3] Comprehensive reviews of the major approaches in Translation Studies can be found in Neubert and Shreve (1992), Gentzler (1993), Adab (1997: Chapter One) and Chesterman (1997).

Figure 1: Holmes' Map of the Discipline of Translation Studies[4]

Holmes saw Translation Studies as having two major branches: pure and applied. Pure Translation Studies can be divided into theoretical and descriptive studies. Theoretical pure Translation Studies can be further divided into either general or partial (either medium-, area-, rank-, text-, time- or problem-restricted[5]). The descriptive pure Translation Studies are of three sub-types: product oriented, process oriented or function oriented. Applied Translation Studies can focus on translator training, translation aids or translation criticism. Despite this very systematic categorisation of the branches of the discipline, Holmes acknowledges the interactive relationship between these branches. He says that the relation between branches is "a dialectical one" (Holmes 1988/1994: 78) in which each branch depends on other branches. Translation theory, for example, cannot develop without data analysis provided by descriptive studies, while the latter cannot be undertaken without some sort of theory about translation (ibid).

Early studies in translation in the 1950s were categorised under the discipline of linguistics (see Baker 1998b and Gentzler 1993). Because scholars began to notice that "only a limited number of issues in linguistics are relevant for translation and that linguistic models can hardly ever be adopted wholesale" (Snell-Hornby 1988/1995: viii), ideas and concepts from other disciplines, including psychology, communication theory, literary theory, etc, began to enter the discussions on translation since the 1970s, which in turn led to the different approaches to translation. The interdisciplinary nature of the field began to

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[4] See Toury's proposed adjustments of Holmes' plan (Toury 1995: pp.11-19).
[5] It is worth mentioning here that Holmes places the study of metaphor in translation in the category of problem-restricted theoretical studies.

become apparent (see for example Snell-Hornby *et al* 1994). In other words, the discipline is an independent one that interacts very strongly with developments in other neighbouring disciplines. Baker (1998b) points out, however, that "this does not mean that the discipline is not developing or cannot develop a coherent research methodology of its own" (Baker 1998b: 279). The interdisciplinary nature of Translation Studies will be very apparent in this research project. As we shall see in our data analysis chapter, treatments of metaphor in translation offer richer accounts when notions from other fields, such as critical discourse analysis, are taken into consideration in the description of translation phenomena.

1.3. Major Models of Translation

The contemporary scene of Translation Studies reflects different approaches to the phenomenon of translation. In this section, we introduce the major models of translation. The following models should not be seen as mutually exclusive. In other words, it is better to regard them as attempts to see the same thing, translation, from different angles. Each of these models overvalues particular aspects of translation that are within its theoretical framework and at the same time undervalues aspects that are outside this framework. As Chesterman puts it

> It may well be that if we are to build a comprehensive theory of translation, we shall have to incorporate all of these strands in one way or another, because each of them highlights one particular aspect of the phenomenon we call translation. (Chesterman 1997: 19)

We do not aim in the following sections to give a detailed description of all the models and definitions of translation provided throughout the history of Translation Studies. What we aim at is to provide brief introductions to the major models that are most related to the area of metaphor in translation. The models that will be discussed are the linguistic model, the literary model, the cultural model and the functional model.

1.3.1. The Linguistic Model

The linguistic model of translation views translation as a special form of language use. In other words, it is "an extension of linguistics applied to bilingually mediated communication" (Neubert and Shreve 1992: 21). In the preface to his *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, Catford (1965) says

> Since translation has to do with language, the analysis and description of translation-processes must make considerable use of categories set up for the description of languages. It must, in other words, draw upon a theory of language – a general linguistic theory. (vii)

The linguistic model of translation was often linked to a pursuit of equivalence. Equivalence is a relationship between a source language text (ST) and a target language text (TT)[6]. Scholars, however, disagree on the nature of the level at which translation equivalence should take place. Relying on a referential theory of meaning, Catford, for example, assumes that translation equivalence can be achieved when ST and TT have the same referents. Equivalence, thus, "can nearly always be established at sentence-rank" (Catford 1965: 49). Nida (1964: 156-177, 225) distinguishes between two types of equivalence: formal and dynamic. *Formal equivalence* is defined as the quality of translation in which the features of the form of the source text have been mechanically reproduced in the target language (Nida and Taber 1969: 201). *Dynamic equivalence* is based on the principle of *equivalent effect*, which requires that translation should aim at creating an effect on the target language (TL) audience similar to that created on the source language (SL) audience by the SL message (see also Bassnett 1980/1991: 26).

A characteristic of the linguistic model is its dependence on contrastive studies. Vinay and Darbelnet's contrastive model of translation is based to a large extent on the work of the Swiss linguist F. de Saussure. Saussure is famous for his distinction of the elements of language into *signified* (the conceptual part of the sign) and *signifier* (the linguistic part). Vinay and Darbelnet base their view of translation on this account of the linguistic sign. They say that

> The work of translators is concerned with this interaction: from signifier to signified in the process of comprehension of the message; and from signified to signifier in the target language in the process of translation. (Vinay and Darbelnet 1959/1995: 13)

Emery (1987) attempts to present a comparison of English texts from different domains with their Arabic translations "in order to elicit linguistic features of the Arabic" (62). Those features ranged from phrasal level (including verbs/verb phrases, nouns/noun phrases, adjectives/adjective phrases, adverbs/adverb phrases, pronouns and propositions) and sentence level to supra-sentential level including stylistic differences between Arabic and English. Emery concludes that contrastive linguistics is of assistance to training translators, "particularly in translations from English into Arabic where a perennial

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[6] The notion of equivalence is one of the most controversial in Translation Studies. Regarding this concept, translation scholars could be grouped into three categories. There are scholars who think that it is the central concept in Translation Studies (e.g. Catford 1965: 21). Others have straightforwardly rejected it (Bassnett 1980/1991: 26, and Hermans 1999: 60-63). The third group are aware of its limitations but use it as a relative term (Baker 1992: 6), or because, in Toury's words, "the advantages [of keeping the concept] outweigh the disadvantages" (see Schäffner 1999b: 72).

problem is the avoidance of poor style (al-uslūb al-rakīk) and the production of translations stamped with the authentic flavour (طعم *ta'm*) of the language" (Emery 1987: 64).

The problem with comparative studies such as Vinay and Darbelnet's and Emery's is that their emphasis is not on translation as a process that takes place in specific communicative situations as a response to particular social needs, but on a static comparative description of linguistic items taken from an original text and a translation (see also Connor 1996). This is most glaring in the following classic diagram of Nida's in which he describes how translation takes place.

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Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Figure 2: Nida's model of translation process (Nida 1969: 484)

The translation process, according to this model, starts by an analysis of the source text, kernel-level transfer and then a restructuring of the linguistic elements in order to make the translation. This model, which is influenced by Chomsky's transformational and generative grammar, does not allow any room for the situational and cultural aspects of translation process, production and reception. As Gentzler puts it, both Chomsky's theory and Nida's approach to translation "assume that there exists a deep, coherent, and unified entity behind whatever manifestation language takes: the "core," the "kernel," the "deep structure," the "essence," the "spirit" are all terms used by Nida, many of which derive from Chomsky" (Gentzler 1993: 46).

The linguistic model of translation has attracted much criticism from several scholars who highlighted this model's limited theoretical capability to account for the different aspects of the phenomenon of translation. One of the main criticisms is directed at the units of translation that the linguistic approach concentrates on. So, the linguistic approach was attacked as neglecting macro-levels of language such as the unit of text. Holmes says

> Translation, on the other hand, and certainly literary translation, is so obviously a question not of translating a series of sentences but of translating a text which happens to consist of sentences among other things that the linguistic approach has had the great shortcoming in

practically all the linguistic theories that I know of not being able to touch this aspect of translation: the text level. (Holmes 1988/1994: 94)

Holmes even puts the movement of translators "from a sentence-restricted linguistics to produce a full theory of texts" as a condition for an adequate general theory of translation (ibid: 100). To overcome such limitations, and influenced by developments in text-linguistics, some scholars began to highlight the text-level in translation. Neubert and Shreve's joint book *Translation as Text* (1992), for instance, attempted to apply de Beaugrande and Dressler's standards of textuality in describing translation (for more details see de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981). Neubert and Shreve assume that the "first-order facts of translation are centered on the text" (Neubert and Shreve 1992: 35) and "only the textual approach is completely tied to practice" (ibid: 147).

Several translation scholars have also rejected the concept of equivalence. Snell-Hornby described this notion as "vague" and "useless" (Snell-Hornby 1988/1995: 21). Nord (1997a) observed that

> the equivalence model focuses mainly on structural qualities of the source text, losing the intrinsic interrelationship between extratextual (i.e. situational) and intratextual (i.e. linguistic) factors of communicative interaction out of sight. (Nord 1997a: 44)

Another criticism focuses on the fact that translation is more than generation of utterances in a target language. For instance, Venuti attacks the linguistically based approaches because they "purify translation practices and situations of their social and historical variables, leaving literary and technical translators alike unequipped to reflect on the cultural meanings, effects, and values produced by those practices" (Venuti 1998: 25). The position of the linguist in translation studies was, caricaturingly, likened to "an intrepid explorer who refuses to take any notice of the trees in the new region he has discovered until he has made sure he has painstakingly arrived at a description of all the plants that grow there" (Lefevere and Bassnett 1990: 4).

1.3.2. The Descriptive Translation Studies Model

In contrast to the linguistic approach which sought an ideal translation (how translation should be), descriptive translation scholars centred around actual translation (how translation is in reality). In other words, while the linguistic approaches to translation present equivalence as the major aim of all translations, literary translation scholars thought that "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (Hermans 1985: 9). Hermans also says

Linguistics has undoubtedly benefited our understanding of translation as far as the treatment of unmarked, non-literary texts is concerned. But as it proved too restricted in scope to be of much use to literary studies generally- witness the frantic attempts in recent years to construct a text linguistics — and unable to deal with the manifold complexities of literary works, it became obvious that it could not serve as a proper basis for the study of literary translation either. (Hermans 1985: 150)

Polysystem is a major concept in the descriptive paradigm. This concept was developed by the Israeli Itamar Even-Zohar in his 1970s publications. The idea of system itself is developed by the Russian Formalist Juri Tynjanov, who used it to refer to "a multi-layered structure of elements which relate to and interact with each other" (Shuttleworth 1998: 176). Such structures can be individual works, literary genres and traditions, or even the entire social order. A major characteristic of polysystems is the ongoing tension between the centre and periphery and between primary (innovative) and secondary (conservative) literary principles.

Translation has an essential role in polysystems. Translation, according to Zohar, has traditionally occupied a peripheral position in literary polysystems. Translation can, however, occupy a central role in three cases. The first has to do with literatures which are in the process of being established. Such literatures look at more established older literatures as models. This takes place through translating from the older literatures to the emerging ones. The second case is when the original literature of a system is peripheral or weak. The third case is when the original literature experiences a moment of crisis (see Even-Zohar 1990).

The role of translation in a particular polysystem makes it, by definition, a fact of the target culture. This target-oriented view of translation counters the view prevailing in the linguistic approaches which give more weight to the source text and the culture in which it is produced. By emphasizing its *polysystemic* role, translation becomes an active factor in the dynamic interaction of different literary forces of the target culture.

Even-Zohar's target-oriented approach has influenced Translation Studies significantly. This is especially apparent in the works of a group of scholars who became known as the Manipulation School. The name *Manipulation School*, which was suggested "first as a joke" (Lambert 1991: 33) appeared after the publication of a collection of essays on translation entitled *The Manipulation of Literature* (edited by Theo Hermans in 1985). While explicitly acknowledging the influence of Even-Zohar, the book has "an approach to literary translation that is descriptive, target-oriented, functional, and systematic; and an

interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translation" (Hermans 1985: 10-11, highlight and italics added).

In addition to the concept of polysystem, descriptive translation studies also highlight the notion of norms. Norms, according to Toury, are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities, "because their existence, and wide range of situations they apply to (with the conformity this implies), are the main factors ensuring the establishment and retention of social order" (Toury 1995: 55). By contextualising translation as social behaviour, translation becomes an activity constrained by norms. According to Toury (1980: 53ff), there are three kinds of norms. The first is the initial norms, which cause the translator to subject him-/herself either to the original text and the norms it represents or to the norms active in the target culture. The second is the preliminary norms. These govern the overall translation policy and the choice of texts to be translated. The third type of norms is the operational norms. This type of norms control the actual decisions made during the process of translating.

Translation norms, as proposed by descriptive translation scholars, are obviously very different from normative formulations and statements about how translation *should* be. An example of normative formulations is the following which we translate from an Arabic book on translation published in 1982:

> "Translation is a beautiful art that is concerned with transferring words, meanings and styles from one language to another. The speaker in the target language can understand the texts clearly and feel them strongly just as they are understood and felt by the speaker in their original language. If this definition is correct, and we do believe that it is correct or close to correctness, then the principles that we infer from it and upon which the art of translation depends are:
> The translation should give a correct picture of the ideas contained in the original text,
> The original style should be preserved where possible, and
> The smoothness (السلاسة) of the style of the translation should not be less than the smoothness of any text written in the target language" (Khuloosi 1982: 14)

Such normative formulations pre-assume an ideal translation which should be the aim of all translators. Norms according to descriptive translation studies are, however, very different. The starting point in the descriptive paradigm is the actual translation. Norms here refer to the characteristics (recurrent patterns) that distinguish the translations produced by a specific translator, school of translators or entire culture.

The descriptive translation model, in short, has moved the discussion in Translation Studies from the notion of source-based equivalence that was stressed in the linguistic approaches to seeing translation as a fact of the target culture. In addition, because it is

based on descriptive methodologies, this model has highlighted translations as they really are. This understanding has helped develop another inter-related translation model, namely the cultural studies model.

1.3.3. The Cultural Studies Model

Very much related to the work of descriptive translation scholars, with their emphasis on the target text rather than the source text, the cultural studies model emphasises the role of translation in the target culture. Scholars working along this line regard themselves as having a revolution against the limitations of the linguistic approach. As Lefevere and Bassnett argue,

> Translations are never produced in an airlock where they, and their originals, can be checked against *tertium comparationis* in the purest possible lexical chamber, untainted by power, time, or even the vagaries of culture. (Lefevere and Bassnett 1990: 7)

The cultural studies model thus highlights such topics as the position of translation in culture and the functions assigned to translations in different cultures (see Bassnett and Lefevere 1990 & Bassnett and Lefevere 1998). Sengupta (1990), for example, discusses the relationship between translation, colonialism and poetics through describing Tagore's translation of his own poetry into English. Sengupta argues that in his translations, Tagore systematically changes not only the style of the original, but also the imagery and tone of his lyrics in a way that matches the target language poetics of Edwardian English. In the West, Tagore's poems were appreciated not because of their artistic aspects, but because they conformed to the "accepted stereotypes of the East then prevalent in the West" (Sengupta 1990: 60). Because of this, Tagore's reputation in the West did not last and he "was forgotten as fast as he was made famous" (ibid: 62) because of the change in the Western poetics that took place after the Second World War.

Among the recent developments in the cultural studies model are the works of Venuti (e.g. 1995 and 1998). Venuti is especially interested in two interrelated areas of translation: the translator's manipulation of texts and the position of translation in the target cultures. Venuti (1995) distinguishes between two types of translation strategies: *domesticating* vs. *foreignising* strategies. In domesticating translation, the translator adopts specific translation strategies that eliminate the strangeness of the translated text and make it conform to the expectations of the target culture. In such a translation, the translator becomes *invisible*. Foreignising translation, on the other hand, preserves the strangeness of the translation even if it requires breaking the textual conventions in the target culture.

Venuti's major argument is that, predominantly, Anglo-American culture insists on the domesticating strategy in translating foreign literatures. Venuti regards this as one form of violence against other cultures.

To avoid such situations, Venuti suggests, first, that translators of literary texts can signal the linguistic and cultural variation of the foreign text by introducing "discursive variations, experimenting with archaism, slang, literary allusion and convention" (Venuti 1995: 310). In addition to this, translators must work to revise the (cultural, economic, legal) codes which marginalise and exploit them. This could be conducted in the language of contracts with publishers which should acknowledge that translation is an original work of authorship instead of "work-for-hire". Finally, Venuti calls for a change in the practice of reading, reviewing, and teaching translations that prevails in the target culture. Such calls, Venuti concedes, assume "a utopian faith in the power of translation to make a difference, not only at home, in the emergence of new cultural forms, but also abroad, in the emergence of new cultural relations" (ibid: 313).

In *The Scandals of Translation*, Venuti provides a critique of the different social institutions which maintain the marginalized position of translation in society. The following quotation summarises what Venuti means by the scandals of translation:

> Translation is stigmatized as a form of writing, discouraged by copyright law, depreciated by the academy, exploited by publishers and corporations, governments and religious organizations. (Venuti 1998: 1)

Part of this marginalized position has to do with Translation Studies itself. Venuti accuses Translation Studies of being "reduced to the formulation of general theories and the description of textual features and strategies" (ibid) which divorces it from heterogeneous contemporary cultural developments and debates. In addition to the role of Translation Studies itself in marginalizing the position of translation, social institutions have the lion's share in maintaining this situation. Copyright laws, for example, work against translators, giving source text authors exclusive rights in any translation of their works, thus causing problematic economic and cultural consequences for translators. This is manifest in the prevalent contractual terms which give translators a very small portion of the income of their own translations. Culturally, this is manifested in the texts chosen for translation. According to Venuti, "publishers shape cultural developments at home and abroad. Seeking the maximum returns for their investments, they are more likely to publish domestic works that are also publishable in foreign countries, yet are not so culturally specific as to resist or complicate translation" (Venuti 1998: 48).

Venuti here again repeats his conviction that translators, especially American literary translators, "must not be cooperative, but challenging, not simply communicative, but provocative as well" in order "to redress the global hegemony of English, to interrogate American cultural and political values, to evoke the foreignness of the foreign text" (ibid: 23).

In short, the cultural studies model shares with the descriptive model the emphasis on the target culture rather than the source text and culture (which is the core of the linguistic model). The cultural model however moves the discussion to higher levels by questioning the situation of the phenomenon of translation (both the process and the product) at the cultural level.

1.3.4.   The Functional Model

The gist of the functional approach to translation is that translation is a purposeful activity, which is not necessarily related to the source text itself. The functional theory of translation is based on action theory. The German scholar Justa Holz-Mänttäri (1984), who developed the theory of *translatorial action*, conceives translation as a process of intercultural communication, whose end product is a text which is capable of functioning appropriately in specific situations and contexts of use (Schäffner 1998a: 3). This perception presents a radically different view from the one traditionally accepted, in which the source text enjoys a pivotal position in the translation process. That is, while the linguistic approaches thought that translation produces a target text that is equivalent to the source text in linguistic features, Holz-Mänttäri's model views the source text as subordinate to the purpose of the target text, and the ST "may undergo radical modification in the interest of the target reader" (ibid).

The proposals of Holz-Mänttäri's theory of *translatorial action* are also emphasised in the *skopos* theory, which was also developed in Germany. *Skopos*[7] theory stresses the purpose for which the target text is produced in the target culture. According to Nord (1997b: 27), there are three possible kinds of purpose in the field of translation: the general purpose for which the translator gets engaged in translation work (such as earning a living), the communicative purpose aimed at by the target text in the target situation (such as instructing the reader) and the purpose aimed at by a particular translation strategy or

[7] The word *skopos* is originally from Greek. It means purpose or goal.

procedure (e.g. adopting a literal translation strategy in order to show particularities of the source language).

The translator has to define the skopos of translation before s/he begins the actual process of translating. This skopos is determined according to the needs of the *initiator* (i.e. the client who commissions the translation). Vermeer says

> Each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. The *Skopos* rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want to function (Vermeer 1989:20, translation by C. Nord in Nord 1997b: 29)

Since translation is a means to achieve a purpose, the translator must have, before s/he begins translating, a clear idea about this purpose by asking the initiator or the client to give him/her an explicit translation brief. The translation brief includes specific details about the purpose for which the translation is needed, the nature of the addressees and the other aspects of translation reception such as the time, place, occasion in which the translation will be used. The translation brief is of crucial role in the actual process of translating. It decides *how* the translation is done. There are cases where the translator can translate without getting a clear translation brief from the client. Nord points at what she calls "conventional assignment" which is based on a general assumption that certain types of texts are normally translated following certain types of translation. However, if the client and the translator do not agree as to what kind of target text would serve the intended purpose best, "the translator may either refuse the assignment (and starve) or refuse any responsibility for the function of the target text and simply do what the client asks for" (Nord 1997b: 31).

The functional approach to translation was elaborated in the joint work of Reiss and Vermeer (1984/1991). Here a text is approached as an *offer of information* made by a producer to a recipient. From this point of view, translation is characterised as "offering information to members of one culture in their language (the target language and culture) about information originally offered in another culture (the source language and culture) (Schäffner 1998b: 236).

This means, in turn, that the *skopos* of the target text may be different from that of the source text. However, this does not mean that there can be no relationship between the source text and the target text. Although functional scholars give more weight to the "coherence rule" which stresses that translation should be coherent with the situation of the

target receivers, they, nevertheless, highlight the relationship between the source text and the target text. Vermeer calls this "intertextual coherence" (see Nord 1997b: 32). If the purpose of the translation justifies it, the intertextual coherence can be strong, i.e., the target text could be a very close imitation of the source text. However, if the function of the translation is different from that of the source text, intertextual coherence becomes subordinate to the "adequacy" of the translation for its purpose.

The ideas of the functional approach to translation are very useful in carrying out descriptions of case studies of translations. That is, unlike traditional linguistic approaches which gave the source text a central role, the functional approach enables students of translation to describe particular translation patterns of behaviour that are found only in the target text. As far as this thesis is concerned, this theory offers a theoretical framework to account for particular cases of shifts involving conceptual metaphors. This approach enables us to ask questions about such shifts, based on the skopos of the translation, rather than on the nature of the source text elements.

1.4. Calls for Integrated Models

In response to the existence of multiple, seemingly contradictory models of translation, some scholars began calling for approaches to translation which combine, in a compatible manner, the major ideas of the different models. Bassnett (1980/1991) holds that despite the differing approaches to translation, still "[t]here is room in the discipline for many approaches" (xviii). Snell-Hornby, after surveying literary and linguistic orientations in the history of translation theory, observes that "all the theorists, whether linguists or literary scholars, formulate theories for their own area of translation; little attempt is made to bridge the gap between literary and 'other' translation" (Snell-Hornby 1988/1995: 25). The aim should be that "when two translation scholars from different countries and different backgrounds talk about translation, they may have some common ground" (Snell-Hornby 1990: 85). What is needed, thus, is "a basic reorientation in thinking, a revision of the traditional forms of categorization, and an integrated approach that considers translation in its entirety, and not only certain forms of it" (ibid).

Neubert and Shreve (1992) argue that many controversies in translation studies "might be quelled by a better understanding of how the different perspectives on translation relate to one another" (Neubert and Shreve 1992: 32). As a solution, Neubert and Shreve propose an integrated theory of translation that is based on an empirical approach. Indeed, they argue,

this approach already exists in Translation Studies as "part of a general movement toward more rigorous, observation-based and verifiable translation studies" (ibid).

Neubert and Shreve adopt the descriptive approach to translation theory. Instead of proposing laws and rules for how to translate, the integrated approach "should proceed from a focus on the description, explanation, and verification of statements about what is done, rather than what should be done, to produce target texts" (ibid: 34). The data of translation studies are, thus, the actual translation practice.

An optimistic view of the future of Translation Studies is found in Baker (1998b). Baker admits the danger of fragmentation "of approaches, schools, methodologies, and even sub-fields within the discipline" (Baker 1998b: 279), especially when one approach attempts to present itself as *the* standard approach to translation which can *replace* other approaches. Despite this, "more and more scholars are beginning to celebrate rather than resist the plurality of perspectives that characterises the discipline" (ibid: 280). In other words, different approaches become "essentially complementary rather than mutually exclusive" (op. cit.).

This is the view to translation adopted in this thesis. As will be clear in the following chapters of this thesis, the different approaches provide complementary insights into the treatment of metaphor in translation. Our comparison of expressions of metaphors is based on the conceptual theory of metaphor, which sees metaphor as a concept. However, metaphorical concepts are realised in language. This means our analysis will, inevitably, echo some ideas of the linguistic models. We will, in special cases, place special emphasis on analysing source texts. We believe that source-text oriented analysis can be relevant to translation when there is a methodological justification for adopting it. This will be clear in our analysis of intertextual metaphors which are extensively used in the speeches of Saddam Hussein during the Gulf Crisis. We will also adopt ideas and methodologies developed in the descriptive translation studies model, as will be shown in **CHAPTER FOUR**. Ideas from the functional model will also be used to help explain particular tendencies in handling metaphor in translation. This will be especially clear when we discuss the treatment of ideological metaphors in translation.

The next two chapters examine the major differences between the traditional linguistic approaches to metaphor and the conceptual theory of metaphor, and the relevance of these

differences for translation. Specifically, **CHAPTER TWO** will discuss the traditional theories of metaphor, which include the comparison, substitution and interaction theories, and the way their ideas have influenced the conclusions reached by MiT scholars who adopted them. **CHAPTER THREE** will concentrate on the conceptual theory of metaphor, introducing its major ideas and concepts, and trace some hypothetical implications of these ideas and concepts for the treatment of metaphor in translation.

CHAPTER TWO

Traditional Metaphor Theories and Their Influence on MiT Research

2.1. Introduction

Any serious attempt to read the MiT literature, and indeed to carry out an investigation into the phenomenon of metaphor in translation, requires, first of all, a clear understanding of the theories that have been presented to explain the nature of metaphor. That is because different MiT studies hold allegiances to different theoretical frameworks with regard to the nature of metaphor.

Metaphor is, however, an exceptionally complex phenomenon. It has occupied a central position in human thinking, and members of different fields, such as philosophers, linguists, rhetoricians, poets and writers in general, have all contributed to the body of knowledge on metaphor that has accumulated throughout the ages. This interest in metaphor can be attributed to various factors. First, a metaphor is not a physical object that can be easily defined, measured and described in an objective·way that can be acceptable to most people. In other words, it is not a physical object, like a book, a printer cable or a tea cup, which has a physical existence that enables human beings to use their sensual and mental abilities to describe it in a more or less objective and agreed-upon manner. Metaphor, rather, is an abstract phenomenon. As modern cognitive linguistics has pointed out, human conceptualisation of abstract concepts and experiences is a very complex area of human cognition that involves using several mental processes; one of them is metaphor, in the conceptual sense (i.e., as a process of mapping a source domain onto a target domain), itself. So, while most scholars seem to agree on some basic, skeletal, structural aspects of metaphor (like the involvement, in a metaphor, of more than one domain), the relationship between these domains, and the relationship between metaphor and other aspects and phenomena of human life such as imagination and reason has remained abstract. This in turn has rendered metaphor a rich research topic throughout the ages.

Another aspect of this rich potential of metaphor for research is that despite the agreement on some structural aspects of metaphor, huge disagreements exist as to what types of linguistic expressions can be included in the category of metaphor. Some researchers, such

as the interactionist scholars (see SECTION 2.4. below), have limited the use of the term *metaphor* to 'novel' metaphorical expressions, while others have shown more tolerance to let in other types of conventional expressions which are not accepted as novel or creative, such as polysemies, idioms and similes.

Another interrelated reason for the richness of the accounts of metaphor is the fact that such accounts have been continuously influenced by developments in other areas, especially language and cognition. After Aristotle, most Western views on metaphor emphasised the objectivist or essentialist view of metaphor (see SECTION 2.2.). Development in aesthetics, influenced by Romanticism, brought with it such approaches as the interaction theory, which holds that every metaphor is a juxtaposition of two ideas which create an insight into reality (see SECTION 2.4.). Critical discourse analysis has also contributed to some recent ideas about the role of metaphor in social life. Specifically, it holds that social realities are constructed in social situations in which different powers interact and different power struggles take place. Specific social institutions thus use specific metaphors in order to maintain their power and prevent other social forces from seizing power (see Fairclough 1989, Chilton 1996, Chouliarki and Fairclough 1999, and Al-Harrasi 1999a). Pisarska (1989) summarises the relationship between the seemingly different perspectives on metaphor and its different roles as follows:

> These stances are at least partially incompatible in that the representatives of the various standpoints tend to overestimate or underestimate the importance of specific issues rooted respectively within or outside the domains of their interests. (Pisarska 1989: 21)

This chapter is devoted to reviewing the major traditional theories of metaphor and to tracing the influence of their proposals on the ideas put forward by translation scholars who were interested in the different aspects of the treatment of metaphor in translation. We will not attempt, however, to present a review of all the theories that have been given to explain the nature of metaphor. We will refrain from such an attempt because, in addition to the fact that such a comprehensive review is extremely difficult to achieve given the increasing huge volumes on metaphor,[8] it is not the aim of this study to investigate metaphor itself. This is a translation study that is interested in the treatment of metaphor in translation. This nature of our study and its specific goals direct us to limit our review to

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[8] In this context, it is worth remembering Wayne Booth's prophecy that if the interest in metaphor grows at the same fast pace, then by the year 2039 "there will be more students of metaphor than people" (Booth 1979: 47). See also Gibbs (1999b: 29).

the major theories that are essential to better understand the existing literature of MiT and that have theoretical implications for the contribution that the present thesis attempts to present.

Within the traditional paradigms on metaphor, one can distinguish between two major orientations. One is the linguistic approach that views metaphor as an exclusively linguistic issue. This is represented by the substitution theory and the comparison theory (SECTION 2.2.). This linguistic approach has influenced most of the existing MiT literature, as will be shown in SECTION 2.3. The other approach mainly assumes that metaphor is represented in the individual linguistic expression, but grants metaphor a special cognitive status as involving an interaction of ideas. This view is represented by the interaction theory (SECTION 2.4.), which has been adopted as a starting point in some MiT studies (SECTION 2.5.). Following the review of these two orientations and some MiT studies that adopted them, this chapter will end with a section (SECTION 2.6.) presenting some general remarks about the major characteristics of the existing MiT literature which has adopted the traditional approaches.

2.2. Metaphor in the Objectivist Paradigm

Reaching a full understanding of the linguistic approaches to metaphor requires an identification of the philosophical assumptions on which they are based. In this section, we will present a general overview of the major assumptions of the objectivist approach to language and the world.

The objectivist worldview assumes first of all a "metaphysical view of reality" (Lakoff 1987c: 160) that is based on the idea that "reality consists of entities, which have fixed properties and relations holding among them at any instant" (ibid). According to Lakoff, this objectivist metaphysics is often accompanied by another metaphysical assumption, namely *essentialism*, which assumes that:

> Among the properties that things have, some are essential; that is, they are those properties that make the thing what it is, and without which it would not be that *kind* of thing. Other properties are accidental - that is, they are properties that things happen to have, not properties that capture the essence of the thing. (Lakoff 1987c: 161)

The objectivist paradigm sees the human mind as a container of symbols that represent external entities. Lakoff summarises the objectivist view of cognition and concepts as follows:

OBJECTIVIST COGNITION: Thought is the manipulation of abstract symbols. Symbols get their meaning via correspondences to entities and categories in the world. In this way, the mind can represent external reality and be said to "mirror reality."

OBJECTIVIST CONCEPTS: Concepts are symbols that (*a*) stand in relation to other concepts in a conceptual system and (*b*) stand in correspondence to entities and categories in the real world (or possible worlds). (Lakoff 1987c: 163)

In addition, language is seen as a system of symbols that represents reality or is a mirror of nature.

OBJECTIVIST SEMANTICS: Linguistic expressions get their meaning only via their capacity to correspond, or failure to correspond, to the real world or some possible world; that is, they are capable of referring correctly (say, in the case of noun phrase) or of being true or false (in the case of sentences). (Lakoff 1987c: 167)

In other words, reality in the objectivist paradigm is assumed to be external and independent of the human mind. Human cognition has no role to play in creating reality that is found objectively. Symbols, in the mind (mental images) and in language (words), are expected to correspond to this reality (see also Rorty 1980).

These basic philosophical assumptions have influenced to a great extent the way metaphor was traditionally viewed. One of the implications of these assumptions is that literal language is the best way to describe reality. Literal concepts and terms can be tested to see whether they can correspond to reality and survive a truth conditions examination. For example, one can say "This is a book" if there is an external objective entity to which the linguistic symbol *b-o-o-k* refers.

Assuming that using literal statements is the best way of describing reality implies that metaphors cannot, by definition, describe objective reality. Because metaphors imply cross-domain mappings, they cannot correspond to an external reality and to objects in the world. For example, Roosevelt's statement "War is a contagion" (Sommer and Weiss 1996: 448) cannot describe reality because wars and diseases belong to two different domains.

All these assumptions have led to a widely accepted belief that metaphor does not play any serious role in human cognition. Because reality is seen as always external and independent of mind and cognition, and because literal language is seen as the trusted way of seeing it, metaphor has no role to play in creating or structuring reality. As we shall see, this secondary understanding of metaphor has greatly influenced the traditional theories of metaphor, and, in turn, the MiT studies which adopted them.

In what follows, we will discuss the two major theories that follow the objectivist paradigm, namely the substitution theory and the comparison theory. First, however, we find it necessary to provide a subsection on Aristotle's views, since they have influenced the above-mentioned theories and several MiT scholars.

2.2.1. Aristotle on Metaphor

Many scholars give Aristotle a pivotal role in metaphor research. Ortony argues that "any serious study of metaphor is almost obliged to start with the works of Aristotle" (Ortony 1993: 3, see also Harris and Taylor 1989). Similarly, Gordon argues that the study of metaphor can be considered as a footnote to Aristotle (Gordon 1990: 83). Aristotle's views have influenced most of the traditional approaches to metaphor, which, in turn, influenced the translation studies that adopted the assumptions of those approaches. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle defines metaphor as

> the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion. (in Bucher 1950: 28)

The aspects of metaphor as presented in this definition reflect the underlying objectivist philosophical assumptions. First, metaphor is transference of a linguistic item, *a name*, from one domain to another domain. In other words, metaphors break the truth conditions of words that correspond to outside realities, such as when we transfer the word *evening* from the domain of day to old age in "the *evening* of life". There is an external reality, evening as a part of day, which is mirrored in language by using the word *evening*. Metaphor breaks this reference system by using the word *evening* to describe a stage of an individual's life. Aristotle's definition also assumes that metaphor is exceptional because it is a deviation from the normal way of speaking; that is, from the literal way which involves no transference. Using the word *evening* to refer to old age is an exception and a deviation from the normal way of speaking that is based on using literal language.

Elsewhere in the *Poetics*, Aristotle gives metaphors a very clear cognitive function:

> But the greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor. This alone cannot be imparted by another; it is the mark of genius, – for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblances. (in Butcher 1950: 29)

Aristotle here argues that metaphors are ways to see external resemblances in the world. Seeing these resemblances and expressing this in language distinguish some people from other people. Seeing these similarities however, is not an ability that everyone can possess in the same degree. Some people can see them more than others, which makes metaphor "the mark of genius."

In the *Rhetoric*, however, Aristotle presents what seems to be a different view of metaphor. Here we see that metaphor is ubiquitous in speech. Aristotle says

> Everybody does use metaphors, the proper name of things, and current words in conversation, so that the language of a good writer must have an element of strangeness, but this must not obtrude, and he should be clear, for lucidity is the peculiar excellence of prose. (in Grube 1958: 70)

Here Aristotle argues that everyone uses metaphor. However good metaphors, used by good writers, are different from the normal metaphors that every one uses, because they achieve the effect of "bringing things vividly before the eyes of the audience" (in Grube 1958: 92). He also says that a metaphor depends on similarity between things that are "related":

> Poets are hissed off the stage if their metaphors are bad, but good metaphors are much applauded, when there is a true correspondence between its terms. (in Grube 1958: 69)

Aristotle, then, thinks that, as a rule, everybody uses metaphors. But there is a special class of metaphors which is used by poets. These make us learn. Good metaphors better express similarities that exist between things in the world (see Mahon 1999).

Aristotle presupposes that there is an independent reality out there which is composed of objective things that have essences. He employs the conceptual metaphor **UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING ESSENCES OF THINGS**. A special case of this metaphor is **METAPHORS ARE SPECIAL LENSES TO SEE BETTER**. This is realised in some of his expressions like the noun *eye* in "for to make good metaphors implies an *eye* for resemblances" (in Butcher 1950: 29). The common fact that people differ from each other in the strength of their eyesight is mapped onto the domain of understanding. Poets have more powerful mental or intellectual sight that makes them more capable to see resemblances in reality.

In what follows, we will describe two general theories of metaphor that were developed after Aristotle and have extensively influenced MiT studies. These are the substitution theory and the comparison (similarity) theory. There are, of course, various versions of these two theories but, here, we will be concerned exclusively with their general proposals. Following this, we will explore the influence of those theories on several MiT studies. We shall see that the limitations and problems of these traditional objectivist theories were carried with them to the MiT investigations that presupposed them.

2.2.2. The Substitution Theory

The substitution theory holds that a metaphor is a linguistic expression that involves an internal contradiction, as the expression *war is a contagion* indicates. In real life, *war* belongs to the domain of politics, while *contagion* belongs to the field of diseases. So there is a logical contradiction: a political phenomenon cannot be a bodily disease that can be transmitted. In order to resolve this contradiction, this theory assumes that an acceptable equivalent is taken by the reader to substitute for this contradictory statement such as through simile, as in *a war is like a contagion* or in a paraphrase, as in *wars can spread and dangerously affect people.*

Contradiction in metaphors appears in different forms. Two of these forms are sortal incorrectness, and literal falsity (Scholz 1987: 273). Sortal incorrectness means that the parts of the metaphor in question do not appear to share a similar sort or category. As van Dijk puts it, "a predicate is applied to a subject of the wrong sort" (van Dijk 1975: 177). A metaphor can be recognised through grasping sortal incorrectness in the literal understanding of the metaphor. *War* and *contagion* belong to two different categories or sorts. Literal falsity assumes that by combining words that are not usually connected together in normal speech, the surface meaning of the metaphor can be viewed as false if it is recognised literally. People are distinct from animals, thus the example, *John is a lion* cannot be accepted as literally true. Some scholars, such as van Dijk, have even gone as far as to set an ultimate task for a theory of metaphor, namely "to specify the conditions under which metaphorical sentences may be said to have a truth value" (see van Besien 1990: 95).

Solving the riddle of semantic contradiction requires a procedure of 'literalising' the metaphor. Leech (1969: 153-156), for example, proposes a simple three-stage procedure by which a metaphor can be analysed. We shall use the example *war is a contagion* to illustrate these stages.

The first stage involves separating the literal from the figurative use. The parts of the metaphoric expressions that are taken figuratively should be identified then separated by setting them out on different lines as follows:

Literal	war	_____
Figurative	_____	is a contagion

The second stage requires constructing tenor and vehicle by postulating semantic elements to fill in the gaps of the literal and figurative uses. Here, the blanks are replaced by a "rough indication of what elements of meaning might reasonably fill the gaps" (Leech 1969: 154) so that the two lines make literal sense.

Tenor   *a war*   *[is uncontrollable and is dangerous]*

Vehicle   *a disease*   *[is transmitted and affects human bodies]*

The third stage involves stating the metaphor's ground of the comparison between the tenor and vehicle that are isolated in stage 2. In *war is a contagion*, the basis for comparison is that wars spread and have disastrous effects on people and nations, just like the transmission of diseases and their harmful effect on bodies.

Leech's procedure assumes in principle that metaphor is a deviant linguistic expression. A receiver of a metaphorical utterance, in order to make sense of the metaphor, separates the deviant (war as a contagion) from the non-deviant literal expression (spreading and harmfully affecting people). Leech's procedure of identifying a metaphor, then, shows an extreme version of the substitution approach to metaphor, where metaphor is to be returned to an acceptable literal version after "reasonably filling the gaps" (Leech 1969: 154).

The substitution theory is an excellent expression of the objectivist paradigm of language and the world. This can be seen in several aspects of this theory. First, it presupposes an objectivist 'essentialist' classification of the world by assuming that a metaphor involves a contradiction which comes either in the forms of sortal incorrectness or literal falsity. The idea of sortal incorrectness is based on the notion of objectivist classification, in which essences distinguish between things irrespective of any human experience or cognition. Literal falsity implies that metaphor is a decoration or an ornament for a more basic, fundamental literal essence. In other words, it is the literal that can be true while metaphor, because it connects different domains, cannot be accepted unless one brings it back to the literal core or essence it covers.

2.2.3.   The Comparison Theory

Some metaphor scholars such as Black (1962) regard the comparison theory as an offspring of the substitution theory. Soskice sees it as a "slightly more sophisticated version of the substitution theory" (Soskice 1985: 26). The comparison theory holds some

of the fundamental objectivist proposals of the substitution theory, such as the centrality of the literal reference and the view that metaphor is a decoration that covers literal reality.

Metaphor, in the comparison theory, is an elliptical or abbreviated simile (see for example Miller 1993). The statement, for example, that *political opponents are poisonous plants* actually means that *opponents are like poisonous plants* in that they are harmful to people dealing with them. Speakers can understand the metaphor when they see the shared properties and relations between the two domains: people and dangerous plants.

The comparison theory realises the objectivist paradigm in the following ways. First, it is based on an objective external reality that is independent of human mind. It also maintains a clear separation between different categories that exist outside human cognition. Meanings can exist only when the metaphor is paraphrased in a literal way, i.e. in a way that corresponds directly to an external reality. Language is a system of symbols of reference to external realities. Metaphor confuses this referential system. The solution, i.e., seeing it as a hidden simile, brings the world back to its natural classification of things. Abu Hilal Al-Askari, an Arab critic of the Middle Ages, argues along the same line of thought,

<div dir="rtl">

ولا بد لكل استعارة ومجاز من حقيقة وهي اصل الدلالة على المعنى في اللغة

</div>

> Each metaphor and figure of speech has a reality that signifies the meaning of the word.[9]
> (quoted in Eid 1988: 366)

Several thinkers have even argued that metaphor should be eliminated from speech. For example, Hobbes thinks that metaphor is a major cause of absurdities of thinking:

> the use of Metaphors, Tropes, and other Rhetoricall figures, in stead of words proper. For though it be lawful to say, (for example) in common speech, *the way goeth, or leadth hither, or thither, The Proverb says this or that* (whereas wayes cannot go, nor Proverbs speak;) yet in reckoning, and seeking truth, such speeches are not to be admitted. (Hobbes 1651/1996: 35)

Thus, metaphor, according to Hobbes, cannot be a way of seeing reality, which can only be accessed using literal language. Despite this attack on metaphor, Hobbes himself, as Chilton (1996) has shown, uses underlying conceptual metaphors such as *seeking* knowledge and *lawful* ways of speaking.

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[9] The author's own translation (AOT, hereafter).

2.3. The Substitution and Comparison Theories in MiT Research

The comparison and the substitution theories of metaphor influenced much of the MiT research. We will, in what follows, explore in detail some of the studies that presupposed the comparison and the substitution theories. We will show how the ideas presented by these two theories affected the MiT studies' findings concerning the different aspects of handling metaphor in translation.

One of the earliest treatments of the topic of metaphor in translation is that by Vinay and Darbelnet (1959/1995) in their book *Comparative Stylistics of French and English*. Vinay and Darbelnet propose a distinction between two types of metaphors: live and dead. Translators are advised not to mix the two and not to "translate a dead metaphor by a live one which would be a case of overtranslation" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1959/1995: 210). They argue that, in translation, there are two cases that involve metaphor. In the first case, metaphors between two languages correspond, exactly or nearly. This correspondence takes place when the two cultures involved have two common traditions. This is evident in dead metaphors and clichés. The English *it went like clockwork* can, according to Vinay and Darbelnet, be translated as *Cela a marché comme sur des roulettes*. In the second case, the target language does not permit a literal translation of the metaphor or idiom. This is a problematic situation, so Vinay and Darbelnet propose that in the case of dead metaphors "translators have to look for an equivalent metaphor in the TL" (ibid: 210). However, in the case of live metaphors, translators "can look for an equivalent or, if it cannot be found, *translate the idea*" (op. cit., italics added). It is in this brief comment about translating live metaphors that Vinay and Darbelnet show that they, following the substitution theory of metaphor, understand metaphor as a mere linguistic decoration which covers the real meaning:

> Any metaphor can be reduced to its basic meaning, which Bally calls the 'terme d'identification'. We must remember that *metaphors are means* and not ends in themselves. Translators must reproduce *the meaning* above everything else, and metaphor wherever possible. (ibid: 211, italics added)

The idea that "metaphors are means" implies that reality is an objective phenomenon which is the real "end" that language describes. This approach ignores the role of the human mind in the referential aspect of language, since literal language, it is assumed, is the trusted way of speaking and metaphor is only a "means" which is not significant in itself, but which leads to the literal "meaning." This decorative approach to metaphor influences the conclusions about translation that the authors arrive at. If literal meaning is

the essence and metaphors are mere "means," then translators "have to respect the meaning," which has to be reproduced "above everything else" (ibid: 211). Metaphors thus belong to the category of "else" which translators do not have to take much care about.

Eugene Nida, a prominent translation scholar, presents a more developed account of the issue of handling metaphor in translation than that of Vinay and Darbelnet. Nida regards metaphor as a form of a class of expressions which he refers to as *semantically exocentric expression*, ""i.e. idioms and figures of speech" (Nida 1964: 219). He argues that because these expressions are not shared among different languages, a translator of this type of expression needs to follow some *necessary adaptations*. These are of four types. The first is to translate metaphor to metaphor. According to Nida, metaphor cannot be translated into another language as metaphor without some adjustment in lexical form. Nida ascribes this to socio-cultural factors. For example, in Loma, one cannot say *withered hand* because the comparison between plants that wither literally and hands that do not wither makes no sense; *dead hand* would, instead, be a good correspondent.

The second is to translate a metaphor as a simile. Nida, presupposing the comparison theory, proposes that "a simile is the most effective way of rendering a metaphor" (Nida 1964: 219). The reason for this is that a simile reveals the original implied comparison. Such words as 'like' and 'as' give a "special sense" (*ibid.*) to the words. An example of a metaphor rendered as a simile is translating *being hungry and thirsty for righteousness*, into Navajo, a language of Native Americans, as *like hungering and thirsting, they desire righteousness* because the metaphorical sense of the original expression would not be well appreciated by Navajo speakers. This example, Nida concludes, shows that "a simile proves to be the real equivalent of the metaphor" (Nida 1964: 220).

The third adaptation is translating metaphor into non-metaphor. Because the extension of meaning of the metaphor in question has no parallel in the target language, metaphor must be translated as a non-metaphor. Nida points out three main instances in which radical adjustment should take place in translating a metaphor as a non-metaphor. The first is when the target language lacks the feature that corresponds to the referent in the target language. Because they do not know about pillars, speakers of Zoque would not recognise the metaphor *they were reputed to be the pillars*. The metaphor would preferably be changed into sense in translation, as in *they were said to be the big ones*. Another instance of radical adjustment into a non-metaphor occurs when the translator is to render a mixed metaphor. Thus translation of *uncircumcised heart* into such language as Cakchiquel

should undergo radical alteration, to be *with your heart unprepared*. The third instance of radical adjustment is when two or more elements of the metaphor involve an extension of meaning. To illustrate, Nida suggests that in Mazatec, the metaphor *fruit of his loins* should be radically reduced to *his child*.

Finally, the last necessary adaptation is to translate a nonmetaphor to metaphor. Nida notices that the shifting of a metaphor into another metaphor, a simile, or a nonmetaphor is objected to by many semantic predicaments. Such shifting is regarded to involve some loss of information. However, rendering a nonmetaphor into a metaphor is accepted on the ground that such substitution will eventually make communication more effective (ibid). As an example, the speakers of Kapauku in New Guinea would refer to important things as being *carried on the end of the nose*. When translated literally, the idiom will be a successful correspondent since it implies what Nida (1964) refers to as "a gain in information" on the part of the receptor language (ibid).

In addition to Nida (1964), Nida and Taber (1969/1982) briefly discuss some of the problems metaphors create for translators, especially Bible translators. Despite their acknowledgement that the distinction between what is literal and what is figurative is not always easy and straightforward, they define figurative meaning as an additional meaning assigned to a word which is very different in every essential aspect from the word's primary meaning (Nida and Taber 1969/1982: 78). This view of metaphor as an additional meaning clearly reflects the ideas of the substitution theory, since it assumes that the literal meaning is the more basic one.

Nida's views are, then, based on the comparison theory of metaphor. A metaphor is thus a hidden simile. This is clearly manifested in accepting simile to be the best way to treat metaphor in translation. As with Vinay and Darbelnet who believe that the [literal] "meaning" is the most essential point which is "above everything else" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1959/1995: 211), Nida thinks metaphor is an addition or a decoration for a more basic equivalent which is the simile.

The same secondary position of metaphor is also found in the work of Beekman and Callow (1974) who devote a chapter in their book *Translating the Word of God* to discussing the problems of translating Biblical metaphors and similes. A basic assumption of their approach is that a literal translation of these expressions may lead to a misunderstanding on the part of the target language reader. This situation may arise for

several reasons such as when the image is unknown in the target language and culture, the topic of the metaphor or simile may be implicit, the point of similarity is not implicit because the image is already used in the target culture but with a different meaning, or because the image used in the metaphor or simile is not used metaphorically in the target language.

Another problem that translators should recognise, according to Beekman and Callow, is the extent to which these different cultures welcome new metaphorical expressions. Beekman and Callow argue that,

> If new metaphors are regularly being coined, then the translator may reasonably expect that no resistance will be offered to the metaphors of the Scripture. On the other hand, if new metaphors are not being created, the metaphors of the Scripture are likely to prove a real hindrance to understanding if retained in the form of a metaphor. (Beekman and Callow 1974: 143)

As far as ways of translating metaphor are concerned, Beekman and Callow assume that there is a difference between treating live and dead metaphor. The image of a dead metaphor is not significant and so it can be dropped, while in live metaphors the image needs to be retained. But what if the literal translation cannot succeed in preserving the live metaphor? Beekman and Callow suggest that the translator can follow one of two paths of adjustment:

> One is adjustment of the actual literary form of the metaphor or simile. (A metaphor may be translated as a simile, a simile as a nonfigurative comparison.) The other is making explicit some part of the implicit information which is carried by the figure. (ibid: 144)

The conclusion of Beekman and Callow is that the translator of the New Testament needs to be characterised by flexibility and sensitivity when handling metaphors and similes. So they advise the translator to

> be sensitive to the reactions and difficulties of the RL (receiving language) readers on the one hand and flexible in his approach to translating these figures on the other. Only in this way may he be assured that the RL readers are receiving the same message as did the original readers. (ibid: 150)

To sum up, Beekman and Callow (1974) are essentially interested in how the literal 'message' of the Bible can be translated into other languages. Metaphors for them are covers for the underlying universal religious message, which can be accessed without essentially resorting to metaphor. The translator is advised to keep as many of the metaphors and similes of the original as the communicative conditions allow.

Peter Newmark's views on translation of metaphor epitomise the influence of the proposals of the substitution and comparison theories of metaphor on how metaphor is investigated in Translation Studies. Newmark is an adherent of both the comparison and the substitution

views of metaphor. His definition of metaphor is broad enough to allow it to include various forms of figurative speech. For him metaphor involves referring to one object in terms of another. This general view of metaphor is also manifest in Newmark (1988a), where metaphor is defined as

> *any figurative expression*: the transferred sense of a physical word ...; the personification of an abstraction ...; the application of a word or collocation to what it does not literally denote i.e. *to describe one thing in terms of another* (Newmark 1988a: 104, italics added).

This broad definition of metaphor allows metaphor to include several types of figurative expressions that involve such forms of meaning extension as polysemies, idioms, and proverbs (*cf.* Dagut 1976 and Dagut 1987). It also includes forms of figurative speech which are conventionally regarded as distinct from metaphor, such as symbols and allegories (*cf.* Leech 1969).

Abandoning I. A. Richards' terminology of *vehicle* and *tenor* (see SECTION 2.4. below for details of Richard's interaction view), Newmark proposes to use his own terminology to analyse metaphor. These terms exhibit Newmark's adherence to the traditional *objectivist* theories of comparison and substitution. These terms, first introduced by Newmark in 1980 and later detailed by him in 1988a, are image, object, sense and metaphor. *Image* is the item in terms of which the object is described (Newmark 1980: 93) or the picture conjured up by the metaphor (Newmark 1988a: 105). *Object* is the item described or qualified by the metaphor (*ibid.*). *Sense* refers to the particular aspects in which the object and image are similar (Newmark 1980: 93). This term is further defined in Newmark (1988a: 105) as the literal meaning of the metaphor or the resemblance or the semantic area overlapping object and image. Finally Newmark defines *metaphor* as the word taken from the image (Newmark 1980: 93), or the figurative word used (Newmark 1988a: 105).

According to Newmark, translating metaphor is the most important particular problem of translation (Newmark 1988a: 104). He distinguishes between different types of metaphor each of which has its own problem in translation, and, thus, requires a specific translational method. These types are dead, cliché, stock, recent and original.

A. Dead Metaphor

Here, the speaker and the listener are not expected to notice any metaphorical image because this image no longer exists due to repetitive use. This makes the task of the translator easier. In view of their remoteness from their metaphorical origin, Newmark believes that dead metaphors are not a real problem for translators. In other words, the translator is no longer concerned with retaining the original dead image. Because they do

not form a translation problem, and can be easily rendered, they are not part of translation theory, which is concerned with choices and decisions (Newmark 1980: 94).

B.   Cliché Metaphors

Newmark defines cliché metaphors as metaphors that have temporarily outlived their usefulness, that are used as a substitute for clear thought, often emotively, but without corresponding to the fact of the matter (Newmark 1988a: 107). According to Newmark (1980, 1988a), there are two main methods for dealing with cliché metaphors in translation. In informative texts and in socially operative texts, the translator should eliminate them. Regarding informative texts, the translator should do so because the author of informative texts aims at informing the reader of facts only. In socially operative texts such as propaganda, the translator might be justified in helping the author obtain the optimum reaction from the reader (Newmark 1980: 95). The translator, in this case, is given the choice of either reducing the cliché metaphor to sense or replacing it with "a less tarnished metaphor" (Newmark 1988a: 107).

C.   Stock Metaphors

Newmark defines a stock metaphor as "an established metaphor which in an informal context is an efficient and concise method of covering a physical and/or mental situation both referentially and pragmatically" (Newmark 1988a: 108). What distinguishes this type of metaphor from the two former types, dead metaphor and cliché metaphor, is that it is not "deadened by overuse" (ibid).

In his discussion of this type, Newmark proposes to use his well known procedures of translating metaphor. The first of these is to reproduce the image of the SL metaphor in the TL. This procedure succeeds only when the image has a comparable frequency and currency in the appropriate TL register. This procedure is common in translating one-word metaphors such as in translating *ray* in *ray of hope* (quoted from Newmark 1980: 95) into French as *rayon d'espoir* and into German as *Hoffnungsstrahl*.

This procedure is, however, rarely used in the translation of extended or complex metaphors or idioms because it depends on cultural overlap or on universal experience. That is, the image of an extended metaphor can be rendered either when there is a cultural overlap between the SL and the TL, or when the image represents a universal experience. Although it is difficult to translate the SL one-word metaphor into a TL metaphor when the sense of that SL metaphor is an event or quality rather than entity, it is easy to translate the

image when the sense is a universal quality (for example, to translate *golden hair* into German *goldenes Haar*).

The second procedure is to replace the SL image with a standard TL image. Here, the translator does not retain the SL image but rather replaces it with an image that is found already in the TL. This procedure succeeds only if the TL image is equally frequent within what Newmark refers to as "the register" (Newmark 1988a: 109). Unlike the former procedure, this procedure is common in translating complex stock metaphors such as proverbs. This is due to the fact that the images in the proverbs and idioms are in most cases cultural, i.e., cannot be rendered semantically into the TL. An example of this is translating the English *other fish to fry* into French as *d'autres chats à fouetter* (quoted from Newmark 1980: 96).

The third procedure is to convert the metaphor into a simile. When the translator cannot retain the same SL image in the TL text or find an equivalent TL image, s/he can convert the metaphor into a simile. This procedure, Newmark believes, modifies the shock of metaphor, especially if the TL text is not emotive in character (ibid).

The fourth is to translate a metaphor (or simile) into simile plus sense (or occasionally a metaphor plus sense). Newmark describes this procedure as "a compromise procedure" (ibid). It combines both semantic translation and communicative translation. On the one hand, it is semantic in that it preserves the image of the SL metaphor in the TL version; it thus addresses the learned reader, who can recognise metaphors that are in foreign languages. On the other hand, it is communicative because it introduces the sense of the SL metaphor to the TL reader; here, it pleases the less learned or the lay reader. In Newmark's terms, this procedure "keeps some of the metaphor's emotive (and cultural) effect for the 'expert', whilst other readers who would not understand the metaphor are given an explanation" (Newmark 1988a: 110). An example of this is translating the French *il a une memoire d'elephant* into English as *he never forgets - like an elephant*.

The fifth procedure is to convert metaphor into sense. According to Newmark, this procedure is preferred to any replacement of the SL image by a TL image which is "too wide of the sense or the register (including here current frequency, as well as the degrees of formality, emotiveness, and generality, etc.)" (Newmark 1980: 97). The translator has to bear in mind that (a) the sense should be analysed componentially, since the essence of the

image is pluridimensional and (b) the sense of the image will have emotive and factual components. This will be retained when the metaphor is reduced to sense.

Deletion is the final procedure. This choice is taken only if the metaphor is redundant or otiose (ibid). Deletion of a metaphor is a mirror of the translator's evaluation of the text through componential analysis, i.e., in terms of what is important and what is less important. This means that if the translator finds out that the function of the metaphor is fulfilled elsewhere, s/he can delete the metaphor (cf. Van Besien and Pelsmaekers 1988).

D. Recent Metaphors

Recent metaphors are metaphorical neologisms which spread rapidly in the SL and become fashionable in the SL community. An example is the expression *doing a line* which is a neologism that stands for sex. If there is no accepted equivalent in the TL, the translator can either describe the object, or attempt a translation label in inverted commas[10].

E. Original Metaphors

In considering the translation of original metaphors, Newmark presents the rule that "the more the metaphor deviates from the SL linguistic norm, the stronger the case for semantic translation" (Newmark 1980: 98). The basis of this rule is that the TL reader should be as puzzled or shocked as was the SL reader.

Furthermore, in the case of cultural metaphors, Newmark disagrees with Dagut (1976, see SECTION 2.5.) in that the former believes that the predominantly cultural element in the original metaphor can be translated while the latter states that such metaphors are "virtually untranslatable" (see Dagut 1976: 29 and Dagut 1987: 79). In addition, Newmark thinks that the number of original metaphors that resist translation is so small that they do not really form a serious translation problem. Although he believes that some original metaphors often have "not only complex but double meanings" (Newmark 1980: 98), Newmark says that when he examines passages of the French translation of *Ulysses,* he finds only a few original metaphors that are not semantically translated (Newmark 1980: 98).

To sum up then, Newmark's ideas on translating metaphors are a reflection of both the comparison and the substitution approaches to metaphor. The distinction between dead metaphor on the one hand and live metaphors on the other motivates his distinction of the

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[10] It is worth mentioning here that Newmark has recently excluded recent metaphors from his classification of the types of metaphors. In Newmark (1998), we read, "my so-called 'recent metaphors' were (idiotically, inexplicably) in fact metonyms, which are imaged objects." (Newmark 1998: 184)

different kinds of metaphors, which include dead, cliché, stock, recent, and original metaphors. The linguistic approach is also illustrated in the procedures Newmark proposes to use to translate metaphors. These procedures reflect a decorative approach, which assumes that behind every metaphor there is a more basic literal sense. As we shall see in the next chapter, the conceptual theory of metaphor has shown that such views of metaphor are not accurate, which in turn means that Newmark's ideas about handling metaphors in translation are open for criticism.

Newmark's views influenced several MiT scholars that followed him, such as van den Broeck (1981), Crofts (1988) and García (1996). Van den Broeck divides metaphor into three types: (a) lexicalised metaphors, which include expressions which have "lost their uniqueness" and become part of the lexicon in a particular language, (b) traditional or conventional metaphors, which are the expressions that are products of a particular literary period, and (c) private and individual metaphors, which include expressions revealing the innovative creativity of their authors (van den Broeck 1981: 75). Van den Broeck also presents a classification of metaphors based on their function in the text and distinguishes between two types: (a) functionally relevant metaphors, which include literary metaphors, and (b) functionally irrelevant metaphors, which include metaphorical expressions that van den Broeck regards as "decorative" (ibid: 76).

Van den Broeck presents his own ways of translating metaphors. Unlike Newmark who presents seven procedures, Van den Broeck is content with three major modes, as follows.

- **Translation Sensu Stricto**: The translator keeps the same tenor and vehicle of the source text's expression.

- **Substitution**: The translator replaces the vehicle of the source text expression with another vehicle but at the same time keeps the same tenor.

- **Paraphrase**: Here the translator uses not a metaphorical expression but a literal one (ibid: 77[11]).

Van den Broeck also proposes a rule for metaphor translation which says that,

> translatability keeps an inverse proportion with the quantity of information manifested by the metaphor and the degree to which this information is structured in a text. The less the quantity of information conveyed by a metaphor and the less complex the structural relations into which it enters in a text, the more translatable this metaphor will be, and vice versa. (ibid: 84)

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[11] See also Dobrzyńska (1995) where a similar set of three strategies is suggested.

Van den Broeck thinks that the translator, to overcome contextual restrictions, can either resort to adapting the metaphor to the target language culture, or keep the same metaphorical expression using the *sensu stricto* mode.

Crofts (1988) explores the different factors that make metaphorical expressions problematic when being translated into another language. Reflecting her comparison-view based approach, she identifies three major components of metaphor:

a. the topic, which is the item illustrated by the image,

b. the image, and

c. the point of similarity between the topic and the image.

Also, Crofts thinks that each metaphor is constituted of two underlying propositions. In the Biblical example, *I send you as sheep among wolves*, there are two underlying statements:

1) sheep are defenceless among the wolves, and
2) you will be defenceless among those to whom I send you (Crofts 1988: 48).

Further, metaphors, for Crofts, are used for three main reasons: to explain the unfamiliar using that which is already known, to bring a group of connotations in mind and to please the literary palate by introducing vividness and colour. Regarding translation, Crofts observes seven types of problems that translators face when treating metaphors in translation. The first problem is that in many languages metaphors are rarely used or not used at all. Crofts notes that in 1000 pages of Munduruku (Brazil) texts, she has found "NO metaphor" (ibid: 51, uppercase letters in the text). Another problem is that making all parts of a metaphor explicit "may skew the focus, eliminate the 'colour' for which the metaphor was originally used, or make the translation 'heavy' and 'laboured'" (ibid). The third problem occurs when the comparison underlying the metaphor does not seem logical to the speakers of the target language. Fourthly, parables present a special problem "in that it is usually the main point of the whole parable that is being compared not just the first word or noun in the parable" (ibid). The fifth problem has to do with animal metaphors; different cultures attach different character traits to animals. The sixth problem has to do with colour metaphors which are different in the different cultures[12]. The final problem,

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[12] Examples of Arabic political animal metaphors and colour metaphors will be analysed in Chapter Five of this thesis.

according to Crofts, is that "it seems a pitfall of translators to force the receptor language in order to use parallel verbs to express the two propositions of a metaphor" (ibid: 52).

As far as ways of handling metaphor in translation are concerned, Crofts suggests five ways to translate metaphors: (a) literal translation of the metaphor, (b) changing the metaphor to simile, (c) making the implicit parts of a metaphor explicit, (d) rendering the metaphorical expression non-figuratively, and finally (e) substituting a target language metaphor that is the "exact equivalent of the source language metaphor" (ibid: 53).

Crofts' study then is similar to the other studies that take the linguistic approach to metaphor. However, it points to areas that have not been given enough study in the MiT literature, especially animal metaphors and colour metaphors. Those two kinds of metaphor will be discussed in this thesis.

Finally, García (1996) is an example of the strong influence of the linguistic metaphor theories in contemporary MiT research. García deals exclusively with figurative language in literary texts. A major component of his framework is his model of the elements of a figure, which is shown in the following diagram (García 1996: 158):
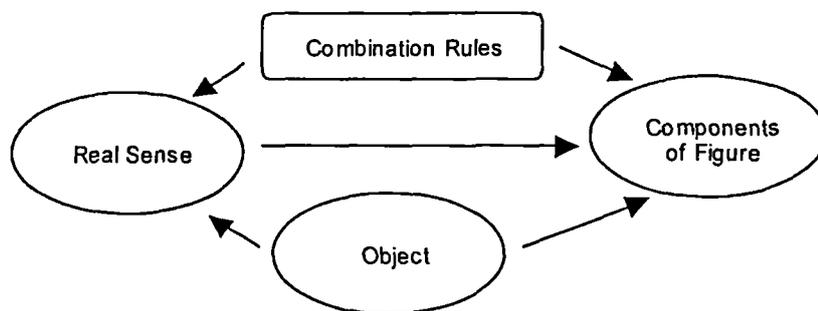
Figure 3: Garcia's Model of the Elements of a Figure

Object refers to the person or thing affected by the figure. A *combination rule* is the "tacit convention by which we all assume, understand and accept the transgression made by the poet, to the logical use of language" (ibid: 159). *Real sense* refers to "the literal meaning of something implied by the lexical items involved in the same figure". And the *component of a figure* refers to "the actual poetic transgression or literary device that qualifies and depicts the *object* and transforms it into poetic matter" (ibid). The arrows reflect the influence of each of these on other elements. The above model, García argues, is useful when we want to compare whether a translation of a poetic metaphor is successful or not. For García, the major element that needs to be retained in any translation is the real sense.

García gives the following Shakespearean example of the usefulness of his model.

> My Mistress' eyes are like the sun;
> Coral is far more red than her lips red;

The figure lies in the comparison in the second line of the lips to coral. In the Spanish translation, however, the image of coral is replaced by *cereza* (a cherry). Using his model, García has the following comment about the effectiveness of this translation:

> The combination rule (this type of simile) is translated; the object is the same; the meaning is also the same, and only the *components of the figure* change, but not substantially. The change affects only the comparison, not real sense... With this translation there is no lessening effect as regards poetic description and no unfaithfulness since the real sense is still retained. (ibid: 162)

García adds that as long as the combination rule, the sense and the object are retained "there is proper rendition of poetic style" (ibid: 163).

García has his own set of possible alternatives of translating a figurative image. These are the following:

a.   The SL figure and the TL figure are the same: This takes place when the four elements of the model overlap completely.

b.   The SL and TL figures are different: This happens where one or more of the four elements is missing or transformed. This second possibility is further divided into three forms:

    i.   The "components of figure" circle is transformed but all others are kept the same.

    ii.   The figure is gone completely and there is no combination, but only real sense and object.

    iii.   The combination rule is modified, the image is also modified, the lexical items may be the same or different, however their dependency, connection changes; the sense remains the same, as well as the object. (García 1996: 163)

García admits that his set of possibilities does not capture all possibilities.

> There are other possibilities of course, such as changing the object or sense of the figure but maintaining the combination and the image, or changing everything: figure, object, combination and image, but I would not class this as translation but rather as imitation or something else yet unknown. (ibid)

As far as translation is concerned, it is very clear that García is prescriptive. The words he uses to describe translation reflect an underlying ethical approach (words like *unfaithful*) which sees the translator's job as limited to preserving the components of the original source text. A realisation of this view is clear in the above quotation of García, where he accepts the possibilities that are permitted by his model as possibilities of legitimate

translation. Other possibilities, such as changing the object, cannot be included in the category of translation action.

As far as the assumptions about metaphor are concerned, García's views are based on the arguments of the substitution theory of metaphor. A metaphor is always a deviation and a decoration, or "a semantic breach" (ibid: 161) in García's terms. The *normal* way of saying something is literal, while metaphor is a breaking of this literal norm. Only literal language can clearly and logically be trusted to describe reality (the *object*, in García's words). Based on this, and based on the fact that poetic texts depend on metaphors, the only way out of this dilemma of logic is to say that metaphor is only a matter of form which covers the real literal content. This approach to metaphor influences García's conclusion, where he accepts any change in the image (the mapped element from the source domain) as long as the *sense* is preserved.

Metaphor in Arabic into English Translation in the Objectivist Linguistic Paradigm

Very few studies have investigated handling metaphor in translation from Arabic into English. Among those are Stock (1989), Abu Libdeh (1991), Menacere (1992) and Faiq (1998). Stock (1989) is a general study, written in German, on translating linguistic images from Arabic to German. Differences in semantics between the two languages can be a problem in rendering such images. For example, it is difficult for the German reader to appreciate a literal rendition of the expression أراه نجوم الظهر (he showed him the stars in the midday), which in Arabic means that someone has caused another person a lot of trouble. Stylistic differences are, however, the most important factor. Here, Stock thinks that the Arabic style is flowery. Translating such as style literally into German would be strange for the German reader. While during the romantic period, flowery style was appreciated, the case is now different where flowery images are not much acceptable. Stock, however, concludes that metaphorical language can be a lens through which a reader can see other cultures, and she argues that the strange style of images should be kept in the translation.

Abu Libdeh (1991) does not focus on translation. Rather, he attempts to highlight the discursive nature of figurative expressions (metaphor and other types such as metonyms) in

literary works. Discourse is defined as the point of view that a speaker expresses with respect to a particular social experience (ibid: 223). The assumption that underlies Abu Libdeh's analysis is that figures of speech "will express an ensemble of interrelated points of view with regard to a group of interrelated experiences which make up the whole discourse" in literary works and that these expressions will feature differently, in terms of quantity and quality (Abu Libdeh 1991: 7). Based on this, figures of speech are grouped according to their expression of the same discoursal theme.

Abu Libdeh follows the linguistic approach to translation. About translation, he says the following:

> Despite the confusion over what translation is, it can be concluded that translation involves (i) a linguistic replacement of a text in one language (source text) by another text in another (target text), (ii) the creation by the translator of a target text (TT) which should be as equivalent as possible to the source text (ST), not only in terms of meaning and style, but also in terms of what the source text producer intends to say. (Equivalence means the closest approximation). (Abu Libdeh 1991: 224, abbreviations and definition of *equivalence* in the text)

Abu Libdeh's discussion of translation is only to prove the discursive nature of figurative expressions. This is very clear in the conclusion of his study where Abu Libdeh says that adopting the discourse approach "should help the translation-trainee to understand how language functions and to find an explanation for linguistic phenomena" (ibid: 243). Translation is, in other words, used only to prove the extra-translation phenomena of discourse function of figurative expressions (for a critical view of discourse-based translation studies, see Pym 1991).

Menacere (1992) discusses some aspects of the treatment of metaphors and idioms in Arabic-to-English translation. Menacere understands metaphors, rather vaguely, as "certain expressions which stretch their semantic values beyond their implicit areas of meaning" (Menacere 1992: 568). He also views metaphors and idioms as "similar" figurative uses of language.

Menacere discusses what makes a particular translation of a metaphorical expression effective. A translator has to be aware of the degree of "tolerance" in English for Arabic metaphors which can sound unfamiliar and unusual. The translator also has to consider another significant factor that has to do with the communicative aspect of translation, which might require flexibility and sensitivity in handling metaphor.

After discussing some examples of Arabic culture-specific metaphors and the possible "acceptable" English renditions, Menacere points to a significant phenomenon.

Arabic is a more receptive and flexible language and is not hostile to foreign imagery and concepts. Loan metaphors stemming from English and French expressions have been adopted by Arab writers and journalists through the years of contact and thus these metaphors have established themselves in some texts as modern Arabic expressions. (Menacere 1992: 569)

When borrowed metaphorical expressions are translated back into English or French, they cause no problems for translators. However, in other cases, "Arabic shows excessive use of metaphors which might not match the conceptual and expressive patterns of English" (Menacere 1992: 570). There are also differences between Arabic and English in the qualities associated with particular things which comprise the source domain in metaphors. *Kabid* (liver) is associated in Arabic with strong feelings and endearment (so one can address his or her child as كبدي يا *ya kabidi,* literally: *Oh my liver*). This cannot, according to Menacere, be kept in English because English associates livers with bile and bitterness. Such cases lead Menacere to conclude that the extent to which an Arabic metaphor can be adopted in English depends on its importance for the transmission of the textual meaning (Menacere 1992: 570).

Menacere provides a definition of idioms and how they differ from metaphors that is worth quoting.

Idioms belong to a sophisticated and abstract area of language where meanings are fixed. The difference between idiomatic and metaphorical expressions can be said to be that in idiomatic expressions, the words transmit rather than illustrate the meaning, in metaphorical expressions the words 'color' the meaning. (Menacere 1992: 570)

Arabic idioms should be translated as idioms in English. When the literal translation of an idiom does not sound acceptable then a reasonable approach, Menacere argues, is "to try to understand the idiom, interpret its meaning and transfer the meaning in the target language" (ibid).

Finally, Menacere's conclusions emphasise the communicative and functional aspects of metaphor. He allows the translator to keep the cultural tone of metaphors if the communicative purpose of the discourse is to keep the cultural concepts. If the translation wants to "avoid creating a sense of alienation in the target language," the translator can feel free to omit cultural concepts. The most important criterion is the potential of understanding on the part of the reader of translation. Finally reflecting a textual-equivalence underlying assumption to translation, Menacere says that

The assessment of Arabic discourse in English is not judged by each item which must correctly match the other, but rather as a text carrying the same message and playing an identical role in English for the same action or event described... (Menacere 1992: 572)

Menacere's ideas echo the analyses of the early studies in the field (like Dagut 1976 and Newmark 1980), which list potential problems expected to exist by the scholar himself and illustrate them by isolated examples which are not derived from a specific text. Although Menacere speaks about the textual level of metaphorical expressions, he does not elaborate on this point, nor does he give any example of metaphors that are derived from one text. The majority of the examples Menacere provides are hypothetical, and the same is true about the suggested translations he provides.

While Menacere's study is of a general nature, in that it does not concentrate on analysing a particular text and a specific translation of that text, Faiq (1998) attempts to investigate some aspects of translation of Qur'anic metaphor from Arabic into English. Faiq holds that translation aims at achieving equivalence between a source language text and its target language text, "to achieve 'more rather than less' through transferring or redrafting the source text as a target text, similar effects on the receivers of the target text as those achieved by the source text on its receivers" (Faiq 1998: 224). Difficulties regarding achieving translation equivalence "multiply when handling the translation of figurative language such as metaphor particularly in religious texts" (Faiq 1998: 226).

Faiq asserts that metaphor "usually involves" three main parts: tenor, vehicle and image. Explaining these parts, Faiq says

> The tenor is the thing or person talked about, the vehicle is the thing or person compared with and the image is the domain of similarity. (Faiq 1998: 227)

Faiq's classification and definition of terms are rather confusing. First of all, the terms *vehicle* and *image* are used in the non-cognitive approaches to metaphor interchangeably; i.e., they are used to denote the source domain of a particular metaphor. The only difference is that the term *vehicle* (as well as *tenor*) is suggested by Richards (1963). Another problem is found in the definition Faiq provides for the term *image*, "i.e. the domain of similarity". This is confusing because *domain of similarity* is itself a distinctive element in the traditional literature on metaphor, and it has never been used as a synonym for *image*. A more classic, traditional definition of image is found in Newmark (1980) in which *image* referred to the item in terms of which the object is described. This is equal to Richard's *vehicle*. Newmark uses the term *sense* to denote the domain of similarity, or, in Newmark's terms, "the particular aspects in which the object and image are similar" (Newmark 1980: 93).

For Faiq, the problem of metaphor translation appears because metaphors "are generally culture bound" (Faiq 1998: 228). Discussing some examples of problematic cases of translating Qur'anic metaphor into English, Faiq suggests some solutions which may help the translator such as paraphrasing, additions, and footnotes. However, since these solutions require bringing in new elements in the target text, Faiq adds, "equivalence is not really established" (ibid: 235). They in addition raise the question of fidelity and the limits of the freedom of the translator.

2.4. The Interaction Theory

Noting the secondary, decorative position given to metaphor by the objectivist paradigm, some scholars began to look for more convincing explanations for the nature of metaphor. Among the most powerful theoretical frameworks to explain metaphor before the appearance of the conceptual approach are the accounts presented by I. A. Richards and Max Black, which have come to be known as the interaction theory.

Before the interaction theory appeared, seeing metaphor from an objectivist point of view dominated the Western thinking about metaphor "from Aristotle up to the 18th and early 19th centuries" (van Besien 1990: 92). The first challenge to this domination came from Romanticism. Aristotle's view that metaphor shows similarities between things was severely questioned. The romantic understanding of metaphor holds that metaphor is not meant to be a decorative device behind which lies a hidden literal meaning or implicit simile. Metaphor rather has a creative role. It is "the linguistic means by which we bring together and fuse into a unity diverse thoughts and thereby re-form our perceptions of the world" (Kittay 1987: 6).

This understanding of metaphor which the romantic poets introduced was further enhanced and elaborated by the interaction theory. This theory was first presented by Richards and then extensively developed by Black. According to Kittay (1987: 22-23), the major tenets of the interaction theory of metaphor are that metaphors are sentences, not isolated words; that metaphor consists of two components which are in constant tension; that the meaning of a metaphor arises from an interplay of these components and that the meaning of a metaphor is irreducible and cognitive.

This theory has, as we shall see in SECTION 2.5. below, greatly influenced the treatment of metaphor by many scholars, such as Dagut (1976) and Fung and Kiu (1987). This justifies

a detailed analysis of the major ideas presented by this theory's two major proponents, Richards and Black.

Origins of the interaction theory of metaphor are often traced back to Richards' book, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936). Defining his view of metaphor, Richards says,

> In the simplest formulation, when we use a metaphor we have *two thoughts* of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their *interaction*. (Richards 1936: 93, italics added)

Regarding the differences between his approach and the traditional stances, Richards says,

> The traditional theory noticed only a few of the modes of metaphor; and limited its application of the term *metaphor* to a few of them only. And thereby it made metaphor seem to be a verbal matter, a shifting and displacement of words, whereas fundamentally it is a borrowing between and intercourse of *thoughts*, a transaction between contexts. *Thought* is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and metaphors of language derive therefrom. (Richards 1936: 94, italics in the text)

In the above two quotations, Richards presents an understanding of the nature of metaphor which runs counter to the philosophical assumptions of the objectivist paradigm and the views on metaphor that are built on these assumptions. First of all, Richards presents an approach that gives a primary position to thought and cognition in acquiring experience, a framework that attempts to integrate language and thought. Unlike the objectivist account, which recognises only external realities and sees language as a system of symbols and referents, Richards puts human thought at the centre of human life. Human cognition is no longer a reflection of the external reality but a place where ideas and thoughts exist and interact among each other. As far as metaphor itself is concerned, Richards was the pathfinder who said that metaphor cannot be separated from human cognitive experience and that metaphor is fundamentally a cognitive process. Contrary to the traditional approaches, Richards sees metaphor as a matter of "thoughts of different things."

Richards also rejected the objectivist view that the mind is a static container of symbols that mirror external reality (SECTION 2.2. above). Rather, he suggested, cognition is a dynamic phenomenon which functions by processes of interaction between concepts and thoughts. Contrary to the objectivist paradigm, Richards said that meaning is not a means to represent external realities, but is, rather, an interactive phenomenon. Reality is thus not an external matter but is, to a large extent, influenced by human understanding. Richards also was doubtful about the objectivist paradigm's identification of the similarity of essences as the major defining criterion of metaphor. He suggested that metaphor can *create* the similarity rather than reflect an already existing similarity.

Richards' ideas about what he regarded as the interactive nature of metaphor were refined in a more developed theoretical framework by Max Black. Black distinguishes between three types of metaphor: substitution metaphors, comparison metaphors, and interaction metaphors (see Black 1962 and Black 1993). Describing the substitution and the comparison metaphors as trivial, Black adds that the interaction metaphors are fundamentally different. In the example, *the poor are the negroes of Europe*, there are, according to Black, two thoughts that are "active together" and "interact": our thought about the poor in Europe and our thought about blacks in America.

This type of metaphor is characterised by a pragmatic aspect, namely, its impact on its reader. That is, the reader reacts to the new meaning resulting from the interaction of the two thoughts comprising the metaphor. Black says

> A good metaphor sometimes *impresses, strikes, or seizes* its producer: we want to say we had a "flash of insight," not merely that we were comparing A with B, or even that we were thinking of A as if it were B. (1993: 31, italics added).

Such metaphors, in Black's sense, generate an insight into reality by showing "how things are" (ibid: 39). However, Black does not echo the objectivist reality upon which metaphor can be seen as true or false. Rather, metaphors reveal an aspect of reality just like a map or a chart which reveals things without being the things themselves. Black introduced his own set of terminology to describe metaphor. Metaphor, in Black's interactive framework, consists of two major parts: the *primary subject* (*poor of Europe* in the last example) and the *secondary subject* (*blacks in North America*). The interaction begins when the user of the metaphor projects what Black calls *the system of associated commonplaces*, which is the knowledge about the secondary subject (i.e., being exploited and oppressed) on the primary subject. In order to comprehend the metaphor, both the producer and the receiver of the metaphorical expression are expected to share this system. In addition, because of the interactive nature of the projection of such a system, paraphrasing the metaphor usually results in "cognitive loss" (Black 1962: 46). As we shall see in the next section, the idea of the impossibility of paraphrasing metaphorical expressions has had great influence on some MiT studies.

2.5. Interaction Theory in MiT Research

Although it can be said that the comparison and the substitution theories have had the lion's share of influence on MiT scholars, there are a few scholars who have adhered to the interaction view of metaphor which we have sketched above. In what follows, we will

review some major studies on the interactionist MiT literature. We will specifically follow how the ideas taken from the interaction theory of metaphor have influenced the proposals of the MiT scholars who accepted them regarding the different aspects of the treatment of metaphor in translation.

The first MiT scholar to approach the issue of handling metaphor in translation from the interaction theory point of view was M. Dagut. In two articles on translation of metaphor, Dagut (1976 and 1987) expresses the view that translation of metaphor is determined by "the extent to which the cultural experience and semantic associations on which it draws are shared by speakers of the particular TL" (Dagut 1976: 28). Dagut limits the meaning of the word *metaphor* by questioning its widespread confusing definitions and proposing a more specific definition. This definition of metaphor influences the rest of his discussion of metaphor and his conclusions regarding the factors determining the translatability of metaphor from one language to another.

Revealing his interactionist approach, a main premise of Dagut's remarks is his proposal of redefining the term *metaphor* itself. Dagut believes that there is an essential need for clearly defining the types of lexical items to which the term *metaphor* should or can be applied. Metaphor, which is described by Aristotle as "the mark of genius," (SECTION 2.2.1 above) has been confusingly used as a synonym for other areas of semantic extension such as figurative speech or figurative extension of meaning. These areas that contain idioms and polysemies, however linguistically significant, are completely distinct from metaphor. The basis of this definition is the fact that such phenomena as polysemies and idioms have lost the highly significant feature that distinguishes metaphor, i.e., its surprising force. A metaphor, for Dagut, is thus

> an individual flash of imaginative insight, whether in the known creative writer or in the anonymous creative speaker (as in humour or slang)...which transcends the existing semantic limits of the language and thereby enlarges the hearers' or readers' emotional and intellectual awareness. (Dagut 1976: 22)

Having redefined the term *metaphor*, Dagut presents his views on the translation of metaphor. Because metaphor is a semantic violation of the linguistic system, Dagut believes that it, by definition, does not have an existing TL equivalent. This means that the role of the translator is to create the metaphor in the TL. This is not an easy task because it depends on the extent to which the cultural experience and semantic associations of the metaphor are shared between the SL and TL.

In Dagut's terms, the special problem of translating metaphor can be formulated as follows:

the metaphor in the SL, being by definition a creative violation of the semantic system, has
to be *created* in the TL since its equivalent obviously cannot be found in the TL system.
(Dagut 1987: 78, italics added)[13]

While translation of other lexical terms such as idioms and polysemies is a process of
finding and editing the already existing equivalent, i.e., a substitution job, translation of
metaphor is different, since it requires the creation of a metaphor that is acceptable within
the linguistic and cultural world of the target language. The translator's bilingual
competence, which is a basic requirement of translation, is not of much help in translating
metaphor since this linguistic and cultural knowledge is beyond the competence of the
translator.

Dagut's remarks about translation of metaphors are based on a discussion of examples of
Hebrew metaphors translated into English. What determines the translatability of a
metaphor in Dagut's view is "the extent to which the cultural experience and semantic
associations on which it draws are shared by speakers of the particular TL" (Dagut 1976:
28), or the extent to which "the cultural and lexical matrices in which it is set" are shared
by speakers of the TL (Dagut 1987: 82). Dagut, accordingly, lists three factors that control
the translatability of a metaphor from one language to another. Metaphor translation might
be influenced either by the cultural factor, the linguistic factor, or both of these factors. In
what follows, we will give a detailed account of these factors and the examples that Dagut
presents to support his ideas.

Some metaphors are untranslatable merely because of cultural factors. When the vehicle of
the metaphor is culture-specific, it cannot be translated into another language. The
untranslatability of the following Hebrew metaphor (quoted from Dagut 1976: 27) is an
example of this case.

ne'ekad be-ahavati ve-ēn ōnim le-hagid ōta be-rabbim

The literal rendition of this Hebrew example is "bound [like Isaac for the sacrifice] by my
love and to make it known" (ibid.). The metaphor expressed in the verb *ne'ekad* is a
culturally specific metaphor because, according to Dagut, this word is a passive form of the
Hebrew verb meaning *to bind*. This verb is only used in connection with the Biblical story
of Abraham's binding of Isaac in preparation for offering him as a sacrifice at God's
command (Dagut 1976: 29). The verb thus carries the sense of self-sacrifice and

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[13] In Mei and Bingbing's words, metaphors are "uniquely vivid, striking and graphic. They read like relief
sculpture or moving pictures" (Mei and Bingbing 1997: 228).

martyrdom. According to Dagut, this metaphor cannot be translated into English without losing this sense because it is originally aimed at the Hebrew reader whose emotions are played on by powerful lexico-cultural connotations which are non-existent for the TL reader. Reducing the metaphor into sense or explaining the metaphor also fail to render the metaphor as a metaphor into the TL. Translating it as a simile such as *bound like Isaac for the sacrifice* fails to retain the same emotional effect of the metaphor as it is felt by the Hebrew reader, while giving an explanation of the metaphor also fails as an alternative because it sacrifices the metaphor by separating the disparate elements that it fuses together. To conclude, cultural factors alone can make some SL metaphors untranslatable.

Other metaphors are untranslatable for purely lexical reasons. In this case, the metaphors have certain lexical specifics of the SL that cannot be reproduced in the TL. Dagut's following example shows a metaphor that cannot be translated for linguistic reasons (Dagut 1976: 28). A rejected lover, in this example, is willing to accept any form of humiliation except being *ah rahman* who comforts his beloved while she is waiting for another man. Literally, the term *ah rahman* means merciful brother, but it is also the compound Hebrew designator for *male nurse*. As a metaphor, the term fuses more than one semantic association which has no equivalent in English. It carries two senses or qualities that are rejected by the speaker: brotherliness and mercifulness. The speaker resents providing his beloved with brotherly sympathy or comfort for her longing for another man. The double focus of the Hebrew metaphorical term cannot be reproduced in another language. English, for example, lacks the specifics that are in the Hebrew *ah rahman*.

Cultural and lexical factors can interact to render a metaphor untranslatable. The following example shows this problem.

mkom gilgula ha-aharon

Literal translation: the place of her last rolling [or metamorphosis] (Dagut 1976: 28)

According to Dagut (1976), the metaphor *gigula ha-aharon* combines the notion of *rolling from place to place,* hence also *change of fortune.* The metaphor draws a picture of a person "frequently changing abodes and herself being changed in the process" (Dagut 1987: 81). Dagut sees no way for rendering these senses with the SL emotional effect of the metaphor into English.

While Dagut concentrated on the cultural and linguistic factors influencing the translation of metaphor, Fung and Kiu (1987) concentrate on the level of word connotations by

attempting to "examine the two-way traffic of metaphor between English and Chinese" (Fung and Kiu 1987: 84). As far as the nature of metaphor is concerned, they accept Aristotle's definition of metaphor as giving the name of one thing to another, but, following the proposals of the interaction theory, they limit their analysis to what they refer to as "metaphor proper that functions 'on the ground of analogy'" (ibid). Metaphor, in this sense, is a way of perception which creates an emotional effect on the reader of the metaphor.

The examples of Fung and Kiu's study are derived from a Chinese translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and an English translation of a Chinese novel, the *Hongloumeng*. The examples discussed show that the Chinese translators of *Hamlet* have retained most ST metaphors. There are also cases where the translator substitutes the images of the source text with different images. Fung and Kiu give two reasons for adopting this strategy. The first is when the source language and the target language differ in the qualities or functions attributed to a particular thing. This is clear in the different qualities linked to particular animals. The Elizabethans link pigeons to meekness, while in Chinese they are a sign of peace. Functions attributed to specific parts of the human body are different in English and Chinese. So while the stomach is the seat of courage in English, in Chinese it is a mere digestive organ.

The second reason for substitution is to approximate the style of the original. A stylistic characteristic of *Hamlet* is that it derives several metaphorical expressions from classical mythology (e.g., *Phoebus' cart*, *Neptune's salt wash* and *Tellus' orbed ground*). To approximate this style, the Chinese translator uses images derived from Chinese mythology. Fung and Kiu add that the "least obstacle to translation is encountered when the metaphor in SL is structured from some universal concept also found in TL" (Fung and Kiu 1987: 91).

Fung and Kiu observed that in the case of the English translation of the Chinese novel, the translator often omits the metaphors of the original Chinese text because the text employs metaphors derived from Chinese culture. These culture-specific metaphorical expressions are deleted on the grounds that the English reader is not aware of their cultural background and thus cannot comprehend them.

Fung and Kiu conclude that there are different forces influencing the translator when dealing with metaphor. These can be "subsumed under the two major categories of culture

and language" (Fung and Kiu 1987: 100). They think that Dagut's idea that the translatability of metaphor depends on the degree of overlap of cultural experience and semantic associations in SL and TL does not do justice to the complex issues involved. Particularly, they point to another factor, which is the values and qualities attributed to objects and events, as in animal metaphors. While Dagut emphasises the influence of the absence of a particular object or experience in the target language on the untranslatability of metaphorical expressions, Fung and Kiu propose that the same object or experience may exist in both languages, but in each language it has different values attached to it. Despite this, Fung and Kiu think that the semantic association is "the prime factor determining the linguistic make-up of the metaphor," (Fung and Kiu 1987: 100) which can clearly be seen in translating idiomatic and polysemous expressions.

The most interesting conclusion of Fung and Kiu's study is that in the Chinese translation of *Hamlet* the English metaphors are retained, whereas substitution is frequently used in the English translation of the Chinese novel. Fung and Kiu attribute this to the possibility that "the Chinese audience are comparatively more familiar with and receptive to Western culture than the average English reader is to Chinese culture" (Fung and Kiu 1987: 101).

In general, Fung and Kiu's study is in keeping with the translatability/untranslatability tradition within the MiT literature. Their point of departure as far as translation is concerned is that the translator of a literary work is expected to seek dynamic equivalence. Since metaphor is an interactive process which influences its reader, the translator follows a strategy that attempts to recreate an effect on the target language reader similar to the effect created on the reader of the source language. Their contribution to the debate is limited to elucidating how particular languages and cultures attach attributes to things (e.g., animals).

Emphasis on individual expressions is also found in Kurth (1999).[14] Adopting the interaction theory of metaphor, Kurth distinguishes between poetic metaphors and idiomatic, faded or lexicalised metaphors. Kurth, whose analysis concentrates on literary image metaphors, adopts the "scenes-and-frames" model that is developed by Vannerem and Snell-Hornby (1986) in order to construct a model of metaphor translation which describes the processes on both the cognitive level and on the more tangible level of translation pragmatics. The scenes and frames model is developed originally by Charles

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[14] See also Kurth (1995).

Fillmore (1977). This model assumes that the human mind is a container where mental images and traces of experiences are stored; these are called *scenes*. These scenes are expressed linguistically by units called *frames*, which range from words and expressions to whole texts. Understanding a frame means that the frame evokes the same scene for reader-listener as is evoked by the writer.

Applying this model to translation in general, Kurth argues that because of the difference of scenes between different cultures, "the ST *scene* is to be called up by a TL *frame*" (Kurth 1999: 7). He adds that there is no mere frame/frame or scene/scene substitution. This is most clear in metaphors which cannot be intralingually paraphrased. Kurth also utilises the dichotomy of dimension and perspective introduced by Mary Snell-Hornby (1984). *Dimension* refers to the linguistic orientation realised in the lexical items, stylistic devices and syntactic structures. Dimension becomes a translation problem when a linguistic expression becomes multi-dimensional. *Perspective* refers to the viewpoint of the speaker, narrator or reader in terms of culture, attitude, time and place. This, also, shifts in translation (Snell-Hornby 1984: 107). Thus, differences between the perspective and/or the dimension of the SL/SC (source language/ source culture) and the TL/TC (target language/ target culture) cause shifts that occur in the translation of metaphor. Kurth concludes that there are different factors influencing the treatment of metaphors such as the metaphorical tradition, literary norms and the general aesthetic, moral and religious value systems of both the target language and target culture.

While Dagut, Fung and Kiu, and Kurth concentrate on individual metaphorical expressions, Kruger (1993) moves the discussion to the level of text, by highlighting the textual aspects of metaphorical expressions in narrative fiction based on Gräbe (1984). The study presumes that in translating fiction, translators should take into account the interdependence of the text's intratextual components. Metaphorical expression is an important component which fulfills a supra-textual function, namely as a characterisation tool. If this aspect is ignored in the process of translation, then the translation product will, in Kruger's view, be affected.

The source of Kruger's examples of metaphorical expressions is an Afrikaans novel by Dalene Matthee, *Fiela se Kind*, which was published in 1985. The novel was translated by Matthee herself under the title *Fiela's Child*. The original Afrikaans novel employs metaphors in its characters' speeches as a tool, along with other tools like focalisation, by which the narrative character is developed. Kruger thus thinks that

> A contrastive analysis can then be produced by comparing profiles of the source text and target text character to determine whether Matthee's translation of the metaphors in her novel has resulted in a faithful portrayal of the characters in the target text. (Kruger 1993: 24)

Kruger rightly asserts that in order to investigate the translation of metaphorical expressions in narrative fiction it is necessary to make use of metaphor theory, although she limits metaphor theory to the interaction theory of metaphor. According to Kruger, while the interaction in some cases does not go beyond the specific metaphorical construction, in other cases there appears to exist a global interaction between tenors and vehicles in the same text (see also Mei-Zhen 1999). As Kruger puts it

> The local interpretation of tenor and vehicle relations therefore leads to a global interaction between arguments as well as focus expressions from different constructions. (Kruger 1993: 25)

It is this global interaction that plays a significant role in interpreting and translating the metaphorical construction. Most of the metaphorical expressions in the speech of Fiela, the central figure in the novel, reflect "her rural environment, her experience of farm life in the Arid Karoo and her domestic activities" (Kruger 1993: 27). These farm life metaphors thus play an essential role in developing her character. Since she is a rural country woman, her speech is simple and characterised by concretisation of abstract concepts, feelings and emotions.

Regarding translation, Kruger asserts that the challenge of the translator lies in "sustaining the same interdependence between character, speech and environment" (ibid.). The metaphorical expression *Hulle het jou klaar hokgejaag*, which Kruger literally translates as *they have already chased/driven you into a cage*, appears in the published translation as *they have cornered you already*. Although this translation keeps the sense of helplessness and connotations of 'no-escape,' it does not preserve the two functions of the focus expression, namely showing the farm life paradigm and reflecting her feeling of loss of human dignity, which are vital in reflecting her narrative character. In general, Kruger thinks that the characterisation technique by means of which the character's subconscious awareness of life was reflected in the original is lost in the translation. Kruger concludes her study by asserting that

> a flawed translation of metaphors has semantic and communicative implications for the target text. Not only does the target text lack the semantic density of the source text, but loss of meaning adversely affects the way in which fictive characters are depicted by means of their speech. In turn, defective characterisation, of necessity, negatively influences the reader's reception of the narrative text and the success of the translated novel as a literary work can be jeopardised. (Kruger 1993: 29)

Kruger's study, then, emphasises intra-textual relations that link individual metaphorical expressions. Also, it has the advantage of highlighting the textual role of metaphor, i.e., how metaphor functions in a way that is central to the structure of the text.

In short then, the interaction MiT studies borrowed from the interaction theory of metaphor two major points. The first is the strict distinction between live (literary) and dead metaphors. The result of this is clear. These studies, as represented in the four studies reviewed above, have concentrated only on literary texts, and no attempt was made to study metaphorical expressions in other text types such as political texts. The second is their emphasis on separate individual expressions. These studies have not considered the possibility of an underlying concept of which individual expressions are only surface realisations.

2.6. Main Areas of the Influence of Traditional Metaphor Theories on MiT Studies

The discussion above of the MiT studies that presupposed the three major traditional metaphor theories, the comparison theory, the substitution theory and the interaction theory, shows how the assumptions of the objectivist philosophy of language have crept into attempts to understand the actions taken in the translation process. The following paragraphs discuss the major areas in which the MiT literature was influenced by the ideas of traditional metaphor theories.

2.6.1. The Nature of Metaphor

One basic observation is that those studies discussed above do not agree on the concept of metaphor which they study. In addition, they do not agree on the lexical items which they regard as metaphors. This, significantly, influences the results that they reach. Crofts for example asserts that in 1000 pages of Munduruku (Brazil) texts, she has found no metaphors (1988: 51). This of course contradicts not only the contemporary cognitive theory of metaphor but also the traditional theories themselves. We have seen in SECTION 2.2.1. above that Aristotle himself thought that metaphor is omnipresent in language. So to say that some languages never use metaphors is a proposition that would need supporting with empirical evidence.

The interaction theory presents a very different definition of metaphor from that of the comparison and the substitution theories, but the MiT studies which adopt this theory fall into problems inherited from the nature of that definition. For example, those studies concentrate on *original* or *creative* metaphors, which they deem as fundamentally different from the other types of semantic extension. This is very evident in the genre studied in these studies (fiction in the case of Dagut 1976 and Kruger 1993 and poetry in Fung and Kiu 1987). As we shall see later on, original metaphors are only one form of instantiating underlying conceptual metaphors, which in turn would imply that the interaction theory has neglected other types of realisations of conceptual metaphors.

2.6.2. What Counts as a Metaphor?

MiT scholars who base their views on comparison and substitution theories of metaphor are quite generous as to what they include in the linguistic category of metaphor. Metaphor is a category which includes two major types: dead metaphors and original metaphors. Some scholars (for example, Vinay and Darbelnet 1959/1995) believed that this division is very strict in the sense that there is no third type. Others, however, thought that those two major types are ends on a scale of metaphoricity which includes types in between. For example, Newmark produces a classification that distinguishes between five types of metaphor: dead, cliché, stock, recent and original.

The danger with such a-scale-with-two-ends classification is the strict division between the different types of metaphor. This strict division has led MiT scholars to assume that each type is relevant to translation in its own way. In other words, each type has its own "essence" which distinguishes it from other types of metaphor, which in turn necessitates a different treatment as far as metaphor is concerned. This has led Newmark, for example, to discuss each of those types of metaphor separately on the basis that each has its own contextual factors and translation procedures (1988a: 106).

2.6.3. Metaphor as Decoration: Literal vs. Metaphorical Meanings

It can be easily observed that the idea that there is a mind-free external reality (which is one of the bases of the objectivist paradigm) has led the above translation scholars to the view that metaphor is a cover (or a *colour* in Croft 1988, and Menacère 1992) which hides a more basic "literal" reality (Vinay and Darbelnet call this *non-metaphorical* or *basic meaning* while García calls it *real sense*). Because this reality exists, thus the argument

goes, the translator, when s/he cannot translate the metaphor as it is, can bypass this decorative trap of metaphor and directly produce the literal sense.

Another example is Nida's advocating of the procedure of translating *a metaphor into nonmetaphor* where nonmetaphor is the real sense. His example, however, of changing *the pillars* which describes important figures into *the big ones* shows a metaphor rather than literal thinking since the adjective *big* instantiates a conceptual metaphor that maps our knowledge of sizes of physical objects into level of importance that certain people have in comparison with other people. (see SECTION 5.2.1. below)

2.6.4.   The Position of Simile and Idioms

Traditional theories, especially the substitution theory, believed that simile is the essence of metaphor. Metaphor is supposed to be an implicit simile. This view has found its way to MiT studies based on those theories. Those studies assume that since simile is more logical (i.e., in showing the similarities between domains) than metaphor (which breaks the semantic rules), simile can serve as the most preferred and closest means to translate metaphors. Nida describes simile as "the most effective way" of translating metaphor because it is "the real equivalent" of metaphor (Nida 1964: 219). This view of the relationship between metaphor and simile made it impossible for traditional scholars to go beyond the level of linguistic expression to the deeper conceptual level.

As far as the topic of idioms is concerned, it was observed that the traditional view of idioms, which saw an idiom as an expression whose total meaning is different from the meanings of individual words composing it, influenced the treatment of this topic in MiT literature. The interactionist paradigm assumed that an essential characteristic of metaphors is that they *strike* the reader and bring an insight into reality. Since idioms do not have this power, they are not metaphors. In turn, some MiT scholars, like Dagut, believe the translator has to look for existing idiomatic equivalents in the target language. This is different from translating metaphors. Because of metaphor's creative nature, the translator cannot find an existing equivalent and has to create a new metaphor in the target language. This view of idioms is confirmed in the works of the MiT scholars who adopted the comparison and the substitution theories of metaphor. Newmark believed that the translator of idioms should look for existing TL equivalents (Newmark 1980: 95).

This approach to idioms is challenged by the conceptual theory of metaphor, as we shall see in the next chapter. The conceptual theory of metaphor assumes that idiomatic expressions are a major way of expressing an essentially metaphorical sense.

2.6.5.   Dead and Live Metaphors

Traditional, objectivist metaphor theories have assumed that there is a clear-cut distinction between dead and live metaphor. Live metaphors are those in which one can easily see that the metaphorical word cannot be taken literally. In dead metaphors, the metaphorical image has died out of overuse. The interaction theory of metaphor does not accept treating dead metaphor as a special case of metaphor; Black likens this to "treating a corpse as a special case of a person" (Black 1993: 25).

MiT scholars who worked in line with the comparison and the substitution theories have adopted this distinction as a fact. Vinay and Darbelnet (1959/1995), for example, who adopted this view advised translators not to mix the two and not to "translate a dead metaphor by a live one which would be a case of overtranslation" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1959/1995: 210). The word "overtranslation" is especially interesting, since while they accept that there are expressions called dead metaphors, these still do not have the same conceptual importance as live metaphors. Live metaphors are assumed to have more of the essence of metaphor, so to speak, than dead metaphor, so that a translator who translates a dead metaphor as a live metaphor will have produced an "overtranslation" or, in other words, will have added things.

2.7. Conclusion

The major aim of this chapter has been to explore how the traditional theories of metaphor have influenced MiT studies that have adopted the ideas of those theories in exploring the phenomenon of metaphor in translation. The basic conclusion that we arrive at from our review of the influence of traditional theories, which include the comparison, the substitution and the interaction theories, is that they concentrate on individual metaphorical expressions. The words *individual* and *expression* are especially relevant in this context. These scholars have not attempted to explore any systematic relationship between those seemingly autonomous expressions which in turn could be helpful in tracing the effect of cognitive levels that are above the level of individual expressions.

We would like to point here at an important aspect in the literature, namely the strong correlation between the single-expression-based linguistic approaches to metaphor and the equivalence-based linguistic approach to translation. That is, the linguistic approach to translation which underlies most of the ideas of the MiT studies discussed in this chapter has caused these studies to focus on single linguistic expressions and the way they are (or should be) "translated" in the target language. Stienstra (1993) explains this influence as follows:

> Translation theorists have restricted their attention to individual metaphors, discussing the possibility or impossibility, the desirability or undesirability of a literal rendering, weighing the cultural obstacles, suggesting alternative ways of translation, even drawing conclusions with respect to the (im)possibility to translate metaphor. However, they have not shown themselves aware of the formidable question as to the role of a metaphorical concept pervading a text. (Stienstra 1993: 216)

As we shall see in the next chapter, which is devoted to the conceptual theory of metaphor and its implications for MiT, the major ideas of the traditional theories are problematic and inconsistent if we look at them from the point of view of cognitive linguistics.

CHAPTER THREE

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its Implications for Translation

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to introduce the major proposals of the conceptual theory of metaphor. Second, it explores the potential contribution that this theory could present for existing questions in MiT research and for other phenomena that have so far been under-researched in the literature because of the adoption of the traditional approaches to metaphor.

3.2. Major Ideas in the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor

The views presented by the interaction theory scholars like Richards and Black (see SECTION 2.4. above) paved the way for the conceptual theory of metaphor. The interaction theory moved metaphor from the realm of language into cognition and gave an important role to the human cognitive apparatus in explaining the phenomenon of metaphor. Both the belief in the independence of external reality from the human mind and the belief in the independence of language from understanding were shaken.

New research into the development of cognitive approaches to metaphor argues that several philosophers have contributed to the development of cognitive approaches to metaphor. Jäkel argues that there is an extensive "ancestry" (Jäkel 1999: 9) of the cognitive theory of metaphor which has been overlooked by contemporary scholars. Jäkel, especially, explores the forgotten contributions by Kant, Blumenberg and Weinrich and argues that pointing to those predecessors of this theory could, in addition to doing historical justice, make substantial contributions and amendments to a cognitive theory of metaphor.

Despite this exploration into deeper historical roots for the conceptual theory of metaphor, contemporary cognitive metaphor theorists attribute the modern version of this theory to the contributions of the American scholars George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. Their book, *Metaphors We Live by*, which was published in 1980, has sparked the contemporary cognitive study of metaphor. In this thesis, the term *conceptual* (or *cognitive*) *theory of metaphor*, with all due respect to previous contributors such as those highlighted by Jäkel

(1999), refers only to the body of knowledge on this theory that appeared after the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's book in 1980.

3.2.1. Between Basic-Level and Abstract Concepts

Cognitive linguistics holds that there are two types of experience: concrete and abstract. The cognitive understanding of concrete entities takes place by using what Lakoff and Johnson (1999) refer to as *basic-level concepts[15]*. A major characteristic of basic level domains is that they are well known to us. Our knowledge of any basic level domain is, as Turner argues, "rich and familiar, enabling us to activate detailed ranges of it at will" (Turner 1991: 199). Because of their concrete nature, their structure is easily recognised by the human mind. Examples of these are pens, cows, trees etc. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) say that

> Our perceptual systems have no problem distinguishing cows from horses, goats from cats, or elephants from giraffes. In the natural world, the categories we distinguish among most readily are the folk versions of biological genera, namely, those that have evolved significantly distinct shapes so as to take advantage of different features of their environments. (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 27)

In addition to objects, basic level concepts can be actions such as walking and grasping, social concepts like families, social actions like arguing, emotions like happiness and sadness (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 29).

The second type includes abstract concepts and experiences. Examples of these abstractions include concepts of death, love, anger, and political concepts such as struggle and development. These are characterised by their impoverished *skeletal structure* (see Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 58). This means that while we know the structure of a prototypical cow, for example, our understanding of the structure of love is very poor. The skeletal structure of love is that it is a human feeling of affection and solicitude by a person toward another person. Having an impoverished skeletal structure, however, does not mean that the abstract experience itself is a poor experience. Rather the opposite is correct: it is a highly rich human experience and poor structure.

This dilemma of rich experiences and poor skeletal structure brings metaphor into the picture. Given that rich experiences occur in several aspects of human life, such as political experiences, and that we do not have a rich structure that defines the experience itself,

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[15] The concept of *basic-level* concepts was originally developed by E. Rosch (see for example Rosch et al 1976).

metaphor becomes a tool by which we can map structures of other domains from our basic-level experiences onto the skeletal impoverished structure of the abstract experience. In the following section we will discuss the notion of mapping in detail.

3.2.2. Conceptual Mapping

Criticising Lakoff and Johnson's views on metaphor, Fogelin says:

> Lakoff and Johnson share the intellectual prejudices against metaphor - real metaphors - that they are so fond of attributing to others. I think it is worthwhile to insist on those points because it is important to unmask enemies disguised as friends. (Fogelin 1988: 86)

Such cases of misunderstanding the conceptual theory of metaphor as the above quotation may be attributed to a large extent to the different philosophical grounds on which the traditional and conceptual approaches are based. While the major traditional approaches are based on the objectivist philosophical paradigm, the conceptual theory of metaphor is a manifestation of a fundamentally different philosophical orientation, namely *experientialism* [16]. The notion of *mapping* is pivotal in the experientialist paradigm represented in the conceptual theory of metaphor. Metaphor, according to this understanding, is a process of ontological correspondence in which one domain of experience, often basic and better structured, is mapped onto another domain, often abstract or with poorer structure. But what controls conceptual mappings? This is controlled by what Lakoff calls *invariance principle*:

> Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive typology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain. (Lakoff 1993: 215)

Taking the example of the **CONTAINER** image schema, "source domain interiors correspond to target domain interiors; source domain exteriors correspond to target domain exteriors, and so forth" (ibid.). This, in simple words, means that the metaphorical mapping does not violate the image-schematic structure of the target domain. Based on this, a source domain exterior cannot be mapped onto a target domain interior, or vice versa. In other words, the structure of the target domain limits the possibilities of metaphorical mappings. This, according to Lakoff, explains why you can give someone a kick even if that person does not have it afterward (Lakoff 1993: 216). Because actions, the target domain, do not continue after happening, the kicked person cannot keep the kick with him, although in the source domain of giving, the given person possesses the given object after the giving.

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[16] The label experientialism was first used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b). The theory was then developed in Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) and most recently Lakoff and Johnson (1999).

Conceptual Metaphors

According to Lakoff and Johnson, there are two types of metaphors: conceptual metaphors and image metaphors. Conceptual metaphors map structural and logical elements of a whole domain of experience onto another domain of experience. An example would be the metaphor **DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY,** which is a major conceptual metaphor in the contemporary governmental discourse in Oman. This metaphor maps all the structural elements of the domain of movement, which is a physical experience, onto the political domain of national development. So we get the following structural elements mapped: moving person, steps, roads, nature of moving, obstacles etc. The following diagram shows some of the correspondences that exist as a realisation of the underlying mapping.

MOVEMENT	→	DEVELOPMENT
A person	→	Country
Steps	→	Events taking place (especially public projects)
Path	→	Time
Obstacles and hindrances to movement	→	Problems
Progress, more distance covered	→	The whole process of development

In addition to the structural elements, conceptual metaphors also map the functional aspects of the source domain onto the target domain. If life is a movement from one place to another, then getting rid of problems facing the country requires *keeping moving.*

In addition to the structural and functional properties, metaphor can instantiate *epistemic correspondence* between the source domain and the target domain. Epistemic correspondences are correspondences between *knowledge about* the source domain and corresponding *knowledge about* the target domain. Examples are the following two epistemic correspondences (EP) between the source domain of **HEAT OF FLUID IN CONTAINER** and the target domain of **ANGER** which make the metaphor **ANGER IS HEAT OF FLUID IN CONTAINER:**

EP Source 1: The effect of intense fluid heat is container heat, internal pressure, and agitation
EP Target 1: The effect of intense anger is body heat, internal pressure, and agitation

EP Source 2: An explosion is damaging to the container and dangerous to bystanders
EP Target 2: A loss of control is damaging to any angry person and dangerous to other people
(quoted from Lakoff 1987: 387)

Such epistemic correspondences will be very relevant in our discussion in the data analysis chapters. We will analyse for example how folk theories about particular aspects of human life (see the discussion on **ESSENCE** metaphors for example in **SECTION 5.2.3.**) are mapped to construct particular concepts of particular political experiences and phenomena.

Image Metaphors

Image metaphors, on the other hand, also map one domain onto another domain, but the mapping is limited to images only. In other words, image metaphors map an image from one domain onto another image in another domain. According to Lakoff (1987a: 221), the following aspects characterise image metaphors:

- .They are not used over and over again. They are not conventionalized.
- They are not used in everyday reasoning.
- There is no system of words and idiomatic expressions in the language whose meaning is based on them.
- They map image structure instead of propositional structure.
- They are not used to understand the abstract in terms of the concrete.
- They do not have a basis in experience and commonplace knowledge that determines what gets mapped to what.

The following poem from the Indian tradition (quoted in Lakoff and Turner 1989: 140) illustrates this:

> Now women-rivers
> belted with silver fish
> move unhurried as women in love
> at dawn after a night with their lovers

About this, Lakoff and Turner say

> Here the image of the slow, sinuous walk of an Indian woman is mapped onto the image of the slow, sinuous, shimmering flow of a river. The shimmering of a school of fish is imagined as the shimmering of the belt (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 144).

In keeping with our major aim of tracing the implications of the conceptual metaphor theory for Translation Studies, we will not be concerned in this thesis with image metaphors. We will concentrate on conceptual metaphors which structure abstract political concepts through mappings from concrete concepts and experiences.

3.2.3. Metaphor and Similarity

The traditional views on metaphor revolve around a pre-existing similarity between one thing and another (see the discussion on Aristotle in **SECTION 2.2.1.** above). The conceptual theory of metaphor suggests that metaphor does not depend on similarity

between domains but rather on ontological correspondence, where properties of a source domain correspond to properties of a target domain.

The fact that metaphor does not depend on similarity is most clear in metaphors used to conceptualise abstract experiences such as the conceptual metaphor, **NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY**. In this metaphor we cannot say that there is a pre-existing similarity between properties of development and properties of progress. What in fact happens is that we construct our concept of development by applying mappings of particular properties from the domain of movement to construct the domain of development. In other words, we do not have real pre-conceptual properties in the skeletal structure of development which are similar to properties of progress. Development has a very skeletal structure, and we fill this structure by the mapping from different domains of human experience such as movement.

3.2.4. Systematic Nature of Mappings

Coherence and systematicity together form a major aspect of metaphorical mappings. If we take the metaphor **DEVELOPMENT IS MOVEMENT** and follow how it is realised in language, we find that the linguistic expressions used are systematic. That is, the expressions typically used to speak about development are systematically mapped from the domain of progressive movement. Some of these expressions are:

- The *road* of development is very *long*.
- The *steps* we have taken to develop agriculture have been very fruitful.
- We will do away with all *hindrances*.
- We *started from* scratch.
- Our *aim* is to *reach* a stage in which we can depend on ourselves.

This systematicity is a manifestation of coherence of conceptual mappings (see also Taverniers 1996).

The concept of metaphorical *entailment* is a central one in understanding metaphorical coherence. The concept of metaphorical entailments was first introduced in Lakoff and Johnson (1980b). Metaphorical entailments achieve coherence between different expressions of a conceptual metaphor. We will show this by discussing the expressions that realise the metaphor **POLITICAL IDEAS ARE PLANTS**. Let us look at the following expressions from the speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said:

[1]   These are the values called for by our Holy Religion and by our great heritage. This
         being so it is the duty of the several establishments of society to carry out a lively,

continuous and influential role **to plant in** the young the love of work, ... [Qaboos–22: p. 259[17]]

[2]   The Sultanate has embarked upon a studied course in its foreign policy, which has **borne fruit.** [Qaboos–23: p. 273]

[3]   Extremism under whatever guise, fanaticism of whatever kind, factionalism of whatever persuasion would be **hateful poisonous plants in the soil of our country which shall not be allowed to flourish.** [Qaboos–24: p.284]

These three expressions are cases falling under the metaphor **POLITICAL IDEAS ARE PLANTS**. What makes them systematic and coherent are entailments based on two facts about plants:

1. There are good and poisonous plants.

2. Preferable plants yield good fruits, while poisonous plants are harmful.

The entailments based on these facts are:

1. THERE ARE GOOD AND POISONOUS PLANTS (fact)

Therefore, THERE ARE GOOD AND POISONOUS POLITICAL IDEAS (entailment)

2. PREFERABLE PLANTS YIELD GOOD FRUITS WHILE POISONOUS PLANTS ARE HARMFUL (fact)

Therefore, PREFERABLE POLITICAL IDEAS YIELD GOOD FRUITS WHILE POISONOUS POLITICAL IDEAS ARE HARMFUL (entailment)

The two entailments create an internal systematicity within the conceptual metaphor through guaranteeing a coherence between the different realisations of the metaphor. The systematic nature of such mappings challenges the traditionally accepted assumption that metaphor is an autonomous linguistic expression. Seeing metaphor as a conceptual process of mapping from one domain onto another leads to the conclusion that there is a deeper conceptual relationship linking what are seemingly, and traditionally believed to be, independent linguistic expressions (*cf.* Shen and Balaban 1999).

3.2.5.   Image Schemata

The source domains in metaphorical mappings are not always rich perceptual images. Source domains can be *image schemata*. An image schema is a recurring, basic, skeletal pattern in our daily experience. Examples are the image schemata of path, container, and

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[17] The numbers after "Qaboos" or "Saddam" (or قابوس or صدام in the case of the Arabic examples) indicate the number of the source text or target text from which the example is extracted and the page numbers where the particular example appears in the sources of the data (see the APPENDIX).

force. According to Johnson, "the internal structure of the image schema exists in a continuous, analog fashion within our understanding" (1987: 4, see also Johnson 1991 and Johnson 1993). Turner (1991: 171 and 1996: 18) further distinguishes between two types of image schemata: static and dynamic. Static image schemata involve those patterns which are results of our interaction with static physical entities, such as the image schemata of *container, path, circle* ...etc. Dynamic image schemata involve movement; for example in the image schema of *increase*, there are two states **A** and **B**, and where **B** involves an addition of something which was not in state **A**. Another dynamic image schema is that of *emergence* in which one thing comes out of another.

Image schemata have an influential role to play in our perception of rich images. According to Turner, when we understand a scene, we naturally structure it in terms of such skeletal images. We structure our image of a tabletop in terms of a broad, flat, planar, bounded region (Turner 1991: 171, see also Johnson 1987: 13). Similarly, we structure our rich images of streets, floodwaters, and scales of a balance in terms of the image schemata of path, a force, and balance respectively. One image schema can contain structural features that can be found to exist in many objects, events, activities, and bodily movements (see Johnson 1987, 24). In addition, the absolute size is unimportant for image schemata (Turner 1991: 176).

In what follows, we will illustrate this theoretical description with a discussion of the **MOVEMENT** image schema in order to show how its basic structure influences metaphorically the way we think about several abstract experiences. This schema can be illustrated as follows:
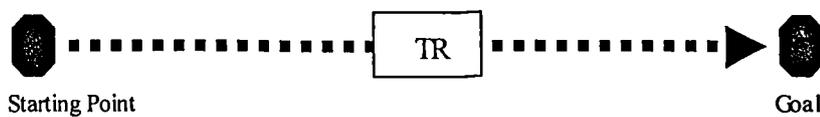
Figure 4: The MOVEMENT image schema

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 33), this schema is comprised of the following elements:

- A *trajector* (TR) that moves
- A *source* location (the starting point)
- A *goal*, that is, an intended destination of the trajector
- A *route* from the source to the goal
- The actual trajectory of *motion*
- The *position* of the trajector at a given time

- The *direction* of the trajector at that time
- The actual *final location* of the trajector, which may or may not be the intended destination

This simple image schema has an internal logic. For example, if you have arrived from point **A** to point **D** then you have been at all points on the route from **A** to **D**. Also, if you have moved from point **A** to **B** and from point **B** to **C**, then you have moved from point **A** to **C**.

This **MOVEMENT** image schema structures several of our abstract experiences. Politics is one of the domains where this image schema is constantly used. An example is that politicians usually conceptualise political programs as a program *to move from* one political situation through identified *steps* in order *to reach* an intended *point*. The following extract from a speech by Sultan Qaboos bin Said delivered in 1997 demonstrates this.

[4]   إن درب البناء طويل شاق، وعر المسالك، كثير الصعاب، لا يقوى على اجتيازه إلى
غايته القصوى إلا العاملون الصابرون، القادرون على مواجهة التحديات بروح وثابة وعزيمة
ماضية وفكر صائب ورأي سديد، وأنتم ... أنتم جميعا ... اولئك العاملون ... فسيروا على بركة
الله، وامضوا قدما الى ما فيه خيركم وصلاح حالكم[18]

[GLOSS[19]] The **path** of building is **long and tough, with difficult ways and plenty of difficulties**. No one can **cross it to its furthest end** except the patient workers, those who are able to confront challenges with a **moving** spirit, a **proceeding** will, correct thought and appropriate opinion. You all are those workers. So, **go**, with Allah's blessings, **and move forward to** that which involves your welfare and the service of your life.

The highlighted words in both the Arabic original and the English gloss illustrate different linguistic expressions of the **MOVEMENT** image schematic mapping onto the domain of politics. The Sultan conceptualises (political) life of people as a movement on a path which is tough and full of difficulties. The Omani people are advised not to be set back by these difficulties but to keep going forward. This instantiation of the image schematic metaphor uses rich images from the domain of moving in difficult areas such as mountains. Image schemata can, however, be instantiated using more than one rich image domain, as the following section shows.

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[18] Published in *Oman* daily newspaper (page 1, 19-11-1997).

[19] Arabic excerpts will be provided with a gloss which aims at giving the English language reader who does not know Arabic deeper insight into the metaphorical mapping that is activated in the source text. Linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphorical mappings will be highlighted.

3.2.6. Image Schemata and Rich Images

One significant aspect of metaphor is the hierarchical relationship that it contains between an image schema and rich image domains. In the existing literature on the conceptual theory of metaphor, we find only scarce, but highly significant, comments about this relationship. Turner notes this:

> No rich image is wholly unique; rather it shares skeletal structure with other, related images. We have a skeletal image of a scream that inheres within our rich images of particular screams. It is an abstract image that cannot be identified absolutely with any other scream, yet we know a member of the category *scream* when we hear one, based on the image-schema of *scream*. (Turner 1991: 57)

The **MOVEMENT** image schema, for example, can be instantiated in such forms of movement as children's crawling, the movement of cars in a road or boats in a river etc. This aspect is particularly interesting. We find this relationship between an image schema and its manifestations in rich images of particular significance. In what follows, we will discuss one image schema, **INCREASE**, in order to show that it is a basic image schema behind different rich images that are used to describe the concept of development in the discourse of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman.

The following diagram suggests how the image schema of **INCREASE** controls various rich image domains used as source domains in the metaphoric conceptualisation of the concept of development.
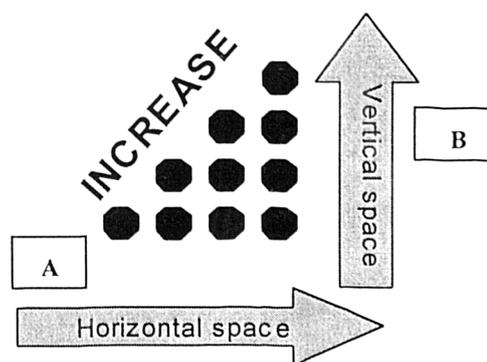
Figure 5: The INCREASE image schema and its rich image domains manifestations

We argue, first of all, that the basic structure of this schema consists of two states (A and B in the diagram). State **A** represents the situation which requires development. State **B** represents the same situation in the process of development. In State **B** there is an increase of something that exists in State **A**. This **INCREASE** image schema is represented through such rich image domains as reaping (having fruit which involves increase of what one has), gaining (increase of money), and horizontal and vertical movement (increase of space

covered forward or upward). The following examples from some speeches of Sultan Qaboos of Oman illustrate this point:

1. *Development as reaping fruit*

[5]   ص ،20 –[قابوس] لّه والحمد طيبة **ثمارا** **وأعطت** كبيرا تقدما المجال هذا في جهودنا أحرزت

[336

[GLOSS] our efforts in this field have gained a big progress and **gave** good **fruits** and thank God

2. *Development as gaining*

[6]   [395 ص ،24-قابوس] ومنجزاته الوطن **مكتسبات** على أمينا حارسا يكون ان مواطن كل على

[GLOSS] Every citizen has to be a guard of the **gains** of the country and its achievements.)

3. *Development as moving forward*

[7]   **الموصل الطويل الدرب على خطواتنا** كل في والنجاح التوفيق لنا يكتب ان سبحانه ندعوه

[398 ص ،24 –[قابوس] والتقدم والعزة المجد آفاق الى

[GLOSS] we call upon him Almighty to write to us guidance and success in all our **steps on the long road that leads to** the horizons of glory, honour and progress

4. *Development as moving upward*

[8]   والفخار[20] السؤدد من رفيعة **ذرى بلوغ** في كبير أمل يحدونا

[GLOSS] A big hope prompts us to **reach high summits** of glory and pride

Arising from the basic structure of the **INCREASE** image schema, this interaction between the different rich image domains creates systematicity and coherence in conceptualising development.

3.2.7.   'The Death of Dead Metaphor'[21]

The conceptual theory of metaphor presents a unified theory that challenges the traditional theories' distinction between *dead* metaphors and *live* metaphors (see for example Vinay and Darbelnet's discussion in SECTION 2.3. above). The emphasis on the conceptual role of metaphor and the view of metaphor as being a matter of thought before it is realised in language question such a distinction. The conceptual theory clearly shows that what have been traditionally regarded as dead metaphors are actually *unconscious* realisations of deep conceptual metaphors .

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[20] From Sultan Qaboos' National Day Speech in 1996, published in the Arabic *Oman* daily newspaper (page 1, 19-11-1996).
[21] This is the title of Lakoff's (1987b) paper.

Let us consider the conceptual metaphor **DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY**. Without feeling that we are using metaphors, we often produce such statements as:

- This project is facing a **dead-end.**
- The **path** we have chosen is a very difficult one.
- We **started** in 1970.

The traditional objectivist approaches would regard all these expressions as separate dead metaphors which were once real live metaphors, but which have lost their metaphorical sense and become literal because of repetitive usage. The conceptual approach, however, holds that these expressions are very far from being dead; they realise a live *conceptual* metaphor which people use without being conscious that they are making a cross-domain mapping (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980a). In fact, people are so used to thinking metaphorically, as shown by these expressions for example, that they are not aware that they are doing so, which tells us the strength of the role that metaphors play in our conceptual system.

What traditional theories, especially the interaction theory, regarded as *live* metaphors are but new inferences of conceptual metaphors. An example of **LIFE IS A JOURNEY** is the following poetic lines from Robert Frost's poem *The Road Not Taken*:

> Two roads **diverged in a wood, and I–**
> **I took** the one **less travelled by,**
> And that has made all the difference,

Traditional metaphor theories would not regard *two roads diverged in a wood* as a dead metaphor but as a live one. For the conceptual approach to metaphor, this is an expression of the same conceptual metaphor **LIFE IS A JOURNEY**.

3.2.8.   The Question of Idioms

Idiomatic expressions like *spinning one's wheels, off the track,* and *on the rocks* are, according to the traditional approaches (see for example Moran 1997/1999: 249-251), merely expressions whose meaning cannot be known from the meanings of the words they are made from (Gibbs refers to this approach as the noncompositional view of idioms, see Gibbs 1994: 270). That is, their meaning does not relate to the images they express, because over time such expressions, which were once metaphors, have lost their metaphorical nature. However, the cognitive theory of metaphor has a fundamentally different approach to idioms. Several studies (e.g., Gibbs and O'Brien 1990, and Gibbs and Nayak 1991) have indicated that idioms are another linguistic way of expressing

conceptual metaphors. Following empirical experiments, Gibbs and O'Brien, for example, conclude that the results of their studies indicate that

> people's mental images for idioms were constrained by various conceptual metaphors that provide part of the link between an idiom and its figurative meaning. (Gibbs and O'Brien 1990: 63)

More recently, Gibbs (1992) argued that "the meanings of idioms are not arbitrary and dead, but are motivated by metaphorical schemes of thought that are very much part of our everyday thinking and reasoning" (Gibbs 1992: 504). Such conclusions are supported by the systematic nature of idiomatic expressions (see Kövecses and Szabo 1996). Taken from this point of view, the above three expressions (i.e., *spinning one's wheels, off the track,* and *on the rocks*) can be understood as linguistic representations of the conceptual metaphor **LIFE IS A JOURNEY**.

To sum up what has been said, the conceptual theory of metaphor is a unified theory in which metaphor is a conceptual process rather than merely a linguistic phenomenon. As a concept, metaphor can be expressed linguistically in several ways which include what the objectivist traditional theories have called *dead metaphors* and *live metaphors*. Metaphorical concepts can also be realized in idiomatic phrases.

3.3. Conceptual Metaphor in Culture, Society and Politics

One of the relevant questions in speaking about the conceptual theory of metaphor is the relationship between conceptual metaphors and culture. Culture is one of those concepts that is difficult to define. However, there is an agreement among most definitions that culture has to do with ways and values of living in addition to common social traditions. According to Vermeer, culture is

> the entire setting of norms and conventions an individual as a member of his society must know in order to be 'like everybody'- or to be able to be different from everybody. (Vermeer 1987: 28, see also Lambert 1994 and Hatim 1999)

Seeing culture from this general perspective, one can say that the relationship between metaphor and culture can be explored from more than one dimension. One of these dimensions is the influence of cultural values in a particular community in the conventional metaphors in that community (see the discussion on conceptual metaphor in Gary B. Palmer's (1996) book *Toward A Theory of Cultural Linguistics*). Lakoff and Johnson commented that:

> The most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in that culture. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980b: 22)

The metaphor **TIME IS MONEY**, for example reveals a Western cultural approach to time which sees time as a valuable commodity (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980b: 8). This metaphor is not so basic in other cultures, such as the Arabic culture. In Oman, for example, time is conceptualised as abundant, which results in such proverbs as إذا راحت اليوم باكر جاية *itha rahit illyawm bakor jayah* (If today goes away, tomorrow is coming), and العجلة من الشيطان *al ajalah minal shaytan* (quickness, in doing things, is from Satan) and where خذ وقتك *take your time* is a conventional way of life. Thus, some manifestations of basic experiences which form the source domain in metaphors are culture-specific (see Aziz 1982). Here metaphor plays a role in spreading particular social values through representing a specific area of social reality. F. Wilson argues that

> Our conceptual systems are fundamentally metaphorical in nature and play a role in defining everyday reality. Language, in particular metaphor, helps form social reality. (Wilson 1992: 883)

Let us consider another example. One of the basic values in Arabic families is that the younger, less powerful members of the family should obey the older, more powerful member, usually the father. This cultural value, obeying the more powerful member of the family, is entailed in several conceptual metaphors in which Arabic families form the source domain, for example, **OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY**, which is instantiated in several speeches of Qaboos bin Said as we shall see in CHAPTER SIX.

Another aspect of culture, which is very important in discussing how metaphor is handled in translation, is the issue of *cognitive models*. A cognitive model represents "a cognitive, basically psychological, view of the stored knowledge about a certain field" (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 49). A cognitive model could become a *cultural model* when the model "emphasizes the uniting aspect of its being collectively shared by many people" (op cit: 50). Cultures develop their own distinctive cultural models of different aspects of their life. The following table (from Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 52) illustrates this by showing the different aspects of the cultural model of *first meal of the day* in Britain and France.

PETIT DEJEUNER	ENGLISH BREAKFAST
Components:	Components:
coffee	cereal and milk
croissant	tea or coffee, orange juice
	toast, butter, marmalade
	bacon, eggs, baked beans, sausages,
	tomatoes
served at bedside or local café or bar	served in breakfast room
not included in room rate	included in room rate

Figure 6: The Cultural Models of BREAKFAST in Britain and France

Such differences between cultural models, as those highlighted in the above table, could become a problem in intercultural communication. For example, the model of house in Russia is different from that in Western Europe. This difference has led in misinterpreting the last Soviet president M. Gorbachev's political conceptual metaphor **COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE** (see Chilton and Ilyn 1993).

In addition to cultural models, culture also has to do with folk ideas which are accepted by a particular group of people. Folk theories are popular beliefs about particular phenomena which are, in many cases, not verifiable. An example is the essence folk theory which says that all things have essences. Such folk theories about particular experiences get mapped onto abstract target domains, as we shall see in the **ESSENCE** metaphors in CHAPTER FIVE. We shall also discuss (in CHAPTER SIX) some instances of folk theories that account for mental unbalance by linking it to supernatural beings such as Satan or the devil.

3.4. Hypothetical Implications

The major conclusions we can arrive at from the above discussion are as follows:

1) Metaphor is conceptual and most often takes place below the level of consciousness.
2) Metaphor is systematic and coherent.
3) Some abstract concepts are structured by metaphor.
4) Metaphor is a hierarchical process (image schemata are realized in rich images).
5) Lexical items such as idioms and proverbs are ways of instantiating conceptual metaphors.

In what follows, we will trace the basic consequences of these proposals for Translation Studies. A basic difference between the traditional views on metaphor and the conceptual theory is that the former holds that metaphor is secondary to a more basic, literal reality. Cognition is a matter of connecting symbols in the mind with phenomena in the outside world. The conceptual theory of metaphor, on the other hand, holds that the process of reasoning is based on metaphors. Conceptualising abstract experiences, which have poor skeletal structure, takes place by using metaphors. Metaphor is thus basic in cognition, not secondary.

The conceptual theory of metaphor has several hypothetical implications. One has to do with the literal/metaphorical division. In conceptualising abstract experiences, metaphor

plays a constructive role rather than a secondary one. As we have seen above, the nonmetaphorical part of abstract experiences is very poor. So instead of the distinction between literal (real) meaning and metaphorical (secondary and decorative) meaning, we have the skeletal (the impoverished part) and metaphorical (the necessary part).

This difference in the role of metaphor has very far reaching consequences. The majority of the MiT studies are based on the traditional distinction. The distinction between the literal, or the real sense of an utterance and the metaphorical sense is an essential theoretical presupposition which affects how metaphor has been approached and, in turn, the sets of translation procedures that have been presented. Let us take Newmark's views as representative of the traditional views. Newmark's basic idea about metaphor is the following:

> Metaphor is in fact based on a scientific observable procedure: the perception of a resemblance between two phenomena, i.e. objects or process.... Violence is exercised on reality when the objects and processes are identified with each other, which in the first instance produces a strong emotive effect. (1988b: 84-85)

Newmark's phrase "the perception of a resemblance between two phenomena" means that the resemblance already exists between the "two phenomena" before the metaphorical expression is produced. As we have seen before, this leads Newmark to suggest that a metaphor is comprised of the following structure: object, image, sense and metaphor. *Sense* here means "'point of similarity', which shows in what particular aspects the object and the image are similar" (ibid: 85). This similarity-based distinction between the literal and the metaphor leads Newmark to suggest such translation procedures as "translation of metaphor by simile," "translation of metaphor by simile plus sense," "conversion of metaphor to sense" and using "same metaphor combined with sense".

If we continue exploring these implications with the example **DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY**, we get the following:

a) We do not have a pre-existing resemblance between the two domains (*development* and *progress*) which can be perceived and which underlies the metaphor.

b) Since the sense of **DEVELOPMENT** is fundamentally metaphorical (the image schema **INCREASE** is a constructive element), such procedures as converting the metaphor into sense become contradictory and illogical.

Another hypothetical implication has to do with the real nature of metaphor. While metaphor in the traditional views happens at the level of language, the conceptual theory of

metaphor holds that metaphor is fundamentally a process of conceptual mapping. The two assumptions about the basic nature of metaphor have different implications. The traditional approaches concentrate on linguistic items, i.e., metaphors as words. Newmark defines metaphor as "the word(s) taken from the image" (ibid.). Saying that linguistic expressions realize conceptual metaphors leads MiT studies to concentrate on metaphorical concepts of abstract experiences.

Another implication has to do with the forms in which a conceptual metaphor is realised. From the point of view of the conceptual theory of metaphor, metaphoric concepts are realised in different forms of linguistic expressions. MiT scholars have, for a long time, debated which forms of linguistic expressions can be regarded as metaphorical. Dagut, as we saw in SECTION 2.5. above, limited metaphors to novel literary metaphors and argued that such forms as idioms and polysemies should not be seen as metaphors, because the image is no longer felt by their users. But, in conformity with Lakoff, Johnson and others, we assume that the user's conscious awareness of metaphor can no longer be accepted as the only criterion for metaphoricity. That is because the most alive conceptual metaphors are the ones which are "mostly unconscious, automatic, and used with no noticeable effort" (Lakoff 1993). Not many people consciously notice the metaphor **TRIUMPH IS DESTROYING THE ESSENCE OF THE ENEMY**, which Saddam Hussein used systematically during the Gulf War (see CHAPTER FIVE).

The automaticity and unconsciousness of metaphors have another implication. It means metaphor is not limited to literary texts but can be found in other types of texts, especially in social or political texts where the unconsciousness of metaphor has a very relevant function. It can form part of the social "common sense," which is highly ideological (see Fairclough 1995: 28). Unconscious conceptual metaphors can serve particular *strategic functions* of political discourse (see Chilton and Schäffner 1997) defined by a particular power in a given society.

Having understood the nature of metaphor as proposed by the conceptual theory of metaphor, we can now see that MiT scholars who depended on the traditional theories of metaphor arrived at inaccurate conclusions because they dealt with expressions of metaphorical mappings as if they were non-metaphorical. An example of this is Nida's (1964: 220) example of changing metaphor into sense:

they were reputed to be *the pillars*.

Nida thinks that because speakers of Zoque do not know about pillars, they would not recognise the metaphor involving pillars, so he suggests

they were said to be *the big ones.*

For Nida, this is a case of translating metaphor to sense. But a deeper look at the suggested translation would tell us that this is not a literal sense, but actually a metaphorical sense. That is, it realises the metaphorical mapping **IMPORTANCE IS SIZE**, where the knowledge about the size of things, i.e., small or big, is mapped onto the concept of social importance. The translation thus has not shifted the metaphor to sense as Nida, based on the comparison theory, assumes, but has actually shifted a rich-image conceptual metaphor **SOCIETY IS A BUILDING** (that involves the perceptual experience of *buildings*) into a more general image-schematic metaphor (which involves a non-perceptual concept of *big size*).

Summing up then, the unconsciousness of metaphor invites MiT scholars to ignore the formal distinctions between forms of linguistic expressions of underlying metaphors such as idioms, polysemies, and novel expressions. It also tells us that metaphors are not limited to texts traditionally associated with creativity such as poetic texts and literary texts in general; we should also investigate metaphors in other texts types such as scientific and political texts.

Finally, adopting the conceptual theory of metaphor determines the terminology that will be used in this study. What follows is a list of the major terminology that will be used to describe a metaphor.

- *Source Experience (or Domain)*: This is the domain of human experience which is mapped (projected) onto the target experience. An example is the experience of physical balance, as in scales, which is mapped onto politics as in the conceptual metaphor of **POLITICAL BALANCE**. Source domain experiences are basic-level experiences which are characterised by having a structure which is well known. They are mostly physical experiences but they can also be social and cultural.

- *Target Experience (or Domain)*: This is the experience to which the source domain experience is being mapped. In the metaphor of **POLITICAL BALANCE**, the target experience is the power relations that exist between (or among) a number

of political actors, like countries or political groups, involved in a particular political situation.

- *Skeletal Structure of the Target Experience*: This refers to the basic structure of the target experience. It is *skeletal* because it cannot stand alone and cannot be conceptualised without resorting to metaphor. In **POLITICAL BALANCE**, the skeletal structure of the target domain is the political and military capabilities of a political actor in comparison with (or in contrast with) other actors.

- *Conceptualisation*: This is the mechanism by which experiences are understood in the human mind.

- *Metaphor (or Metaphorical Mapping)*: A process of ontological correspondence in which a source domain of experience (with its structural, functional and epistemic properties) is projected onto the skeletal structure of the target domain. An example is the metaphorised concept of **BALANCE** which is mapped from the source domain of physical balance.

- *Linguistic Expression*: This is the linguistic surface or realization of the conceptual process. This can be idioms, polysemies, or similes.

This list of terminology for the different aspects of the conceptual process of metaphorical mapping avoids the limitations of the different classifications presented by the traditional, especially the objectivist, MiT studies. Specifically, the list lacks two major elements in the traditional classifications. The first is *literal sense*. This will be rejected because political concepts that will be studied are essentially constructed by metaphor. There is no literal sense that is not metaphorical. If we take the concept of *political force* as an example, we find that the concept of *force* itself is a metaphor since it realises a conceptual mapping from the domain of physical forces onto politics.

The second is *point of similarity*: This is traditionally (see Newmark in **SECTION 2.3.** in **CHAPTER TWO**) understood to refer to the aspects in which the object and image are similar. We reject the idea that the object and image must have points of similarity on the grounds that metaphor structures the target domain. In other words, there should not, necessarily, exist a similarity between the source domain and the target domain. There is not any prior similarity, for example, between the physical experience of **BALANCE** and the political experience of relations of power. What is there is a projection from the source domain of the physical experience onto the target domain of the political experience.

3.5. Conceptual MiT Studies

The basic question of this study is to explore the possible contributions of the conceptual theory of metaphor for translation. This area is under-researched, but this does not mean that no other researchers have attempted to deal with this topic. Following is then a review of some of the studies which adopted the same view[22].

Kloepfer is among the first translation scholars to speak about metaphor not as a linguistic expression, but as a conceptual phenomenon. Although his study appeared before Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live by*, Kloepfer's (1967) comments on the topic of MiT assume some ideas in keeping with the conceptual theory. Kloepfer thought that metaphor causes no problem for translators because a shared human imagery exists. Because it is shared by all humans in all languages, metaphor should not be a problem for translation. In his discussion of W. Küchler's German translation of Rimbaud's *Metropolitain*, Kloepfer asserts:

> Küchler manages to preserve all the metaphors: their famous "boldness" is no problem for the translation – on the contrary, the bolder and more creative the metaphor, the easier it is to repeat it in other languages. There is not only a "harmony of metaphorical fields" among the various European languages, there are concrete metaphorical fields common to all mankind, but there are also definite "structures of imagination" on which they are based. (Kloepfer 1967: 116, translated from German by Snell-Hornby 1988/1995: 57)

Kloepfer's ideas are based on two premises. Firstly, that metaphor is a violation of the semantic rules of the language. Secondly, the more you break the rules the further you get from language itself which in turn takes you to structures of a deep universal level that is shared by all humans. In his terms, these are universal *structures of imagination*. The interesting point in his analysis is cognitive. Language is not seen as autonomous tool that can be separated from human understanding of experience. Rather, language is preceded by a stage of cognitive processes which are universal. Some of these views are shared today by modern cognitive linguists, who think that cognitive processes are essential in language and fundamental to explain metaphorical expressions.

Unlike Kloepfer, Tabakoska (1993), Stienstra (1993) and Schäffner (1996b) clearly take the conceptual theory of metaphor as their point of departure to study metaphor in translation. Kloepfer's views on the universal aspect of human conceptualisation are echoed in Tabakoska (1993). Tabakoska attempts to understand translation in terms of

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[22] The conceptual theory of metaphor is very briefly referred to in other translation studies like Arduini (1998) and Alexieva (1993).

some developments in cognitive linguistics. Based on the centrality of conceptualisation in cognitive linguistics, Tabakoska thinks that translation equivalence is in fact equivalence in conceptualisation. But since different cultures have different forms of conceptualisation, "one is forced to conclude that translation is impossible" (Tabakoska 1993: 128). However, Tabakoska holds that "although conceptual systems differ, the conceptualizing capacity of a human being is universal: it is shared by speakers of all languages, as is the common pool of basic human experience" (ibid).

As far as metaphor is concerned, Tabakoska thinks that conceptual metaphors are easier to handle than image metaphor. Because images are conditioned by different culture-specific factors, they are "the notorious stumbling block in translation" (ibid: 98). This is not the case with conceptual metaphors. For example, a translator of the poetry of Emily Dickinson into Polish would be expected to keep the same conceptual images of containment (i.e. feeling that there is a border separating one's inside from the outside) that are recurrent in Dickinson's poetry because the schema of containment is of universal nature. In this case,

> All inadequacies of the translation in this particular respect are then likely to result either from the translator's search for compromise between conceptual structure and formal requirements imposed by the text, or from his failure to notice the overall pattern. (Tabakoska 1993: 120-121)

Tabakoska rightly concludes that the knowledge gained from cognitive linguistics about human conceptualisation can be very useful in translation and, according to her, "would necessarily lead him [i.e. the translator] toward a 'better' translation" (ibid: 121).

Stienstra (1993) is the only scholar who has published a whole book on handling a conceptual metaphor in translation. Stienstra focuses her discussion on the translation of one biblical Hebrew conceptual metaphor, namely **YHWH IS THE HUSBAND OF HIS PEOPLE**. This metaphorical concept draws a mapping from the domain of Hebrew marriage onto the domain of people's religious view of God. In general terms, the Hebrew culture views marriage as an eternal relationship in which a woman should be loyal to her husband and should obey him and fulfill his commands. This idea is mapped onto ideas concerning the relationship between God and people. God is expected to defend and care for his people. In addition, people's relationship with God is that which ought not to stop at any time. In addition, people should obey God and observe religious teachings.

This Hebrew metaphor is very interesting from the point of view of translation because seeing God as a husband of the people does not exist in other languages such as English. Stienstra says that

> The question as to whether attempts should be made to preserve a biblical metaphor in translation, even at the cost of introducing some kind of "strangeness" into the target text, is one of functionality or rather of functional relevance. (Stienstra 1993: 216)

This means that translators should not only be concerned with the metaphorical expression's lexical and semantic aspects, but also with its function within the text. So, such metaphors as **YHWH IS THE HUSBAND OF HIS PEOPLE** which pervade the Old Testament are highly functional and should be preserved in the target text. To solve the problem of whether or not metaphors are translatable, Stienstra proposes the notion of *pragmatic success*, which aims at communicating the message of the source text into the target language. Pragmatic success should especially be sought in translating "any text in which a particular metaphorical concept plays an important part, manifested in a number of actually occurring metaphors" (Stienstra 1993: 216).

Stienstra concludes that the metaphorical concept **YHWH IS THE HUSBAND OF HIS PEOPLE** can be preserved in both English and Dutch. The time and culture distance can be bridged if we become aware that these metaphorical expressions are produced in a different culture. In addition, the understanding of these expressions will inevitably differ from one person to another.

> It stands to reason that a religious person will have a smaller gap to bridge than an atheist, simply because he is personally familiar with the idea of a human being related to the Deity. (Stienstra 1993: 231)

In addition, Stienstra concludes that when we deal with metaphor, we should not be concerned only with isolated examples. She adds that the notion of conceptual metaphors "is the best, if not the only fruitful way of dealing with metaphor in translation" (Stienstra 1993: 234).

Stienstra's conclusion is confirmed by Schäffner (1996b). In her study *European Integration through Translation?*, Schäffner opens a new door for MiT research, namely the investigation of the effect of particular decisions made when treating metaphor in translation on the political arena itself. Particularly, Schäffner attempts to show that "the introduction of a specific metaphor into international political discourse can ...result in conflict" (Schäffner 1996b: 1).

Schäffner limits her analysis to one metaphor only, namely the metaphor of the "Kerneuropa / core Europe" which was introduced on 1 September 1994 in a document by the parliamentary group of the German Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union, and largely set up by Wolfgang Schäuble (the parliamentary floor leader of the Christian Democratic Union). The "core-Europe" metaphor was used to conceptualise the formation of an inner, closely integrated group of EU member states which is to be seen as a first step towards a larger-scale European integration. Schäffner examines how the German document was translated and how the British politicians and media responded to it. Although the metaphor of *core* existed before the German text, the new thing in this text was that it was used in the collocation *fester Kern*. This German linguistic expression realised the way Europe was conceptualised, positively, as a "firm centre for the European Union" (ibid: 2). In English, the corresponding metaphor is that of 'heart'. In English however, *fester Kern* was translated as *hard core*.

The German proposal to create a *hard core* was negatively received both by the British government and the media. These reactions centred around the idea that such a 'hard core' would be exclusive and would integrate quickly, leaving Britain outside it. The English phrase *hard core* is found in these reactions. Examples (both quoted from Schäffner 1996b) are

> A political storm over Christian Democrat proposals for a *"hard-core"* *Europe* continued ... (*The Guardian*, 7 September 1994, italics added)
> There is not, and should never be, an *exclusive hard core* either of countries or of policies. ... [John Major said] "I see a real danger in talk of a *"hard core,"* inner and outer circles, a two-tier Europe". (from a speech by John Major, italics added)

Schäffner concludes that although the conceptual metaphor of *core* was acceptable in Britain, the entailments of *hard core* were not. She adds that

> The choice of 'hard core' in the translation that was done by the translators in Bonn, significantly shifted the tone of the document .... The inescapable connotations of this term in English are hard core pornography, or hard core terrorism. 'Hard core' is associated with people and things that are immoral and incorrigible. (Schäffner 1996b, 6)

The major conclusion that Schäffner arrives at from her analysis is that because different cultures have different historical experiences, political concepts can, when they are transferred from one culture to another, shift their meaning. A lack of knowledge on the part of translators as reflected in a particular translation of political metaphorical expression can be taken up as a factor in the interaction in the political arena.

Schäffner's study is among the few studies in MiT literature that embraces both the conceptual theory of metaphor and a functionalist approach to translation. The metaphor of

'hard core' is not only a linguistic phenomenon, as traditional approaches to metaphor assume, but a conceptual metaphor that is used to conceptualise a particular political phenomenon, namely the inner group in the European integration. As far as translation is concerned, Schäffner bypasses the static treatment of translation which neglects the interactive process in which a particular translation finds itself. The British reaction to the specific choice of translating 'fest Kern' as 'hard core' reflected a conservative English ideology of Europe which is, generally speaking, doubtful about Europe and suspicious about the position of Britain within the European integration.

3.6. Conclusion

The conclusion that we have arrived at after reviewing the conceptual theory of metaphor is that this theory presents a very wide scope for research in the context of MiT studies in more than one respect. With the exception of the few MiT studies which we have reviewed above, this area is still under-researched. Of course, it is unimaginable that any individual MiT study has the capability to trace all the implications of this theory for translation studies.

This study will attempt to pursue some MiT questions arising from the conceptual metaphor theory, especially those ignored in the few conceptual MiT studies. Specifically, we will concentrate on the following points: the significance of the phenomenon of *image schemata* in the translation process and the interaction between metaphor, culture and ideology and the relevance of this interaction for translation. Those areas will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, which will be concerned with introducing the methodology that will be adopted to approach this area as well as aspects of the corpus which will be put under analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introducing the Methodology and Data of the Study

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with presenting methodology and the data that will be used in this study. It will first discuss some methodological matters that arise from trying to apply the conceptual theory of metaphor. Then, the methodology that was followed in data analysis will be introduced followed by a presentation of the corpus of the study. The chapter will be rounded off with a classification of metaphor that is based on the source domains of metaphors and a discussion of its relevance for translation.

4.2. Methodological Matters Arising from the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor

We find it necessary here to discuss some methodological matters arising from the conceptual theory for metaphor. These include the difference between textually relevant and irrelevant metaphors, types of lexical items that should be put under analysis and finally the limits of the analysis.

4.2.1. Textually Relevant and Irrelevant Metaphors

A text contains expressions of various conceptual metaphors. A political text, for example, contains expressions of conceptual metaphors of such general concepts and experiences as those of **TIME** (as in such expressions as *short period* and *long time* which realise the conceptual metaphor **TIME IS SPACE COVERED**), and causes and effects (as in *A led to B*, which realises the metaphor **EFFECTS ARE POINTS IN A PATH**). Such metaphors are not directly related to the political nature of the text because they are of general nature and can be found in other types of texts.

It is thus important to distinguish among these conceptual metaphors between those that are textually relevant and those that are not. The distinction between relevant and irrelevant metaphors is not something we introduce into the MiT research for the first time. Van den Broeck (1981) called for a distinction between *functionally relevant* (literary) and *functionally irrelevant* (decorative) metaphors:

> With regard to the use and function of metaphors a traditional typology of texts will be of
> little use. The only plausible distinction seems to be that between creative and non-creative
> language use, in that in the former metaphor *as such* is functionally relevant, whereas in the
> latter it is most likely not to be. (van den Broeck 1981: 78)

However, the distinction that is emphasised here is based on a different theoretical framework than that of van den Broeck. Van den Broeck's distinction is based on a metaphor-as-an-expression approach that presupposes the interaction theory of metaphor. The metaphors referred to in this study are essentially conceptual, and our criterion of textual and discursive relevance is the extent to which these metaphors contribute to identifying and reflecting the functional and pragmatic orientations of the text and discourse in which they are found.

Since we are interested only in exploring how metaphors in political texts are handled in English translation of Arabic political texts, we will limit our analysis to *politically relevant metaphors*. Our definition of *politically relevant metaphors* is that they are the conceptual metaphors which are relevant to the political environment in which they are found and which fulfill a function that is related to that environment. Politics has to do with power, "the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviour and often to control their values" (Thomas and Wareing 1999: 32). Chilton and Schäffner (1997) argued that political discourse aims at achieving what they call *strategic functions*. They suggest four of these: (1) *coercion*, through controlling other people's use of language, (2) *resistance, opposition and protest*, (3) *dissimulation*, which works by keeping some information secret from other people, and (4) *legitimization* and *delegitimization*.

We will only be concerned with analysing metaphors that achieve such strategic functions, i.e., functions that have to do with (the struggle over) power. This requires a deeper analysis of how conceptual metaphors interact with some politically strategic functions. We will thus be sensitive to such cases as *ideological metaphors*. We define *ideological metaphors* as the metaphors of which the source domain reflects a coherent intellectual system of ideas and beliefs that define the worldview and social interests of a group of people in a given society.

A political metaphor becomes ideological when it takes embedded ideological assumptions for granted and uses them as a source domain in a mapping in which the target domain is a political concept. For example, Arabic society is highly dominated by the masculine ideology. Man is more powerful than woman, and sons are seen generally as better and

preferable to daughters. The metaphor **OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF OMAN** is an example of an ideological metaphor in Arab life. The target domain in the metaphor is the political concept of *people*. The source domain is not neutral, since it uses the masculine *sons* and not the equal *sons and daughters* to conceptualise the concept of people. One of the aims of this study is to see how such ideological, relevant metaphors in the source text political culture are handled in the English translation (more details on ideology and metaphor will be given in SECTION 6.4.).

4.2.2. Types of Lexical Items

Another methodological implication of the ideas put forward by the conceptual theory of metaphor has to do with the choice of lexical items to be put under analysis. The *unconsciousness* of conceptual metaphors (see SECTION 3.2.7. above) and the fact that language offers *linguistic realisations* of conceptual correspondences mean that various forms of linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors need to be examined. A conceptual metaphor can be realized using several sorts of linguistic expressions, such as polysemies, idioms, novel expressions, and proverbs. A study of how conceptual metaphors are dealt with in translation cannot limit itself to picturesque expressions, i.e., image metaphors. Thus, many of our examples belong to categories which are not traditionally seen as metaphors.

Although such studies as Newmark (1980) have included such categories as idioms and clichés under the umbrella category of metaphors, our study's approach is different. That is, Newmark distinguished between different types of *expressions*, such as dead, stock and live metaphors, according to the degree of the reader's *consciousness* of their metaphoricity. Newmark also argued that each type presents its own problems for translation. Our approach sees idioms, proverbs, and polysemies as *instantiations* of a deeper conceptual metaphor. They are not metaphors in themselves as Newmark argued. The conceptual metaphor **DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY** is realised in such normal expressions as "we have made good *steps* in our programme" and "we are *approaching* the *end* of this development plan" and idiomatic expressions as the Arabic عجلة التنمية *'ajalat at'tanmiyah* (the wheel of development). In all these different *expressions*, the conceptual metaphor remains the same.

4.2.3. Limits of Analysis

Another methodological point has to do with the limits of the analysis that will be presented. One of the difficulties that face MiT researchers is that they are, by definition, required to do two jobs at the same time. An MiT researcher, before embarking on analysing how metaphors have been handled in a particular translation, is required to analyse metaphors of both the source and target texts. In the case of this study, we had to go through a very thorough, systematic analysis of a large number of expressions of politically relevant conceptual metaphors. The difficulty was added to, in our case, by the fact that there is an utter lack of literature on analysing conceptual metaphors in Arabic texts, let alone conceptual metaphors in Arabic political texts.[23]

4.2.4. Background of Metaphors

The last point to be made is that despite the fact that this study belongs to the field of Translation Studies, discussion of the translation part of the data could not be carried out without an intensive number of reference works on various other fields. That is, in studying the linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors, it was necessary to refer to both Arabic and English sources. The reason was that a huge number of conceptual metaphors had source domains which are not only specific to cultural aspects of the Arabic contemporary life, but also draw on specific experiences in Arabic history, as we shall see in the case of *intertextual metaphors* (see CHAPTER SEVEN of this thesis). So in addition to dictionaries, we referred to numerous volumes in Arabic which included the Holy Qur'an, several books of its interpretation, *Hadith* books (books about the life and sayings of Prophet Muhammed) and their interpretations and books of Arabic history. Our research efforts confirmed the following quotation from Johnson (1987):

> human understanding involves metaphorical structures that blend all of the influences (bodily, perceptual, cultural, linguistic, historical, economic) that make up the fabric of our meaningful experience. (Johnson 1987: 105)

4.3. Methodology of the Study

Discussing how metaphor was studied by several translation scholars, Fernández (1996) comes to the conclusion that these scholars adopted two methods: deduction and induction. The deductive approach begins with specific theoretical ideas about the topic and then

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[23] Lakoff and Johnson's first joint book, *Metaphors We Live By*, appeared in Arabic translation just in 1998 (see also Maalej 1999, Al-Harrasi 1999 and Al-Harrasi 2000).

applies them to a given set of examples. The inductive approach begins with analysing real metaphorical expressions and then goes on to generalise about the topic. Of the 22 studies that Fernández herself analysed, she says that 89% of the studies are deductive while only 11% are inductive. This analysis is *inductive*. It is inductive in that we begin with an authentic corpus of translated texts which we analyse systematically, and then we develop the theoretical findings. This is in keeping with research methodologies developed by some translation scholars such as Toury's *discovery* procedures (Toury 1995: 36) which consist of (1) presenting a target text as a translation, (2) establishing a corresponding source text and mapping target text (or parts of it, or phenomenon in it) on source text, and (3) formulation of generalizations (see also Holmes 1978). Before we present the major stages of the methodology adopted for this study, we would like to point at the advantages of descriptive analysis as far as the study of metaphor in translation is concerned.

4.3.1. Advantages of Description

One of the developments that the field of Translation Studies has witnessed is the movement from prescriptivism into descriptivism. The difference between the two approaches lies in the aims they set for translation theory. The prescriptive approach assumes that the job of Translation Studies is to explore texts in order to look for the problematic cases of translation and to provide solutions for them. In the words of Newmark,

> Translation theory's main aim is to determine appropriate translation methods for the widest possible range of texts or text-categories. Further, it provides a framework or principles, restricted rules and hints for translating texts and criticizing translations, a background for problem-solving. (1988b: 19)

In contrast, the core idea in the descriptive paradigm is that the aim of Translation Studies is "to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience" (Holmes 1988: 71, see also Toury 1985). Against Newmark's goal of producing "rules and hints for translating texts", Toury argues that "it is no concern of translation *theory* to cause any changes in the 'world', in the first place" (Toury 1991: 189). This divide between descriptive and prescriptive aims of Translation Studies has been reflected in the MiT research. Several MiT studies have adopted a prescriptive stance. Metaphor is assumed to be a stumbling block in translation; some scholars even assume that it is "the most important particular problem" in translation (Newmark 1988a: 104). Accordingly, MiT scholars tend to highlight the problems involved in translating metaphors and then proceed to present solutions in the form of

procedures offering the best ways of translating metaphors. Examples of such solutions were discussed in CHAPTER TWO.

One of the basic tendencies of prescriptivists is to view translations from a source-based moral perspective. The translator's practice is associated with ethics, and translation evaluations are often based on moral values. As Newmark puts it, "ethics has a fundamental place in translation theory" (Newmark 1997: 15). As far as metaphor is concerned, the translator's job is assumed to be a *faithful* transference of the metaphor of the source text into the target language text. The following quotation from the MiT literature shows this view.

> [describing a particular translation] With this translation there is no lessening of effects as regards poetic description and *no unfaithfulness since the real sense is still retained.* (García 1996: 162, italics added)

This view has been criticised by scholars working within the descriptive paradigm. The most severe criticism has come from Gideon Toury. In his 1995 book, Toury complains that the existing MiT studies, i.e. Dagut (1976), Newmark (1980) and van den Broeck (1981), were source-text based. Particularly, Toury points at two major problems in these studies. First, these studies lack a descriptive methodology.

> Very often, the source-language metaphors were ... given tentative target-language replacements regarded as 'good' (or 'bad'), in terms of some preconceived balance between the features of the original metaphor, mainly meaning, constituents and [type and extent of] metaphoricity. (Toury 1995: 81)

Second, these studies are based on

> a mere reservoir of isolated 'examples' rather than an organized whole, testifying to more or less regulated behavior under certain circumstances. (ibid)

In other words, the generalisations that those studies have arrived at, Toury argues, do not reflect the real regularities of the behaviour of translators. Because of their source-text orientation, these studies have concentrated on three types of pairs:

- metaphor *into* 'same' metaphor,
- metaphor *into* 'different' metaphor, and
- metaphor *into* non-metaphor.

Toury notices that these studies have neglected another possibility that arises from the source-text orientation itself:

- metaphor *into* 0 (complete omission)

Toury attributes this to the fact that these scholars "refuse to grant 'zero' replacements *legitimacy* as translation solutions." (ibid)

In addition, Toury discusses the point that these studies have investigated metaphor as one unit and briefly argues that "there can be absolutely no guarantee that the mere existence of a metaphor would ensure its translational treatment as *one unit*" (ibid).

Toury argues that new possibilities appear when one looks at the issue from a prospective approach:

- non-metaphor *into* metaphor[24]
- 0 *into* metaphor (addition)

These two possibilities open the door for the idea of *compensation* which, Toury argues, "would be practically impossible to detect if the first four translational options were the only ones allowed in a descriptive system" (Toury 1995: 83).[25]

4.3.2. Stages of the Methodology of this Study

Based on a descriptive approach, the methodology of this study progresses through the following three stages:

Stage 1: Identifying the Metaphors (Concepts and Linguistic Expressions) of the ST and TT

This stage consists of identifying the metaphorical concepts and their linguistic expressions in both the ST and the TT. According to Cameron, "[t]he aims and methodology of a research study can motivate the selection of identification criteria" (1999: 115). Our basic assumption that metaphor is essentially conceptual in nature with linguistic realisations gives us a systematic methodological warrant to include linguistic forms that are not traditionally dealt with as metaphors, such as similes, polysemies and idioms. As we have shown in **CHAPTER THREE**, studies on the conceptual theory of metaphor insist that although these forms were not traditionally considered metaphors (or metaphor proper),

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[24] Actually this strategy was mentioned by Nida (1964: 220) as one of the necessary adaptations that need to be implemented in treating metaphorical expressions. Nida and Taber (1969/1982) also referred to it in their discussion of the types of possible shifts involving figurative expressions. They referred to this strategy as "nonfigurative expressions changed into figurative ones" (Nida and Taber 1969/1982: 107).

[25] Toury mentions Uwe Kjär (1988), a study written in German, as an example of descriptive translation studies of metaphor which studied metaphor "as they really are" with no a priori criteria and value judgement. According to Toury, Kjär, in addition to accounting for source-text metaphors and their replacements in the target text, presented an inverted analysis that was designed to find out to what extent target language metaphors occur as translational replacements of source language non-metaphors (Toury 1995: 81 and 83).

they nevertheless are systematic in their realisation of underlying conceptual mappings. We will thus include such linguistic segments in our comparison.

Stage 2: Comparing the Metaphors of the ST to the TT and Defining the Different Procedures of the Treatment of Metaphor in the Translation

After identifying the metaphors (concepts and expressions) of the ST and the TT, the next stage of the methodology is to compare the expressions of the source texts with the expressions of the target text (*cf.* Chapter 4, entitled 'The Coupled Pair of Replacing + Replaced Segments' in Toury 1995). The aim of this comparison is to show us, first, which of the metaphorical expressions appear in both the ST and TT, and, second, what expressions in the TT do not appear in the ST.

The comparison will not be limited to the surface level of metaphorical expressions. Rather, we will trace the different conceptual and cultural elements interacting to produce the conceptual metaphor in both the source text and the target text. A sign of the depth of our analysis will be the attention we give to such cultural factors as the religious texts (Qur'an and the sayings of Prophet Muhammed). We will also highlight cases where we believe that the intention of the source text producer is misinterpreted by the translator, thus producing a translation carrying a different message than intended by the source text producer.

Stage 3: Arriving at Conclusions

The last stage of our methodology is to use the results of the corpus analysis to arrive at two types of conclusions. The first type has to do with the specific research questions in each of the three data analysis chapters. In CHAPTER FIVE, the comparison mainly aims at highlighting the different procedures used by translators to handle metaphors with physical source domains such as image schemata, animals and colours. Our identification of the different procedures will not be based on presenting them as solutions that should be followed by translators, but on describing them "*as they really are*, with no a priori criteria and value judgements" (Toury 1995: 81, italics in the text). In CHAPTER SIX, the comparison is focused on the cultural differences between the source language and the target language in terms of social folk theories, social interactions and ideologies. In CHAPTER SEVEN, the comparison focuses mainly on the problematic areas which the intertextual metaphors present for translators.

In addition to this specific questions stage, the comparison between the source text and the target text aims to highlight the general contribution of the conceptual metaphor theory for translation. The analyses found in the individual chapters will be brought together to see their relevance for such general topics as the need for a theory of metaphor in translation, the issue of translation procedures used to handle metaphor, and the specific demands that the nature of the source domain of a conceptual metaphor places on translators.

4.4. The Data of The Study

The study of metaphor in translation of Arabic political texts into English first faces the difficulty of distinguishing political texts from other texts; i.e., *what makes a text political?* The basic criterion that defines a political text is the same that we have used to distinguish political metaphors from other metaphors: the text must fulfill a function that has to do with politics. Of course, this criterion allows the term *political* to include all text types, even literary texts that have political functions (see Chilton and Schäffner 1997, Schäffner 1997b). Literary works in Arabic can carry political orientations. It is generally believed, for example, that Arabic free verse is part of a socio-literary trend which tends to call for a more democratic and changing society, while traditional metric poetry tends to adhere to traditional political views.

This thesis, however, is interested in how translation handles metaphors of political texts *proper*, i.e., texts that are directly involved in situations that have to do with power relations in societies (*society* refers to the political society, which includes individual communities or international ones). Schäffner describes topics of political texts as "primarily related to politics, i.e. political activities, political ideas, political relations, etc" (Schäffner 1996a: 202). The best examples thus come from politicians themselves, those people who are directly involved in power relations. Toury (1995: 223) quotes Hoffstaedter (1987: 76) as saying that

> the crucial problem lies precisely in choosing the right kinds of products [in this case source texts and target texts] - those 'for which we can safely assume that they tell us something,' and something 'relevant' at that - about whatever we are using them to study (in Toury 1995: 223).

The major part of the data belongs to translations of speeches of heads of two Arabic states: Iraq and Oman. Each of these primary sources of data represents a significant political trend in the modern Arab world, and their English translations are produced in different settings and circumstances and for different functions. In the following

paragraphs, we will discuss in detail each of these sources of data, giving a brief introduction to the English translations. Before this, however, we would like to give a brief introduction into the aspect of sensitivity associated with political texts and their translation.

4.4.1. Sensitivity of Texts and Translation

Political texts are one type of a group of texts that has come recently to be labelled *sensitive texts*. But what makes a text sensitive? Karl Simms (1997) proposes that sensitivity is not an objective characteristic but is actually a socio-semiotic phenomenon.

> No text is sensitive but that thinking makes it so; however, such "thinking" is intrinsic to language as experienced by humans, so that we may say that all texts are at least potentially sensitive. Whether or not this potential is realised depends on historical or cultural contingency.... (Simms 1997: 3)

Simms also says

> ... when we come to the question of sensitivity, it is never a clear cut thing: one can never say *that* is (or is not) "objectively" sensitive. But neither can we say that sensitivity is purely a matter of what individuals "subjectively" perceive to be sensitive, and to claim this does not necessarily entail a deterministic view of receptor response. (*ibid*, 4)

The nature of sensitivity may change from time to time, and from place to place. The traditional grounds of sensitivity, Simms adds, are that the text may be contrary to state, to religion, to decency, or to private citizens, leading, as noted in Foote (1994: 63), to four grounds of censorship: sedition, blasphemy, obscenity and libel.

Political texts, from this point of view, are a classic example of sensitive texts. As Schäffner (1997a) shows, *political texts* is an umbrella term that covers a variety of text types or genres (Schäffner 1997a: 131). Like that of other types of texts, the sensitivity of political texts is not a result of the lexical or structural textual aspects of the texts itself, but actually of their function (ibid: 136).

Translation itself can become sensitive. This sensitivity results from the sensitivity of the political source text itself and the functional aspects of the translation. We regard the FBIS's translation of the speeches of Saddam Hussein during the Gulf Crisis as sensitive, because

(a) the source texts themselves are highly sensitive since they are delivered in the context of a tense international political (and military) period,

(b) the translators are staff of an intelligence service of a country that is the enemy of Iraq, during the time these speeches are delivered, and

(c) these translations are sensitive because their intended addressees are themselves members of the intelligence community and decision makers in the U.S. (as we shall show in detail in **CHAPTER FOUR**).

In addition to the sensitivity of texts and translation, research in this area itself can become very sensitive. This was evident in the incidents that occurred during the data collection for this thesis. The first incident happened when we visited a state institution in an Arab country to get information about the translators of texts by a particular politician. A top official in that institution said that s/he is not permitted to provide any information regarding the translation or the translators. The official said that the researcher is only allowed to analyse the published translations. The scarce, insignificant information that the official gave the researcher was given on the condition that it was only *"min al-fami lil uthun"* (*from mouth to ear*) and was not to be used in any research project. The second incident took place when the researcher visited an embassy of an Arab country in an Arab capital to get some texts produced by the top politician of the country and their English translations. After meeting with the ambassador and other officials in the embassy, the researcher was told by these officials that they would send a letter to the ministry of foreign affairs in their country to ask whether they should give the researcher these documents, and would contact the researcher to inform him of the reply they got. No one replied.

The sensitivity resulted from three major reasons. The first is that the texts themselves are political. The second and the third reasons have to do with the government officials' conception of research and the researcher. The general feeling we got from the experience of contacting Arab governmental institutions is that there is a suspicion that equates research with evaluation. There was an implicit fear that the researcher would only be interested in *mistakes* in the translations. Finally, understandably, there was a *political* suspicion about the researcher himself. In other words, there was a clear doubt about the whole idea of researching such topics as political texts and their translations, which included such questions as: Who is the researcher (actually)? What are his real goals? Is he related to any *other* political group? Or, *who* is *behind* him? All this renders sensitive not only the political texts or their translations but also the very idea of researching this area.

4.4.2. Corpus of the Study

In what follows, we will introduce the FBIS translation of the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's speeches and the official translation of speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman.

Speeches of Saddam Hussein of Iraq and their FBIS Translation

The major source of data in this study is a total of 18 texts by President Saddam Hussein of Iraq during the Gulf Crisis (1990-1991) that followed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. These texts were translated into English by a translation service within the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) called the Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS), and were collected and published in Israel in 1992 by Ofra Bengio in a book, *Saddam Speaks on the Gulf Crisis: A Collection of Documents.*

Political texts come in the form of various genres (Schäffner 1997b: 138; see also Schäffner 1999a). The speeches of Saddam Hussein belong to two major genres: (1) speeches and statements by Saddam Hussein addressing either the Iraqi people or Arabs and Muslims in general, and broadcast in the Iraqi media, and (2) open letters from Saddam Hussein to world leaders such as the then American President George Bush and the former Soviet President Mikhael Gorbachev. Formal differences between the two genres are relevant to the discussion of how the metaphorical concepts and expressions are handled in the translation. Despite the formal surface differences (such as using features of letters, in open letters, like presenting the name of the addressee at the beginning of the letter), it could be argued that all Saddam Hussein's texts serve the same communicative purpose. This is in keeping with recent ideas in genre studies (see for example Bhatia 1993 and Berkenkotter and Huckin 1995) which identify a genre according to the communicative purpose it is intended to fulfill. From a communicative point of view, the differences between the two genres are of no relevance here. Although the direct addressees in the case of open letters are world leaders, these letters in fact echo the content in the speeches. Saddam Hussein uses the same anti-Western Islamic language and the same intertextual metaphors that he uses in his speeches that address the Iraqis, Arabs and Muslims. In addition, there do not seem to be any relevant differences between the two different genres when we take into consideration the conceptual metaphors used to structure Saddam Hussein's political thinking and discourse. If we take the example of the

intertextual **JIHAD** metaphor, we find that it is present in texts belonging to both genres. In short, this means that conceptual metaphors are trans-genre[26].

We justify our choice of Saddam Hussein's speeches and their FBIS translations to be the major corpus of this study on the basis of aspects that have to do with the nature of the source texts and the international tense political context in which they were produced, and of other aspects that have to do with translations. First of all, Saddam Hussein's speeches represent the Ba'thi political ideology (see Mazraani 1995). This ideology does not confine itself within the borders of the country in which it is found, but holds a pan-Arab banner. It advocates the formation of a single Arab socialist state. Hussein's speeches are significant not only because they represent the Ba'thi ideology, but more significantly because they are speeches by a figure who is seen to have created one of the major international political crises in the modern world, i.e., the second Gulf Crisis (1990-1991). If we accept that metaphor is a major tool in political discourse, then understanding Saddam Hussein's metaphors and the way they are treated in the English translation might shed new light on the events of a critical period in the contemporary history of the world.

As far as metaphor is concerned, Saddam Hussein's speeches use different kinds of conceptual metaphors, enabling us thus to examine several ideas from the conceptual theory of metaphor. Because Saddam Hussein's texts were produced at a time of international political tension, this enables us to see how major political metaphorical concepts that are based on bodily experiences, such as the different aspects of **FORCE** and **BALANCE** image schemata, are handled in the English translation. In addition, Saddam Hussein's texts are characterised by an important aspect, namely their reflection of several Arabic culture-specific aspects of life. This is, for example, most apparent in the strategic use of references to the Qur'an and the past Arabic historical experiences in the conceptual metaphors used.

In addition to the significance of the source text producer, Saddam Hussein, and the political context in which the texts were produced, the Gulf Crisis, the choice of this corpus was also made for reasons that have to do with the producer of the translations, the context in which these translations were produced and their intended addressees. The following diagram shows some aspects of these translations:

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[26] For more on genre and translation, see Hatim and Mason (1990).
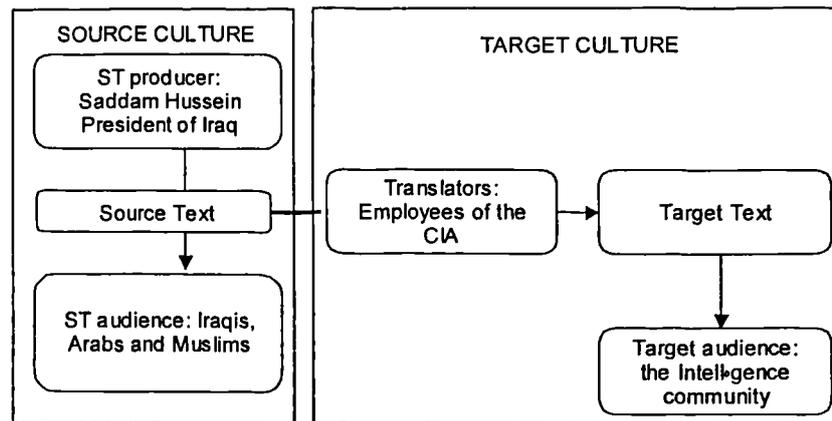
Figure 7: Aspects of the FBIS translations of Speeches of Saddam Hussein

The translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches by the translation service of the CIA invites questions about the possibilities of problematic understanding of Saddam Hussein's speeches which, in general, depended on metaphors that specifically interacted with Arabic culture and history. In addition, the whole context in which these translations were produced was a highly sensitive one. The US was the major opponent of Iraq and its president Saddam Hussein following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The CIA is a major institution that influences American international policies. This, in turn, means that the translations were at the centre of the political struggle in the Gulf Crisis. The readers of the translations, as we shall soon see, are members of the CIA for whom speeches of Saddam Hussein are a source of information about him and about Iraq's policies.

But what are the specific aspects of the FBIS translations? According to Ben Barber (*The Washington Times*, Monday, December 30 1996: 1), the service translates material "gleaned from more than 3,500 foreign newspapers and broadcasts in 55 foreign languages, from Armenian to Swahili." J. Niles Riddel, deputy director of the service, says in a conference paper (1992) that FBIS is "a service of common concern *principally for the Intelligence Community* [emphasis added], but increasingly for the government writ large and the private sector as well" (Riddle 1992: 1). He adds, "We have a particular, well-defined role which continues to be valued and viable despite not having changed fundamentally in the 50 plus years of existence" (2). The following paragraphs are extracted from that paper and show the history and significance of these translations.

> FBIS began as the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service when in February 1941 President Roosevelt directed the Secretary of the Treasury to allocate $150,000 for recording, translating, transcribing, and analyzing certain radio programs broadcast from foreign transmitters.

> Foreign nationals with native fluency in the target language monitor broadcasts and scan the press, providing summaries to U.S. staff officers who then select items for translation and subsequent transmittal to FBIS Headquarters and U.S. Government consumers. Limited resources preclude us from translating every thing we monitor. *Rather, we select items for full translation which are responsive to the requirements of the Intelligence Community.* [italics added]

> Our value added is several-fold. 1) The process is directly driven by customer requirements. We target sources and issues in response to changing customers interests. 2) Our collection, processing, and dissemination are timely. Proximity to sources, on-site selection and translation of relevant material, and electronic dissemination of that which is time sensitive ensure responsiveness. 3) And perhaps most importantly, foreign language materials are translated into English to ensure general, and immediate utility across our entire customer base.

So the major function of the translations of foreign broadcasting that are provided by the FBIS is *intelligence-governmental* in nature. In other words, their goal is to provide decision-makers with information on which they base their decisions.

If that is the translations' major aim, FBIS products are also utilised by another group of receivers, i.e., academics and university students. The academic usefulness of the service was very evident when rumours regarding financial cuts in the FBIS were reported in U.S. newspapers in 1996. *The Washington Times* reports that "Concern is rising in academia and on Capitol Hill over an expected end to the translations of daily world media broadcasts over the CIA-run Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), which has served as America's window on the world for 50 years" (*The Washington Times*, Monday, December 30 1996: 1). It adds that "The Federation of American Scientists (FAS) is leading efforts to block budget cuts that could end the translations gleaned from more than 3,500 foreign newspapers and broadcasts in 55 foreign languages, from Armenian to Swahili". Objections from academia against the cuts were very fierce, reflecting the academic significance of these translations. For the purpose of illustration, we quote some of the objections raised by academics, as published in the Federation of American Scientists Statement on the Foreign Broadcast Information Service on the Internet (site: http://www.fas.org/irp/fbis/guestbook.html).

> "Students, researchers, and scholars rely upon FBIS translations to keep abreast of the latest developments around the world" (Jerry Breeze, Documents Librarian, Columbia University, USA).
> "I am a specialist on Middle East politics, and find FBIS an invaluable research tool" (F. Gregory Gause, III, Department of Political Science, University of Vermont, USA).

The above two quotations show that the FBIS translations, in addition to their intelligence and governmental functions, are a valuable source of data for academia. What is common

between intelligence services like the CIA and academia which makes these translations successful for both? The answer probably is that both of them need *precise* information. Intelligence services need precise information to provide to the policy makers in their countries, while academia needs precise information to build up knowledge in the different fields of research in a systematic manner.

What does the need for *precise* information mean about how the translations are carried out? The FBIS translations of Saddam Hussein's speeches during the Gulf Crisis (1990-1991) belong to what Nord calls *documentary* translation. Nord says that this type of translation is

> a *document* of the situation in which an SC sender communicates with SC receivers via the source text, focusing on one or various aspects of the text, which are then reproduced in the target culture (Nord 1997a: 51)

In the case of the FBIS translations, the target language readers who consist of intelligence members and other interested parties know that what they are reading is a document of the Arabic situation in which Saddam Hussein addresses specific addressees, often the people of Iraq, Arabs and Muslims. The documentary nature of the translations will justify our emphasis on the source text and its metaphorical concepts and the extent to which these concepts are *documented* in the translations.

Official English Translation of Speeches of Sultan Qaboos Bin Said of Oman

Speeches of Saddam Hussein and the FBIS translations make the major part of the analysis of this thesis. However, we have also studied how translators handled particular conceptual metaphors found in 25 National Day speeches of another Arab politician, Qaboos bin Said, the Sultan of Oman (born 1940, in power since 1970). The speeches were published in 1995 by the Omani Ministry of Information in two volumes: a volume containing the Arabic original texts entitled النطق السامي *An'Nutqu As'Sami* (The Royal Speech) and another volume containing the English translations entitled *The Royal Speeches of H. M. Sultan Qaboos bin Said 1970-1995.*

Speeches of Qaboos bin Said, who has been described as the heart of the Omani political elite (Alhaj 2000: 97), represent a nationalistic monarchic discourse. The major ideas of this discourse include development, Oman's stance on international affairs and guidelines that the whole country follows in different spheres of life. Similar ideas can be found in the official political discourses of other Arab Gulf states, such as the United Arab Emirates,

Qatar, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. The following diagram shows the major aspects of these translations.
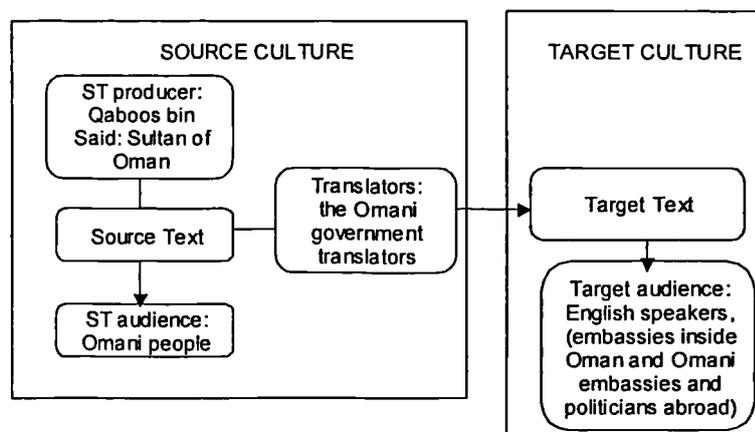
Figure 8: Aspects of the Official (Omani) English Translations of Speeches of Qaboos bin Said

From a translation point of view, the choice of the speeches of Qaboos bin Said and their English translation has several bases. The English translation exemplifies the official (governmental) English translations of speeches delivered by Arab leaders. Often, official translations are published by a governmental institution such as the Ministry of Information in the Sultanate of Oman, and are produced for, more or less, internal and external "public-relations" purposes. That is, unlike the documentary FBIS translations of Saddam Hussein's speeches which keep very close to the original, the official English translations of speeches of Qaboos bin Said are produced to read naturally in English. In other words, these translations are made in a way that conforms to the linguistic and cultural norms of the target English language. These translations are usually distributed among foreign diplomatic offices, such as embassies of non-Arab countries. Externally, these translations are also distributed among the embassies of the country abroad, which often provide copies of them to the ministries of foreign affairs in these countries. They can also be given to any one asking for them abroad.

The *public-relations* function of those official English translations puts specific demands on the translators. That is, these translations aim at creating a positive image of the producer of the texts. This means in practice that the translator has a freedom to follow the procedures which s/he deems necessary to produce a translation that does not shock the target language reader. For example, one of the demands of such translations is that the translation should read naturally in the target language. Another demand, which we found in our analysis, is that the translation addresses a reader who lives in a different political

and cultural atmosphere from that of the source culture. This in turn means that the translators of such texts are expected to eliminate signs of source culture that are not seen positively in the target culture. This was especially glaring in the translation procedures that were followed in handling ideological metaphors such as the **TRANSACTION** and the **PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THE COUNTRY** metaphors. These were deleted in the English translation, as will be shown in CHAPTER SIX.

In short then, this study analyses some metaphors of the speeches of Qaboos bin Said in their official translations to explore the interaction between ideology and metaphor and how translators handle ideological metaphors. Some instances of this corpus are also presented when they highlight a particular translation procedure that is not found in the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches.

4.5. Classification

Based on extensive detailed corpus analysis, we developed a novel classification methodology which arises from the findings about the mechanism of conceptual mappings, i.e., the process of *mapping* a source domain *onto* a target domain of experience. In the existing literature on the conceptual theory of metaphor, source domains of metaphors belong to two areas: the physical world as in the image schemata of **BALANCE** (Schäffner 1995), **CONTAINER** (Kövecses 1986 and Chilton 1996) and **MOVEMENT** metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) and human-life domains as in the metaphors of **STRICT FATHER** and **NURTURANT PARENT** used to conceptualise government in the United States (Lakoff 1996a). In our data analysis, we have encountered a special type of domain which also provides source domains for conceptual metaphors, namely intertextuality. The following table shows the aspects that each type of source domain offers for conceptual mappings.

Type of Source Domain in Conceptual Metaphor	Nature of Aspects Mapped onto the Target Domain
Physical Domains	Image schemata, rich images, colours etc
Human life Domains	Psychology, social values and practices, and social ideologies
Intertextual Domains	Past experiences associated with specific texts

Figure 9: Types of Source Domains and Aspects Mapped onto Target Domains

We have observed that those different types of source domains result in different conceptual metaphors. For example, while rich images and functional properties are linked to physical domains, in human life domains, the main emphasis is on social values and ideologies. In what follows, we will discuss the three major types of domains which serve as source domains in the conceptual metaphors that will be analysed in this thesis.

4.5.1.   Physical Domains

Physical domain metaphors, as Lakoff and Johnson observed, map structural and functional properties of the physical domain onto the target domain. For example, when the physical domain of **MOVEMENT** is mapped onto the target abstract experience of **LIFE**, there is a *road* of life we have to *follow* to *reach* our *goals*. In addition to the structural and functional aspects, such conceptual metaphors map the logical aspects of the physical domain. Thus, in life, if you *go forward* you cannot *go backward* and once you *pass a point* in your life, you cannot *go back to* it.

When we say that these metaphors are physical-world-based, we mean two things. First, the domains objectively exist in the physical world, i.e., they are physical concepts such as *building* as in **DEVELOPMENT IS BUILDING**. Second, the domains do not necessarily exist in the physical world but are believed through folk theories to exist in the physical world. An example is the idea of **CORE** in the metaphor **TRIUMPH IS DESTROYING THE ESSENCE (OR CORE) OF THE OPPONENT**, which presupposes that physical things have *essences* and this aspect is mapped to construct the concept of the opponent in a war, which is not necessarily true in reality. That is, the idea of *essence* is a folk theory about physical things (see SECTION 5.2.3. below). Another example of domains which are assumed to be physical is colours (see SECTION 5.4. below), which are used as source domains to conceptualise some political concepts and experiences.

4.5.2.   Human Life Domains

The second type of source domains belongs to the *nonphysical* sphere of the life of human beings. Examples are human psychology and social life. Psychology is realized in such metaphors as **AMERICA IS A PSYCHOLOGICALLY UNBALANCED PERSON** (see SECTION 6.2.1. below), which is used by Saddam Hussein where anti-Iraq political stances and decisions are seen as signs of a sick psychology. Social life is realized in such metaphors as the **OMANI PEOPLE ARE A FAMILY**, used by Qaboos bin Said of Oman

to conceptualise the Omani people and some aspects of their expected political behaviour. According to this metaphor (see SECTION 6.4.3. for detail), **OMAN IS THE MOTHER OF ALL OMANIS**. Omanis must not work against their mother and, like brothers in an Arab family, they should observe social values of families in their political life.

4.5.3.   Intertextual Domains

Although there are many studies on intertextuality, the area of intertextual domains which serve as source domains for conceptual metaphors have received little, if any, discussion in the literature on metaphor studies. CHAPTER SEVEN will be completely devoted to discussing the distinctive features of this type of metaphor and the problems it causes for translators.

4.6. Summary

In this chapter, the major methodological matters as well as the major corpus of the study were introduced. The following three chapters are devoted to analysing data. Each of them concentrates on one type of metaphor based on the classification we presented above which distinguishes between three types of source domains: physical, human-life and intertextual. CHAPTER FIVE will thus study metaphors with physical source domains. The chapter will largely focus on the issue of procedures used to handle such metaphors, concentrating on the notion of image schema, animal metaphors and colour metaphors. CHAPTER SIX, which is devoted to metaphors with human-life source domains, will concentrate on exploring how translators in the corpus handled cases where the metaphor is built on culture-specific beliefs or folk theories (as in psychology) and where the metaphor reflects culture-specific social ideologies of the Arabic culture. CHAPTER SEVEN will be interested in intertextual conceptual metaphors. It aims at presenting a theoretical framework that defines these metaphors as a special type of conceptual inter-domain mapping. It will also concentrate on the problems that this type of metaphor creates for translators, as examples from the corpus show.

CHAPTER FIVE

Physical Source Domain Metaphors in Translation (Image Schemata, Animals and Colours)

5.1. Introduction

The embodiment of mind is a central idea in contemporary cognitive linguistics and the conceptual theory of metaphor. This idea means that a significant part of our conceptualisation of abstract concepts and experiences is based on the experience of our bodies. Recent studies, such as Johnson (1993) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999), have shown that human reasoning is to a large extent dependent on the experience of the body. Examples from Arabic studies include Al-Harrasi's (1999) discussion of the embodiment of Omani religious discourse (represented by the Omani *alim* Nurul Deen Abdullah bin Humaid Al-Salmi) at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Al-Harrasi's discussion of the metaphors that the Arab-Jewish philosopher Musa bin Maymun (Moses Maimonides) used to conceptualise the mind in his book *Dalalat Al-Ha'ireen (The Guide of the Perplexed)* (Al-Harrasi 2000). Some studies have traced body-based conceptual metaphors in poetic discourse (e.g. Freeman 1995 and Deane 1995), in scientific discourse (e.g. Liebert 1997), advertising (e.g. Pauwels 1984) and economics (e.g. Henderson 1986).

In this chapter, we will see how a number of conceptual metaphors with physical source domains are handled in translation. Guided by the findings we have arrived at following our analysis of types of metaphors, the physical domain metaphors analysed in this chapter are classified into three types: image schemata metaphors, animal metaphors and colour metaphors. The specific questions that this chapter seeks answers for are the following:

1.   How are the conceptual metaphors that are built on image schemata handled in the translation in the corpus? In other words, we will be interested in assessing the relevance of the concept of *image schemata* as a tool in the description of translation (SECTION 5.2.).

2.   Animals are traditionally believed to be metaphors for particular human traits. How do translators in the corpus of the study handle animal metaphors? (SECTION 5.3.)

3.   Colours are another domain which is often used as a source domain for metaphors. How do translators handle colour metaphors? (SECTION 5.4.)

The examples that will be discussed are derived from the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches during the Gulf Crisis. Very few examples from the official Omani translation of Qaboos bin Said's National Day speeches are analysed; these are used to highlight a point or a procedure that is not found in the FBIS translations. We would like, at this stage, to note a point that has to do with the level of the analysis of each example. Most of the examples are analysed at the micro-level. We are aware that the macro-levels of text and the context of the translation are important; however, the analysis here aims primarily at identifying the specific procedures of handling expressions of conceptual metaphors, which in turn means that we will give special emphasis to the differences and similarities between examples in the source texts and the target texts. In addition, conceptual metaphors are themselves macro-level phenomena since they construct the major political concepts in both the Arabic source texts and the English translations.

5.2. Image Schematic Metaphors in Translation

In CHAPTER THREE, we discussed the concept of an image schema and its significant role in the conceptual paradigm of metaphor. A basic fact about image schemata is that they can be realized in metaphors by employing rich image domains of our perceptual world. This was apparent in the corpus of our study. For instance, the **FORCE** image schema in the speeches of Saddam Hussein is *concretised* as a strong wind, a wild animal, a football player, etc. We find theoretical support for our hypothesis in Lakoff and Johnson's recent book, *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999). Although Lakoff and Johnson are not interested in translation, they talk about hierarchies that are found in conceptual metaphors. For the metaphor **DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT**, they list *subcategories* of impediments to movements that create new special sub-mappings, such as **DIFFICULTIES ARE BLOCKAGE, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS, DIFFICULTIES ARE COUNTERFORCES** and **DIFFICULTIES ARE LACKS OF ENERGY**. They further make a very brief comment which we find extremely important in studying how metaphor is handled in translation:

> It is at this level of *special cases* that much of the *conventionalization and cultural variation* that we find in metaphor systems enters in. (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 202, italics and highlight added)

Based on this, this section asks the following question: *Is the hierarchical nature of metaphorical conceptualisation manifested in the translation procedures that translators use in handling conceptual metaphors?* We put forward the following hypothesis: *Some of*

the translation shifts which other scholars have regarded as shifts from one metaphor to another are actually shifts between different rich images that are controlled by one image-schematic metaphor. To answer the question and examine the above hypothesis, metaphors involving four major recurrent image schemata in the Arabic corpus will be analysed: **FORCE, BALANCE, CORE** and **DISGUISE.**

5.2.1. The FORCE Image Schema Metaphors

The concept of political force does not have an inherent structure of its own. That is, the basic, skeletal, non-metaphorical structure of this concept depends on our knowledge about physical forces. This can be shown in aspects of physical forces which are seen as characterising political forces: the ability to change a situation and the relationship between a particular force and other things and forces with which it interacts. A physical force exists when a particular physical phenomenon carries a potential to change a particular situation. A flood is a force because it can bring houses down. Talmy (1988) studied different forms of the image schema of force and found out that force dynamics are involved in the understanding of physical, psychological, and social phenomena. There are, according to Johnson (1987: 45), seven common **FORCE** image schematic structures operating in our experience: compulsion, blockage, counterforce, diversion, removal of restraint, enablement, and attraction.

Such image schematic patterns of **FORCE** are often metaphorically used in political discourse. A political force, say like that of the United States in contemporary times, can exert its power to change political situations at international levels. An example is *forcing* Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Physical forces can be measured and their ability to change situations compared. This, metaphorically, occurs in politics: there are strong and weak forces. The political force of the United States is, for instance, *more powerful* than that of Iraq. This difference in the power of the political forces made it possible for the United States and other countries to reach the goal of an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait in 1991.

As far as the Iraqi discourse during the Gulf crisis is concerned, it is observable that **FORCE** is one of the major image schematic metaphors that was used to conceptualise the parties involved and the process of influence and reaction between them. The **FORCE** image schema was realised with reference to several aspects of the different types of forces: their sizes, positions, and pressures. In addition to these image schematic aspects,

the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein also employed a number of rich images which realise particular image schematic elements.

As far as the translation is concerned, it was noted that, generally speaking, different aspects of the FORCE image schematic metaphor appeared in the English translation. Of particular relevance for studying how instances of conceptual metaphors are handled in translation are the shifts adopted by the translators and the influence of culture in the construction of particular instantiations of **FORCE** metaphors. These will be the major points of discussion.

5.2.1.1.   Size of Political FORCES

The fact that humans differentiate between small and big entities and physical forces is mapped onto the political conceptualisation of political phenomena. This mapping appeared in both the original Arabic and the English translation parts of the corpus, as the following example illustrates.

[9]   الدول العظمى لم تصبح بمثل هذا الوصف الا عندما وجدت على الكرة الأرضية ومن حول تلك
الدول العظمى دول صغرى وأخرى متوسطة، بل وان العظمى لا تصبح عظمى الا عندما
يكون لها نفوذ مؤثر في الدول الصغرى والمتوسطة [صدام-1: ص 469]

> [GLOSS] the **great countries** have not become like this [i.e. great] except when there are on earth and around those **great countries small** and **medium** countries. In fact the **great countries** do not become great unless they have effective influence on the **small and medium countries**

In this example, Saddam Hussein argues that the difference between big countries, medium-sized and small countries is a relative one. A big country, he argues, cannot be big without the existence of other countries with which it can be compared. In addition, Saddam Hussein points to a major aspect of physical force which is mapped in the metaphorical process of constructing the concept of political forces, namely the *influence* of the stronger force on the entities which are less powerful than it. The English translation keeps these structural aspects, *big, medium-sized* and *small*, as well as the functional aspect of *influence*:

> [FBIS [27]] The **big** powers become **big** only when **small** and **medium-sized** countries were found on this earth around these **big** powers. The big powers do not become big unless they are influential in **small** and **medium-sized** countries. [SADDAM-1, p.46]

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[27] [FBIS] means that the example is from the FBIS translation of a speech by Saddam Hussein, while [OFFICIAL] means that the example is from the official translation of a speech by Qaboos bin Said.

Here, there are three different *sizes* of countries: big, small, and medium. The word *influential* instantiates the functional aspect of exerting power. A few differences between the original and the translation are, however, worth observing. The first is that the **FORCE** image schematic metaphor is more elaborated in the translation than in the Arabic original. The Arabic source text talks of *duwal uth'ma* (literally, *great countries*). The translation, however, does not use the word *countries* but *powers*. This shift in translation, which is recurrent in the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches, is not, however, an introduction of a new metaphor but rather a linguistic elaboration of a metaphor that is used in the Arabic source text, i.e. that of FORCE. The question that arises here is why the translator kept the concept of *country* in *small and medium-sized countries* while at the same time uses *power* in *big powers* where the original speaker talks about *big countries*. One possible answer is that the translator thought that *big* countries normally have *more power* than smaller countries. So a big country is a big force while a small country remains a small country, not a force.

Rendering big *countries* as big *powers* fits with the discourse at that period. President Bush, for example, sees America as the *one sole and pre-eminent power*.

> Much good can come from the prudent use of power. And much good can come from this: A world once divided into two armed camps now recognizes *one sole and pre-eminent power*, the United States of America. And this they regard with no dread. For the world trusts us with power, and the world is right. They trust us to be fair, and restrained. They trust us to be on the side of decency. They trust us to do what's right. (Bush 1992)

The **SIZE** metaphor is not, however, always expressed in terminologies that refer to image skeletal aspects such as the word *power* or *force*, but sometimes gets instantiated through rich images from animal domains as in the following example which is a case of a metaphor that raises particular intertextual connotations which cannot be reproduced in the English translation.

[10] في العراق لا توجد دول **كبرى** ـ وانما توجد فيه القياسات الوطنية العراقية، **والدولة الكبرى على** العين والرأس عندما تكون على الحق، وهي **اصغر من النملة** عندما تكون على الباطل وهذا هو قانوننا [صدام ـ 2: ص 478]

> [GLOSS] In Iraq there are no **big countries** (duwal kubra), but there are the Iraqi national measures, and the **big country** (addawlah alkubra) is on the eye and the head (idiom meaning *are most welcome*] when they are [standing] on the truth. And it is **smaller than the ant** when it is [standing] on the falsehood; and this is our rule.

> [FBIS] But the one who comes to Iraq as a spy, thinking that he is being backed by a **big power**, should know that here in Iraq there are **no big powers**. In Iraq there

are national Iraqi standards. **A big power** is most welcome when it is right: **it is smaller than an ant** when based on falsehood. [SADDAM-2, p.57].

Here, Saddam Hussein uses a conventional Arabic rich image used to describe small things, i.e., the ant. He argues that Iraq resists the influence of *big* countries on Iraq and that Iraq is not part of the influence field of those *big* (Western) powers. They are welcome when they respect Iraq and its internal laws, but when they break the Iraqi laws by sending spies, Saddam Hussein thinks that they, for Iraq, are not big, but *smaller than an ant.*

The image of the small ant, which might sound strange although it can still be conceptualised, has a tradition in the Arabic culture which is not found in the English culture. The Qur'an (in a whole *Surah*, i.e., Qur'anic chapter, called *Annaml*, "the Ants") narrates the story of Prophet Sulaimân (King Solomon) when he walked in wadi annaml (the valley of ants). The ants in that valley, according to the Qur'an, were alarmed and scared that Sulaimân and his soldiers would not see them because they were so small. The Qur'an (27: 18) says:

حتى إذا أتوا على وادي النمل قالت نملة يا أيها النمل ادخلوا مساكنكـــم لا يحطمنكـــم سليمان وجنوده وهـــم لا يشعرون

Abdulla Yusuf Ali, who produced a very respected, close translation of the Holy Qur'an, translates this verse closely as follows:

> 18 - At length, when they came to a (lowly) valley of ants, one of the ants said: O ye ants, get into your habitations, lest Solomon and his hosts crush you (under foot) without knowing it.

This view of ants, as small and facing the constant possibility that someone would crush them without noticing because of their very small size, remained in the Arabic culture after this Qur'anic verse. One of the Prophet's companion's was even nicknamed *Abu Tharr* (Father of Ants) because he, as Arab historians (see for example Ibn Hisham 1411 Hegira) say, was so cautious to the possibility of crushing ants while walking that when he walked, he used to look for ants on the ground and move them away from the footpath. This cultural background about ants is present, albeit implicitly, in the above excerpt of Saddam Hussein. If America does not respect the Iraqi laws, it will be in the size of an ant or even smaller and, by implication, Iraq will crush it.

The above example tells us a very important thing about handling metaphor in translation. A metaphor cannot be reduced to the skeletal aspects of image schemata only; rather, it is interwoven with the cultural experience of the society in which it is found. That is, the original Arabic realises the trans-cultural metaphor of **SMALL SIZE** of a political power,

but also entails intertextual and cultural experiences that are limited to Arabic culture. The FBIS translation keeps the same image of small ants, which tells us that a translation of a political text from a language to another can keep the same image-schematic metaphor, **SMALL SIZE** in this example, and even the rich image, **ANTS**, but it cannot raise the same intertextual associations that are raised in the original. Translations like the above convey only the minimum for inter-cultural communication, namely the signs of physical embodiment of political reasoning.

5.2.1.2.   The POSITION Metaphor

One aspect of physical entities is that they exist in space. This aspect is mapped onto the target domain of political force. In the political discourse of President Saddam Hussein, this metaphor is used extensively. The majority of the realisations of this conceptual metaphor were kept in the English translation as the following example shows.

[11]   استمرت السياسة الكونية على أساس وجود قطبين متوازنين في القوة، هما القوتان العظميان أميركا والاتحاد السوفياتي، وفجأة تغيرت الأحوال، وبطرق دراماتيكية بعض الشيء احيانا وانكفأ الاتحاد السوفياتي يعالج مشاكله الداخلية، بعد ان تخلى عن عملية الصراع المستمر وشعاراته، **وتزحزح عن الموقع المتكافيء** مع أميركا من الناحية العملية، وان لم يسلم بهذا حتى الان من الناحية الرسمية [صدام- 1: ص467]

> [GLOSS] the international politics continued on the basis of the existence of two poles that are balanced in power; those are the two great powers America and the USSR. Suddenly, conditions changed, sometimes in somewhat dramatic ways. The USSR retreated to treat its internal problems, after it abandoned the process of continuous conflict and its slogans, and it **moved from the position [that is] equal** with America in practice, although it has not acknowledged this officially.

Here, Saddam Hussein speaks about international politics and the role of the USSR in it, arguing that this role was weakened by its internal problems which forced it to leave its *position*. The idea of a **POSITION** appears in the English translation as follows:

> [FBIS] The global policy continued on the basis of the existence of two poles that were balanced in terms of force. They are the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR. And suddenly, the situation changed in a dramatic way. The USSR turned to tackle its domestic problems after relinquishing the process of continuous conflict and its slogans. **The USSR shifted from the balanced position** with the United States in a practical manner, although it has not acknowledged this officially so far. [SADDAM-1: p.41]

The translation procedure that is employed here, i.e., keeping the same image schematic metaphor, (i.e., **POSITION**) is found also in the official English translation of the speeches of the Sultan of Oman. An example is the following extract from a speech by the Sultan in 1972, two years after he gained power in Oman which is described as احتلت مكانتها *ihtallat makanatiha*, (literally *has occupied its place*):

[12]   هدفنا ان نرى عمان وقد استعادت حضارتها الآفلة وقامت من جديد واحتلت مكانتها بين

[GLOSS] Our aim is to see that Oman has restored its declined civilization and stood again and **occupied its position** among its Arab sisters in the second half of the twentieth century

[OFFICIAL] Our aim is to see that Oman has restored its past civilization and **has occupied its great position** among its Arab brothers in the second half of the 20th Century. [Qaboos- 2, p.23]

It is worth noting the introduction of the concept *great* in the English translation, in spite of the fact that there is no corresponding word meaning *great* in the Arabic source text at that particular position. This could be attributed to the translator's attempt to give a positive image of Qaboos' rule.

There are also cases where the same metaphor is kept but the translator provides more information about the target domain of the metaphor, as in the following example:

[13] قليلة هي الأيام التي يفرح فيها العرب ويبتسموا لمعانيها ويهللوا بالقادم من أيامها. كان هذا هو حالهم منذ ان **غابت عن موقعها** الإرادة الوطنية والقومية في الحكم على طول زمن حكم الأجنبي [صدام- 6: ص 69]

[GLOSS] few are the days in which the Arabs are happy and smile for their meanings and acclaim the coming days. This was their condition since the national and pan-Arab will become **absent from its position** in ruling along [the] time of the rule of the-foreigner

[FBIS] scarce are the days when the Arabs are jubilant, when they are joyous because of the meanings these days carry, and when they look forward to the days to come. This has been the situation of the Arabs for the long time in which the foreigner reigned, when the national and pan-Arab became **absent from the seat of government**. [SADDAM-6: p.119]

Here, the **(ABSENCE FROM) POSITION** image schematic metaphor is rendered using the same metaphor with one difference: the translation provides more concrete details about the target domain. That is, Saddam Hussein speaks about the absence of the rule of the national and pan-Arab will during the period of Western colonialism in the Arab world. The English translation specifies that this will was absent from "the seat of government." This means that in dealing with this expression, the translator provided a rich-image domain metaphor of **POSITION**, namely the seat. This translation is thus a case of enhancing the same image-schematic metaphor through a rich image domain. We will refer to this procedure as *concretising an image-schematic metaphor*.

We have also come across an interesting case where the English translation used the procedure of concretising:

[14] وبما ان المحامي الدولي الأول عن العرب في ميادين الصراع العربي الصهيوني وضمن المحافل الدولية واعني به الاتحاد السوفياتي قد **غاب عن مكانه** الى حد ما والى حين، وبما ان تأثيرات اسرائيل واللوبي الصهيوني داخل امريكا ما تزال عالية المستوى على السياسة الاميركية [صدام- 1: ص 467]

> [GLOSS] and since the first international defender of the Arabs in the fields of the Arab-Zionist conflict has **became absent from its place** to a certain extent and for a while, and since the influence of Israel and the Zionist lobby inside America are still of a high level on the American policies ...

Saddam Hussein in this example speaks about the weakening international power of the USSR in 1990. The USSR tended to take the side of the Arabs against Israel and since it غاب عـن مكانه *ghaba an makanihi* (literally, *became absent from its place*), the تأثير *ta'theer* (influence) of Israel and the Jewish lobby in the United States strengthened against the Arab causes. If we look at the English translation we find that there is an introduction of a new rich image involving the image-schema of **A FORCE IN POSITION** which is not found in the original.

> [FBIS] Given the **erosion of the role** of the Soviet Union as the key champion of the Arabs in the context of the Arab-Zionist conflict and globally, and given that the influence of the Zionist lobby on US policies is as powerful as ever ... [SADDAM-6: p.41-42]

While in the Arabic source text, the Soviet Union was described as taking an image schematic **POSITION** in the arena of international politics, the English translation shifts this to a rich image (*erosion*) in which political force is conceptualised as a cohesive physical entity. Loss of power is thus an erosion of the entity. The **EROSION** metaphor is not so unrelated to the **(ABSENCE FROM) POSITION** metaphor as it might appear on first consideration. Erosion of a physical object means that it is in a process that will end up in its disappearance from the place where it existed. This is then an example of following the procedure of concretising an image-schematic metaphor.

5.2.1.3. The PRESSURE Metaphor

One way physical forces affect objects in their field of influence is through their pressure. As a metaphor, **PRESSURE** is used frequently in political discourse and we see examples of this in the discourse of both Saddam Hussein and Qaboos bin Said. As far as translation is concerned, different procedures were used to handle it. The first procedure is to use the same image schematic metaphor, as in the following two expressions.

[15]   اننا كعرب ومن موقع الصداقة الطويلة مع الاتحاد السوفياتي ما كنا نتوقع ان **يرضخ السوفيات**
لمثل هذا **الضغط** الامريكي وما يوصل الامر الى هذه النتائج الخطيرة على العرب وامنهم
القومي [صدام-1: ص 468]

> [GLOSS]   We, as Arabs, from the position of long friendship with the Soviet Union did not expect that the Soviets will **submit** to this kind of American **pressure** which led the situation to these dangerous results on the Arabs and their national security

> [FBIS] We, the Arabs, proceeding from a long-standing friendship with the Soviet Union, did not expect that the Soviets will **give in** to this US **pressure** in such a

way that it would lead to these grave consequences for the Arabs and their pan-Arab security. [SADDAM-1: p.43]

[16] ايها القادة العرب حيثما كنتم مع قيم الحق ومصلحة العرب وحيثما طردتم الغشـاوة والانانية
ورفضتم **ضغط** الاجنبي ودروبه وألاعيبه [صدام- 6: ص 70]

[GLOSS] O Arab leaders, wherever you are with the values of truth and the interest of the Arabs and wherever you rejected the blurriness [that prevents seeing] and selfishness and **rejected the pressure** of the foreigner and its paths and ploys ...

[FBIS] O Arab leaders, whenever you support the principles of truth and the interests of the Arabs, and whenever you overcome obscurity and selfishness and **reject the foreigner's pressure,** ways and ploys... [SADDAM-6: p.122]

In the above two examples we get two descriptions of reacting to political pressure which were kept in the English translation. In the former, which is a case of the **ENABLEMENT** pattern of the **FORCE** image schema, we get the Arabic idiomatic expression يرضخ للضغط *yardhakhu li al-dha'ghti*, literally, to submit to (someone's) pressure, which is almost translated literally *(to give in to this US pressure)*. In the latter, we get an instance of the pattern of **RESISTANCE**, which is kept in the translation in *reject the foreigner's pressure*.

We have come across one instance (from the speeches of Qaboos bin Said) where the Arabic and the English translation use two different ways of realising the **PRESSURE** metaphor. This translation procedure is rarely found, but is very interesting since it shows a procedure that has never been noted in the MiT literature which is based on the linguistic approaches to metaphor.

[17] اننا مسرورون جدا للتقدم المضطرد والمتواصل الذي حققه اقتصادنا الوطني، **فرغم ركود** الاقتصاد العالمي حققت خططنا الاقتصادية أهدافها المرسومة وأتت بثمار طيبة. [قابوس- 14، ص 212]

[GLOSS] We are very glad for the continuing and unceasing progress which our national economy achieved. **In spite of (raghma)** the recession of the international economy, our economic plans have achieved their intended goals and have brought good fruits, ...

Here, Qaboos does not realise the **PRESSURE** metaphor lexically, in the sense that there is no lexical item from the semantic domain of pressure. However, the Arabic expression رغم *raghma* or بالرغم من *birraghmi min* (literally, *in spite of*) assumes that the concept of **PRESSURE** is present. Our analysis and explanation of this example centres around the interaction between grammar and metaphor. Conceptual metaphors do not have to be realised in the lexical and semantic properties of language; they can be expressed in grammatical constructions. Some cognitive scholars have explored this area of interaction between metaphor and grammar (see studies on the role of metaphor in grammaticalization and the metaphorical motivation of prepositions, e.g. Huang and Chang 1996, and Rice et.

al. 1999). More related to our example above, Johnson (1987) argued that the **FORCE** image schema can be realised in modal verbs such as *must* [**COMPULSION**], *may* [**REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT**], and *can* [**ENABLEMENT**]. A teacher telling his students *you must do your homework* is thus expressing his social **FORCE** or **COMPULSION** by using the modal verb *must* (*cf.* Talmy 1988 and Sweester 1990: 49-75).

If we now look at our example from this point of view, we would consider the Arabic *raghma*, which corresponds exactly to the English *despite* or *in spite of,* as a realisation of one aspect of the **FORCE** schema, namely **RESISTANCE TO PRESSURE**. Here, we find Talmy's (1988) account of the representation of force dynamics in language illuminating. Force dynamic schema has, according to Talmy, the following elements: two forces (one of which is stronger): a force-exerting entity (Agonist) and a force element that opposes it (Antagonist) (see also Chilton 1996: 53-54). According to Talmy, *despite* clearly represents **FORCE**:

> certain force-dynamic concepts have grammatical- that is, closed-class- representation. With the Agonist appearing as subject, the role of a stronger Antagonist can be expressed by the conjunction *because* or the prepositional expression *because of* (which in other languages often appears as a simple disposition), while the role of a weaker Antagonist can be expressed by the conjunction *although* or the preposition *despite*. (Talmy 1988: 56, italics in the text)

This knowledge about the grammatical realisation of the **FORCE** metaphor now enables us to understand the translator's action.

> [OFFICIAL] We are pleased with the steady progress that has continued to be achieved in our National economy, **in spite of the pressures** of world recession and other factors.[Qaboos-14, p.121]

The translator has realised lexically, through using the English word *pressures* that is derived from the **FORCE** schema, a metaphor that was only realised grammatically. We have not come across another example of following this procedure but we have to stress that this area deserves an independent research to explore the interaction between grammar and the lexical and semantic properties of language on the one hand and how translators handle this interaction on the other.

5.2.1.4.   Rich Images realising the FORCE Metaphor

In addition to the above cases where the source text uses image schematic aspects of **FORCE**, we have come across a number of cases where the source text uses rich images

of the **FORCE** metaphor. As far as the translation is concerned, the general observation is that the English translation keeps the same images.

MILITARY ATTACK IS HITTING WITH A HAMMER

The source domain of this rich image metaphor is the ironsmith who uses his *power* by hitting a piece of iron with a hammer in order to change its form into a form he envisions that suits his own purposes. This is mapped in Saddam Hussein's following threat to Israel.

[18]   ستطول المعركة وتسفح فيها دماء غزيرة وستكون إسرائيل ابنة الاشرار في اميركا تحت
المطرقة [صدام-13: ص378]

> [GLOSS]   The battle will be long and plenty of blood will be shed and Israel, the daughter of the evil ones in America, will be **under the hammer**

Saddam Hussein, who speaks before the war, which started in January 1991, speaks here about his vision of the war. He argues that the Western countries do not have a correct view of their potential losses. The war, he argues, will not be a short one, as the American politicians used to say, and lots of blood will be shed. In addition to all this, Saddam Hussein uses the metaphor of **HAMMER** where Iraq is the person using the hammer who will hit Israel. The same single image appears in the translation as follows:

> [FBIS] The battle will be prolonged and heavy blood will be shed. Israel, the daughter of the evil ones in America, will be **under the hammer.** [SADDAM-13: p.170]

IRAQ IS A DIAMOND

A diamond, according to the American Heritage Dictionary, is an "extremely hard, highly refractive crystalline form of carbon that is usually colourless and is used as a gemstone and in abrasives, cutting tools, and other applications." This "extremely hard" functional aspect of diamond is mapped in a speech of Saddam Hussein onto a concept of strong Iraq as follows:

[19]   اننا لم نحمل راية التحدي ولا نتحدى احدا، ولكن عندما يريد احد ان يتحدانا سيجدنا اصلب من
الماس .. فنحن شفافون وناعمون، ولكن بصلابة الماس ايضا ولا يستطيع سن كائن من
كان ان يمضغنا ولسنا هينين [صدام-2: ص476]

> [GLOSS] We have not carried the banner of challenge and we do not challenge any one. But when someone wants to challenge us, he will find us **more solid than diamond. We are transparent and delicate but with the solidity of diamond also.** A tooth of whosoever cannot chew us, and we are not easy

> [FBIS] We are not carrying the banner of challenge. We are not challenging anyone. But if anyone challenges us, he will find **us more solid than a diamond, delicate but also firm.** We cannot be trampled on. We are not pushovers. [SADDAM-2: p.52]

The functional characteristics of diamond (delicateness and hardness) were rendered into English without any shift. These associations are of a multicultural nature, so it was easy to keep the same image in the English translation. The only difference between the original and the translation is that the translation does not keep an additional **FORCE** image found in the original, namely the image of someone chewing something using his/her teeth. Despite the deletion of this rich image, the image schematic metaphor of **RESISTANCE** is still present through the rich image of strong diamond that is *delicate but also firm.*

BODY POLITIC: HANDS

Body politic expressions are entailments of the conceptual metaphor **STATE IS A PERSON**. Aspects of human body have been used as a metaphor for political entities in both Arabic and Western cultures. In Arabic, for example, we get the following *hadith* (saying) of the Prophet Muhammed in which he conceptualises the group of believers in Islam as an integral interactive body.

<div dir="rtl">

ترى المؤمنين: في تراحمهم، وتوادهم، وتعاطفهم، كمثل الجسد، إذا اشتكى عضوا، تداعى له سائر جسده بالسهر والحمى[28]

</div>

> You see the believers in their mercy, love and kindness like one body: if one part of it is not well, the rest of the body will experience the insomnia and fever

In the Western culture, body politic also appears in conceptualising political entities such as the concept of state. In Hobbes' *Leviathan*, the state is presented as having "an artificial soul (sovereignty), which gives motion to the whole of the body, artificial joints (magistrates and other officers of judicature and execution), and artificial nerves (reward and punishment)" (Chilton 1996: 82).

An aspect of the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches that is worth mentioning is the introduction of expressions derived from the human body. The following two examples illustrate the use of the procedure of *concretising*, i.e., rendering some image schematic metaphorical expressions of political force as a human hand. The first of the two examples is the following:

<div dir="rtl">

[20] راحت الولايات المتحدة تنفرد بالعالم وتتجبر من غير ان يظهر الذي كان يظهر في السابق ليهديها الى الطريق الاكثر توازنا في الخطو والمسير فعلى من يعنيهم الامر ان يختاروا هذا الوقت

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[28] Source: Hadith no. 5665 in Al-Bukhari's *Sahih* (electronic version 1.07) in Al-Muhaddith Program (www.muhaddith.org).

[GLOSS] and the United States went on **becoming alone with** the world and become arrogant without the appearance of that [country, i.e., USSR] who used to appear in the past to guide it to the path that is more balanced in walking and moving. Those who are concerned should take this decisive time.

The concept of a political force that has no parallel force that is represented in تنفرد بالعالم *tanfaridu bil 'alami* (be-alone with the-world) is rendered as act *singlehandedly* in the following English translation:

[FBIS] ... the United States has begun to **act singlehandedly** in the world and to behave arrogantly without having the party that used to be there in the past to guide it to the more balanced path to follow. ... [SADDAM-10: p.149]

The shift to *singlehandedly* is not only conceptual, but also involves a shift of attitude. The Arabic verb *infarada* literally means that a person meets another person who is weaker than him alone in order to harm him, like thieves who plan to steal from individuals walking alone. This means that this verb has a negative sense. This negative sense of the verb, however, is not kept in the translation, since the expression *singlehandedly* is often used with positive attributes which involve a praise for someone who succeeds in achieving something without resorting to any help from others, as in the expression *single-handed victory*.

Another example of a translation which introduces an expression of a body metaphor is the following:

[21]   وسيفقد امريكا من قوتها بقدر ما تتراجع فيه **قوة الشد** المصطرعة على القمة بين العملاقيين
واتباعهما [صدام- 1: ص 467]

[GLOSS] and America will lose of its power as much as the **power of pulling** that is fiercely taking place for the summit between the two giants and their followers

Here the speaker in the original text conceptualizes the struggle between the US and USSR as a final match between two giants who are involved in a game of tug-of-war, where each giant and his followers pull the other team across a marked line. The English translation uses the idiomatic expression *to gain the upper hand*.

[FBIS] The United States will lose its power as the fierce **competition** for **gaining the upper hand** between the two superpowers and their allies recedes. [SADDAM-1: p.41]

This is a case of a shift within the same image schema. That is, in the Arabic source excerpt, the speaker realises the image-schematic **COUNTERFORCES** through a rich image domain. The translation does not keep the same rich image domain, but chooses to instantiate another rich image domain which can still be classified under the same image

schema. The idiomatic *to gain the upper hand*, which refers to being in a dominating and controlling position, raises images of the game of hand-wrestling where the player with an upper-hand is the winner.

ARABISM IS A HOUSE (CONTAINER): ATTACKED OR INTERFERED IN BY ANOTHER FORCE

The **CONTAINER** image schema is a familiar source domain in politics. Specifically, the **CONTAINER** metaphor constructs a concept of the state and its relationship with other **FORCES** in international politics. This metaphor has been studied very thoroughly in research on political metaphors. In Saddam Hussein's speeches, the **CONTAINER** does not construct a concept of the Iraqi state itself but of the whole Arab world. According to this concept, despite the fact that the Arab world is comprised of 22 independent countries, it is, nevertheless, a big container. The boundaries of the container separate what is Arabic from what is not Arabic. As an entailment of this, an external force that attacks a particular Arab country is actually attacking the whole container of the Arab world.

The **CONTAINER** metaphor in realised through different rich images. One of these is that **THE ARAB WORLD IS A HOUSE**. This metaphor maps our epistemic knowledge of houses and the way their walls protect their inhabitants from external forces onto the political concept of the Arab world. The Arab world, according to this understanding, is a house which is attacked by destructive external forces (winds, floods, etc.) that aim to get inside. This is manifested in the following two expressions:

[22] ان التفاوت الكبير في مستوى النمو الاقتصادي والثروة والتطور الثقافي والتقني والعملي
ومستوى القدرة العامة والتعبير عنها قبولا او رفضا لأي عرض أجنبي وطريقة التعامل مع الاطماع
والسياسات غير المشروعة للأجانب وغير ذلك من العناصر هي كلها قد تكون **ثغرات في جدار**
الامن القومي العربي [صدام- 3: ص 515]

> [GLOSS] the big difference in the level of economic growth and wealth and cultural, technical and practical development and the level of general ability and the expression of it, by accepting it or rejecting any foreign offer, and the manner of dealing with the illegitimate greed and policies of the foreigners and other elements may all be **gaps in the wall** of the Arab national security

The same metaphor is instantiated again in the same speech in the following example:

[23] (علينا) ان ننظر الى اي حالة ضعف في اي قطر من اقطارنا على انها حالة ضعف فينا جميعا،
وثغرة في جدار امننا القومي ككل [صدام- 3: ص 517]

> [GLOSS] we have to view any case of weakness in any country of our countries as a case of weakness in all of us and as a **gap in the wall** of the national security of all of us

The image of a gap in a wall is preserved in the translations of the two examples:

> [FBIS] These elements might create **gaps in the wall** of pan-Arab security, ...
> [SADDAM-3: p.88]

and

> [FBIS] By the same token, weakness in any one of our countries is bound to affect all of us, and it will constitute **a crack in the wall** of our pan-Arab security.
> [SADDAM-3: p.93]

Summing up this discussion on the treatment of the **FORCE** image schematic metaphors in the English translation, it could be said that the major strategy that was adopted is to keep the same conceptual metaphor in English. In some cases of intertextual associations of a metaphor, as that of **ANT** in example [10], the English translation cannot keep the original associations unless the translator resorts to such procedures as adding a footnote explaining the underlying intertextual association. This discussion has also highlighted translation procedures which have not been discussed in the existing MiT literature. For example, we found more than one example where the translator works within the same **FORCE** image schema. Shifts take place at the level of rich images, such as the introduction of the rich images of *seat* and *erosion*, which do not appear in the Arabic original. Another important phenomenon we found was the introduction of a lexical item to realise an underlying conceptual metaphor that is realised in the ST grammatical construction.

5.2.2.   The WEIGHT/BALANCE Image Schemata

The **WEIGHT/BALANCE** metaphor is another example of metaphorical reasoning about political entities as if they were physical objects. There are two parts to the metaphor: weight and balance. *Weight* metaphorises a political entity's ability to influence other entities towards its own interests. *Balance* metaphorises a(n ideal) political situation in which weights of political entities are believed to be equal. In what follows we will see how the **WEIGHT/BALANCE** metaphor is handled in translation.

5.2.2.1.   WEIGHT

Weight is a measure of the heaviness of an object. But heaviness itself is relative, since weight of an object A is actually its pressure on another object B. In a balance, the weight of an object is measured by comparing its pressure on one pan of a scale and the pressure of another object, usually a standardised measuring object, on the other.

In the speeches of Saddam Hussein during the Gulf crisis, it was observed that he uses the Arabic word ثقل *thiqal* and أرجحية *arjahiyyah* (both literally meaning *heaviness*) and the

word *wazn* (weight) as a realisation of a metaphorical concept of *influence*. A country's influence is thus its *weight*. The underlying presupposition is that with one's weight, one could influence other entities. A heavier thing can influence other lighter entities. We noticed that the three cases where **HEAVINESS** is mentioned have experienced some form of shift in translation. In the first case, we find a case of using another image schematic metaphor.

[24] وراح يداوي الجراح التي اصابته جراء المنطلقات والسياسة الخاطئة اللتين اتبعهما لفترة طويلة من الزمن وجراء موجة التغيير التي احدثها ابتداء .. والتي بدأت تخرج عن مسارها المرسوم وأصبح واضحا للجميع ان اميركا والى حين قد اصبحت في موقع **الارجحية** في السياسة الدولية وان هذه **الارجحية** تحتل **ثقلها** في الاستعداد لممارسة مثل هذا الدور من جانب اميركا، اكثر مما يحمله المستقبل من ضمانات لاستمرارها. [صدام– 1: ص 467]

> [GLOSS]   and it [the USSR] went healing the wounds that were inflicted on it as a result of the bases and the incorrect policy that it followed for a long period of time and as a result of the wave of change that it had started in the beginning and which began to move outside its intended path, and it was clear to all that America has become, for a period of time, in the **weightier position** in the international politics and that this **occupies its heaviness** in the preparedness of the practice of this role on the part of America more than what the future carries of guarantees for its continuation

Saddam Hussein here speaks about the changes in the world politics in the year 1990 when it was clear that the USSR had lost the competition with the United States over international influence. The speaker argues that the result of this competition was that the US has become *heavier* than other countries. The FBIS English translation does not keep this image schematic metaphor of **HEAVINESS**:

> [FBIS] The USSR went to nurse its wounds that were inflicted on it as a result of the principles and the mistaken policy it followed for such a long time, and as a result of the wave of change it embarked on, which began to depart from the charted course. It has become clear to everyone that the United States has emerged in a **superior position** in international politics. **This superiority will be demonstrated** in the US readiness to play such a role more than in the predicted guarantees for its continuation. [SADDAM-1: p.41]

In the English translation this metaphor was shifted to another metaphor, namely that of **HEIGHT** in which states are put on a vertical measurement, where the higher position is the more power.

In the second case, we get an example of a translation that does not keep the same image schema of **HEAVINESS** but keeps one of its entailments, i.e., the power to influence other political entities.

[25] لا موقع مؤثرا في صفوف الخيرين العرب للمرتجفين من القول بان اميركا ستكون لها **الارجحية** كدولة عظمى وما على الاخرين الا الخضوع وفي الوقت نفسه لا مكان مؤثرا بيننا لمن يهمل ما قد اضافته التطورات الاخيرة [صدام– 1: ص 468]

> [GLOSS]   there is no effective place among the good Arabs for the ones who are shaking of the idea that America will have the **heaviness** as a great country and that others cannot but submit, and at the same time there is no effective place among us for any one who neglects what the recent developments have added

In this example, Saddam Hussein argues against taking the fact that the United States is the *heaviest* country in the world to mean that every one must submit to the pressure of its weight and should not resist it. The FBIS translation of the excerpt is the following.

> [FBIS] Therefore, there is no place among the ranks of good Arabs for the fainthearted who would argue that as a superpower, the United States **will be the decisive factor,** and others have no choice but to submit. At the same time, there is no place in our midst for those who fail to take note of recent developments that have added to US strength [SADDAM-1: p.43]

Here, the **WEIGHT** metaphor disappears in the translation but the functional element of *decisive factor* is kept. This procedure is another example of working within a single image schema, since the translation keeps the functional aspect of the ability to influence.

Finally, we see the same way of handling the weight metaphor in the following example, in which Saddam Hussein talks about Iraq's belonging to the Arabs:

[26]   هي من العرب الذين كانوا لا يقبلون لوزنهم **الوزن** الذي اراده الله لهم كبشر وكأصحاب رسالة.
[صدام– 15: ص 419]

> [GLOSS] of the Arabs who did no accept for their **weight the weight** which Allah wanted for them as humans and as people of a message

> [FBIS] - a country of Arabs to which they used to refuse to attach the **importance** which God wanted for them as human beings and proprietors of a divine message. (192) [SADDAM-15: p.192]

In this example, Saddam Hussein says in the Arabic source text that Allah gave the Arabs heavier weight because, first, they are humans and, second, and more importantly, because they are carriers of the message of the religion of Islam. The English translation gets rid of the **HEAVINESS** metaphor and opts for the straightforward *importance*. In other words, the Arabic source text realises the metaphor **IMPORTANCE IS HEAVINESS**, while the translation demetaphorises the concept.

5.2.2.2.   BALANCE

Johnson (1987) devoted a whole chapter of his book *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* to investigating the conceptual properties of the image schema of **BALANCE**. He argued that "the metaphorical projections [of the experience of balance] move from the bodily sense (with its emergent schema) to the mental, epistemic, or logical domains" (Johnson 1987: 87).

BALANCE is a frequently used metaphor in international relations. Schäffner (1995) observed that this is a major metaphor in the political discourse during the Cold War between the Western and the Communist blocks. Chilton also observed that **BALANCE** is a major metaphor in international politics (Chilton 1996). The **BALANCE** image schema is frequently used in the Arabic political discourse. Examples where this image schema was used to refer to international relations (**BALANCE OF POWER**) and to manners of political behaviour (**BALANCED MANNER or PATH OF ACTION**) will be discussed below.

The FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches, where this metaphor is frequently instantiated, contained instantiations of the same metaphor with no shift whatsoever, as the following examples show.

[27] واستمرت السياسية الكونية على اساس وجود **قطبين متوازنين** في القوة، هما القوتان العظميان اميركا والاتحاد السوفياتي، وفجأة تغيرت الاحوال، وبطرق دراماتيكية بعض الشيء احيانا وانكفأ الاتحاد السوفياتي يعالج مشاكله الداخلية، بعد ان تخلى عن عملية الصراع المستمر وشعاراته، **وتزحزح عن الموقع المتكافيء** مع اميركا من الناحية العملية، وان لم يسلم بهذا حتى الان من الناحية الرسمية [صدام-1: ص 467]

[GLOSS] the international politics continued on the basis of the existence of **two poles that are balanced** in power; those are the two great powers America and the USSR. Suddenly, conditions changed, sometimes in dramatic ways. The USSR retreated to treat its internal problems, after it abandoned the process of continuous conflict and its slogans, and it **moved from the position [that is] equal** with America in practice, although it has not acknowledged this officially.

[FBIS] The global policy continued on the basis of the existence of **two poles that were balanced** in terms of force. They are the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR. And suddenly, the situation changed in a dramatic way. The USSR turned to tackle its domestic problems after relinquishing the process of continuous conflict and its slogans. The USSR **shifted from the balanced position** with the United States in a practical manner, although it has not acknowledged this officially so far. [SADDAM-1: pp.40-41.]

[28] لن ينفتح الباب من غير قلق امام صعود التنمية الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والعلمية والثقافية في الوطن العربي ما لم نعد **التوازن الصحيح** في درجة المسئولية والتأثير [صدام-8: ص 112]

[GLOSS] the door will not open without any worry for the rise of social, economic, scientific and cultural development in the Arab world if we do not **restore the correct balance** in the degree of responsibility and influence

[FBIS] ... or the door to social, economic, scientific, and cultural development in the Arab world open unless **the right balance** is restored between responsibility and influence... [SADDAM-8: p.134]

[29] راحت الولايات المتحدة تنفرد بالعالم وتتجبر من غير ان يظهر الذي كان يظهر في السابق ليهديها الى **الطريق الاكثر توازنا** في الخطو والمسير فعلى من يعنيهم الامر ان يختاروا هذا الوقت الحاسم [صدام-10: ص 157]

[GLOSS] and the United States went on becoming alone with the world and become arrogant without the appearance of that who used to appear in the past to guide it

> **to the path that is more balanced** in walking and moving. Those who are concerned should take this decisive time.

> [FBIS] ... the United States has begun to act singlehandedly in the world and to behave arrogantly without having the party that used to be there in the past to guide it to the **more balanced path** to follow. ... [SADDAM-10: p.149]

However, like the example of **ANT**, which is related intertextually to the Holy Qur'an, there is one case where Saddam Hussein quotes a verse from the Qur'an where the **BALANCE** metaphor appears:

[30]   ايها العرب .. لقد برهنتم لساكني الكرة الارضية ان اختيار الله لكم لتكون امتكم شاهدا على
الانسانية جميعا هو اختيار حق. "وكذلك جعلناكم امة **وسطا** لتكونوا شـهداء على الناس ويكون
الرسول عليكم شـهيدا" صدق الله العظيم [صدام–9: ص 147-148]

> [FBIS] O Arabs, you have proven to the inhabitants of the earth that when God chose you so that your nation would bear witness to the whole of humanity, He was right. Thus, have we made of you an umma (nation) **justly balanced,** that ye might be witness over the nations, and the apostle a witness over yourselves (Koranic verse) [SADDAM-9: p.138]

The idea of being in the middle or centre of things is a structural component of the balance metaphor (*cf.* Deane 1995: 636). In the above Arabic expression, Saddam Hussein quotes a Qur'anic verse (2: 143) that praises the Muslim nation as being وسطا *wasatan* (in a middle position).

وكذلك جعلناكـــم أمة وسطا لتكونوا شهداء على الناس ويكون الرسول عليكـم شهيدا
(2:143)

The gloss translation of the verse is as follows:

> and-thus we [have] made you a **middle** nation to be witnesses of [other] people and so that the prophet be a witness of you

A nation in the middle or centre of nations means that it strikes a balance between the different nations which are imbalanced. It is important to point out that the FBIS translation uses the translation of the Holy Qur'an by Abdulla Yusuf Ali who provides the following translation to the above Qur'anic verse.

> Thus have we made of you an Ummat justly *balanced,* that ye might be witnesses over the nations, and the apostle a witness over yourselves; ... (2: 143, highlight and italics added)

This translation, which is quoted in the FBIS translation of the example above, moves from a structural component of the **BALANCE** image schematic metaphor to more elaborate expression. That is, while the Qur'anic verse speaks of a "middle nation," the translation presents "an Ummat (nation) justly balanced." The difference between the source Qur'anic verse and the English translation is at the rich image level (i.e., adding *justly* and *balanced*).

Logical Balance

A more interesting realisation of the **(LOSS OF) BALANCE** metaphor relies on the idea that there is an inherent logical balanced state of things. This idea is mapped in some speeches of Saddam Hussein to construct a concept of the political arena as having a fundamental logical balance. Saddam Hussein accuses the colonial powers of disturbing this balance. Any action on the part of Iraq is presented as bringing things to their logical, balanced nature as the following example shows.

[31] انها المنازلة الكبرى في هذا العصر وفي هذا المكان من العالم, الذي طغت فيه المادة على الروح، وعلى كل ما هو معنوي واعتباري، حتى **اختلت الموازنة** التي ارادها الله سبحانه للانسانية [صدام-9: ص147]

[GLOSS] it is the big[gest] confrontation in this age and in this place of the world, which the material has overwhelmed the spiritual and every thing that is spiritual and moral, until the **balance** which Allah Almighty wanted for humanity ... **was disturbed**

[FBIS] It is the great confrontation of the age taking place in this part of the world, where the material has overwhelmed the spiritual and all moral and ethical values. Thus, there has been a **disruption of** the **equation** that God almighty wanted for humanity ...[SADDAM-9: p.136]

This example is particularly interesting. Saddam Hussein, in the Arabic statement, expresses the **IMBALANCE** image schema in the words اختلت الموازنة *ikhtallat almuwazanah* (*the balance was disturbed*). In the English translation, however, the image schematic domain of the metaphor is expressed using the domain of **EQUATION**, which essentially belongs to the epistemic science world of mathematics and science. The translation thus can be understood to be using a domain of experience, equations, which is governed by the same image schema that is instantiated in the source text, **BALANCE**.

In two instances, the loss of balance is represented using the Arabic idiom *yatha' alumoor fi nisabiha* (to put things in their correct places). Things are balanced when they are in their natural, *correct* places. So, according to this metaphor, the European colonial powers have disturbed the order of things. In one case, the translation uses the idiomatic expression *to put something right* which realises the same metaphoric concept of a balanced political situation:

[32] ينبغي ان **نضع الامور في نصابها** ليمضي العراق قدما ولترفرف رايات النصر في كل مكان [صدام-5: ص72]

[GLOSS] we have to put things **fi nisabiha (in their correct places)** for Iraq to go forward and for the banners of victory to flutter in every place

[FBIS] ... **we should put things right** so that Iraq will go forward and the banners of victory will flutter everywhere ... [SADDAM-5: p.117]

In the other instance, the translators opt for the verb *rectify*, which also keeps the same image schematic metaphor of bringing balance back, but through another rich image domain, namely that of fixing things which are not functioning in the expected manner. The following example illustrates this:

[33] ومن جملة واجباتنا في أرضه هو النضال والجهاد من أجل صحوة عميقة تضع الأمور في نصابها وتعيد للإنسان العربي مكانته ودوره القائد في رسالة الله وفي رسالة الحياة [صدام- 6: ص 69]

[GLOSS] of the number of our duties in His [Allah's] land are struggle and jihad for a deep awakening that **puts things fi nisabiha (in their correct places)** returns to the Arab human his status and his leading role in the message of Allah and message of life

[FBIS] Some of our duties to Him and on His land are struggle and jihad for the sake of a deep pan-Arab awakening which **rectifies affairs** and retrieves for the Arab individual his status and leading role in the message of God and life. [SADDAM-6: p.121]

In addition to the above cases, there is one instance in which the **BALANCE** metaphor underlies an idiomatic expression which instantiates a rich image domain. The English translation, although not keeping the same rich image, does keep the same image schematic metaphor of **BALANCE**.

[34] في الثامن من آب (أغسطس) عام 1988 **رست الأمور على مرساها** بعد ثماني سنوات من المنازلة. [صدام- 4: ص 64]

[GLOSS] on the 8th of August 1988, affairs **anchored in their anchorage** after eight years of confrontation

Saddam Hussein here expresses the **BALANCE** metaphor by assuming that the period of war with Iran was a period in which the balance of powers was disturbed; stopping the war, which Iraq regarded as a triumph, brought back the balance. The rich image is that of the sea. The sea, in the Arab mind, represents instability and continuous lack of balance for the ships which travel on it. The image of رسو *russow* (coming to anchor) is thus a return to the balanced condition. The English language does not have this conventional (rich image) way of expressing this image schematic metaphor of **BALANCE,** which leads to the following translation.

[FBIS] on 8 August 1988 [the last day of the war against Iran] **matters were settled** after eight years of dueling. [SADDAM-4: p.110]

The translator uses the verb *to settle*, which also realises the **BALANCE** schema. Something unsettled means it lacks the stability and balance, while *settling things* means bringing the nature of things back to the balanced situation. So although the rich image domain of sea and ships is absent, the image schema is still there.

It was interesting that in one case, the translator instantiated linguistically the image-schematic **BALANCE** metaphor which was underlying a statement by Saddam Hussein.

[35] ان الصراع بين العملاقين وذلك التقسيم المقيت للعالم في ضوء نفوذهما ومصالحهما وتأثيراتها آنذاك، وما أصاب العالم هنا او هناك، من مساقط قذائفهما في ميدان التراشق والاصطراع، الذي لم تنج منه ساحة الوطن العربي والمجتمع العربي، قد ألحق ضررا بالغا بأمتنا، **وقد الحق** اهتزازا بشخصيتها [صدام-3: ص 518]

> [GLOSS] the conflict between the two giants and that hateful division of the world in the light of their influence and interests and the effects then, and what hit the world here or there or their shells in the field of tarashuq (exchanging shells) and conflict, which the sphere of the Arab world and Arab society were not saved from, [all] have caused severe harm to our ummah (nation) and has **caused a shaking of its character**

> [FBIS] The conflict between the two giants, the hateful division of the world in light of the influence and interests of these giants at that time, as well as the effect of the artillery shells which fell in the theater of conflict- which the arena of the Arab nation and community were not safe from- have severely harmed our nation and **disturbed the balance of its character.** [SADDAM-3: p.96]

The source text speaks about specific circumstances which led to a الحق اهتزازا بشخصيتها *ahtizazan bishakhsiyatiha* (literally, *caused a shaking of its character*). This, in turn, means that it lacks balance. The translation more strongly emphasises the image of balance.

So to sum up this discussion on the **WEIGHT** and **BALANCE** metaphors, it could be said that both the metaphors having these two image-related image schemata appear in the translation. We noted that the **WEIGHT** metaphors do not appear in the translation where the translation either uses another metaphor as that of **HEIGHT** expressed by the word *superior*, or by resorting to aspects of the target domain such as that realised by the word *importance* (where the source text talks about *thiqal* or heaviness). As far as the **BALANCE** metaphors, we noted that most of the expressions of the metaphor are kept in the English translation. Keeping this metaphor might be because this concept is established in both the English and Arabic political discourses.

5.2.3.   The ESSENCE/CORE Metaphors

One of the metaphors Saddam Hussein used in the corpus is **TRIUMPH IS DESTROYING THE CORE OF THE ENEMY**. According to this metaphor, when two forces come to confront each other, a triumph of one of the forces happens when it destroys the essence or the core of the other force. Essence is not a recurrent pattern in experience such as other schemas as *container, force* or *movement*. However, it is part of the folk theory of the objectivist worldview. According to Lakoff (1987c: 160), objectivist metaphysics assumes that reality consists of entities, which have fixed properties and

relations holding among them at any instant. This view of metaphysics is often linked to another metaphysical assumption that Lakoff refers to as *essentialism*.

> ESSENTIALISM: Among the properties that things have, some are essential; that is, they are those properties that make the thing what it is, and without which it would not be that *kind* of thing. Other properties are accidental - that is, they are properties that things happen to have, not properties that capture the essence of the thing. (Lakoff 1987c: 160, capitalization and italics in the text)

Another definition of *essence* is that it is "a collection of natural properties that inheres in whatever it is the essence of" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 214). Lakoff and Johnson add that the folk theory of essences is "commonplace in this culture [i.e., western culture] and other cultures around the world" (ibid.). We argue that Arabic culture is one of those cultures in which the folk theory of essence plays an influential role in categorization and perception of physical objects and, through metaphors, of abstract concepts and experiences. One of the major Arabic dictionaries, لسان العرب *Lisan Al-Arab* defines *al-jawhar* [essence] as

<div dir="rtl">جوهر كل شيء: ما خلقت عليه جبلته</div>

The *jawhar* [essence] of any thing is what its nature is created from. (AOT)

This illustrates that the essence of an object is the *most necessary* part of it. Without its essence, a thing cannot, according to the folk theory, be that thing. In addition to being the necessary part of a thing, an essence is conceived to be the most solid part of the thing. This is clear in the Arabic word صميم *sameem* which represents the folk theory of essence in the Arabic culture. This word is defined in القاموس المحيط *Al-Qamoos Al-Muheet* as

<div dir="rtl">الصميم: العظم الذي به قوام العضو، وبنك الشيء وخالصه</div>

As'Sameem is the bone by which the organ stands, and [also] the core of the thing and its pure [property] (AOT)

In addition, the essence of a thing is the part of it which is not subject to change. If we agree with Lakoff and Johnson that an essence is "a collection of natural properties that inheres in whatever it is the essence of" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 214), then natural resistance to change is a fundamental characteristic of essential properties.

An essence or core of a particular entity exists in its *centre*. This arises from the folk theory that assumes that what is *inside* and *deep* is more representative of the thing than what is at the surface. Physical things might change their outside appearance because of the influence of external forces, but still be accepted as being the same things they were before this

change. The idea of *central* essence in Arabic is related to the idea of *lubb* or the core of the thing. Lubb is defined in *Lisan Al-Arab* as

<div dir="rtl">

لب كل شيء، ولبابه: خالصه وخـياره، وقد غلب، اللب على ما يؤكل داخله،
ويرمى خارجه من الثمر.

</div>

The *lubb* or *lubab* of anything is its pure and best [properties]. The word *lubb* is mainly used to describe things of which the inside is eaten and of which the outside fruit is thrown away. (AOT)

Taking these folk ideas about the **ESSENCE** image schema we can now present the following schematic diagram, which shows these major characteristics.
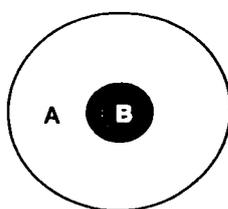
Figure 10: The ESSENCE Image Schema

The diagram represents an object which follows the logic of the folk theory of essence in terms of its structural and functional components. It is comprised of two major parts, A and B. A represents the outer part which is seen as the weakest, more vulnerable part. B represents the core or essence of the object, which is the strongest part and is found in the centre[29]. Now let us turn to the metaphorical applications of this folk theory of essence.

5.2.3.1.   Metaphorical Extensions of the Folk Theory of Essences

Because of the centrality of the image schema of **ESSENCE** in the whole tradition of the objectivist metaphysics, it is beyond our goal to describe all metaphorical extensions of the **ESSENCE** schema. We will concentrate on some metaphorical concepts that are found in every day Arabic life. An example is the lexicalised idiom يبقى في صميم الموضوع *yabqa fi sameem al-mawdhou'* *(to remain in the core of the topic)*. This is a familiar idiom in contemporary Arabic which is usually said in the context of an argument in which one of the participants attempts to diverge from the major topic of the discussion by introducing what other participants view as minor topics. The other participant will often say *"linabqa fi sameemil mawdhou"* or *let us stick to the essence of the topic. Sameem*

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[29] An interesting discussion of metaphors of centre and periphery is found in Deane (1995).

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(essence) is sometimes replaced by the word *lubb* (core) which represents the same image schematic metaphor. So ideas and intellectual topics become seen metaphorically as things which have essential properties. Participants are not expected to move to talk about topics that are not essential to the topic under discussion.

Dictionaries point to other metaphorical extensions. Political groups, such as tribes or nations, are also seen as things with essences. Tribal Arabs used to distinguish between people who belong to the *essence* of their tribes and those who do not. Thus, when they admired a person's connection to his group, Arabs say هو من صميم قومه "*huwa min sameemi qawmih*" (literally, he belongs to the essence of his people).

This tradition of using **ESSENCE** as a source domain in Arabic explains the abundance of expressions instantiating this metaphor in contemporary Arabic political discourse. For example, in the discourse of Saddam Hussein, the **ESSENCE** image schema serves as the source domain in conceptualising the Arab world in general and the state of Iraq in particular. The folk theory of essences, with its structural, functional and epistemic aspects, is mapped onto the abstract target domain of the political entity and its interaction with other entities. One entailment of **ESSENCE** that is highlighted is that for one of two opponents to triumph, one has to destroy the essence or the core of the other. We can point to three examples realising this entailment. The first three examples realise this using the lexical item *sameem* as follows:

[36] اننا كعرب **مستهدفون في صميم** امننا ومصالحنا من هذه السياسات الاميريكية [صدام-3: ص517]

[GLOSS] We, Arabs, are **targeted in the core** of our security and interests by these American policies

[37] غاب قرار الاغلبية الوطنية والقومية الشريفة وتأثيرها القيادي عن الحياة العربية وحل محله قرار الأقلية المدنسة الفاسدة التابعة للأجنبي **فأصيبت الامة في الصميم** [صدام-4: ص65]

[GLOSS] the decision of the noble national and pan-Arab majority and its leading influence was absent from the Arab life and it was replaced by the decision of impure and corrupt minority that follows the foreigner, so **the ummah [Arab nation] was hit in its core**

[38] ... لوضع الامور في نصابها الصحيح بإعادة الجزء والفرع (الكويت) الى الكل والاصل والمصب (العراق) لتصحيح ما جار عليه الدهر والغاء الغبن والحيف الذي كان قد **اصاب العراق في صميم** كيانه قبل يوم النداء ... [صدام-6: ص70]

[GLOSS] (speaking about the reason to invade Kuwait) to put things in their correct place by bringing back the part and the branch (Kuwait) to the whole and origin and the [main] river (Iraq) to correct the wrong of time and to cancel the injustice and unfairness which **had hit Iraq in the core** of its entity before the day of call [i.e. the day of Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait]

In these three examples, President Saddam Hussein warns against an attack from an external force (the United States) which threatens not only the security of the Arab World (examples 36 and 37) or Iraq (example 38) but their *essence*. The assumption is that destroying the essence of the security of Iraq and the Arab world means that the existence of these two political entities is being threatened. The same entailment is also realised using the lexical item *jawhar* (another word for *essence*):

[39]   وفي ما ذكرناه من مسائل حيوية تتصل **بجوهر** الامن القومي العربي يأتي السؤال طبيعيا
وضروريا، ماذا علينا ان نفعل نحن العرب؟ [صدام– 1: ص 468]

[GLOSS] ... and in what we have mentioned of vital issues related to the **core** of our the Arab national security, the question comes naturally and urgently "what should we, the Arabs, do?"

[40]   فهذه السياسة ليست سياسة صداقة وانما هي سياسة تضر وتهدد امن الامة العربية
والمصالح **الجوهرية** للأمة العربية [صدام– 3: ص 517]

[GLOSS] this policy is not a friendship policy but is a policy that harms and threatens the security of the Arab Ummah [nation] and the **core** interests of the Arab Ummah

In example [39], Saddam Hussein assumes that the topics he discussed in his speech do not merely touch upon trivial issues relating to Pan-Arab security but its essential nature. In example [40] we are told that the issue of security is linked to المصالح الجوهرية *almasalih aljawhariyyah* (the essential interests) which are threatened by the policy of the United States.

Other entailments that are activated in the conceptual mapping from the folk theory of essences onto the political concepts are mechanisms that can lead to the destruction of the essence and so of the political entities themselves. One of these essence-destruction mechanisms is the concept of النخر *al-nakhr*. This concept is used originally to describe the mechanisms by which bones decay. This is mapped to create the entailments that *nakhr* functions to destroy the essence from within, as in the following two examples.

[41]   أما هذا الوضع الذي كانت عليه الامة قبل الثاني من آب من هذه السنة، انما يقتل الروح
والجسد، بعد ان **يهدهما وينخرهما** فلا يشعر المرء الا وقد هوى الى الهاوية [صدام– 4: ص 65]

[GLOSS] but this situation which the Ummah [nation] had lived before the second of August of this year killed the soul and the body, after it **ruins them and eats them away** so that one but feels falling down to the abyss

[42]   وهل من شأنه ان يبقي الايمان وشعائره غير **العظام النخرة والهباء** الذي لا يسمن ولا يغني
من جوع؟ [صدام– 15: ص 427]

[GLOSS] And can this leave belief and its rites but **eaten away bones and dust** which does not fasten and suffices from hunger [idiom meaning of no real use]

Here certain aspects of essence are shown to be destroyed by the mapped image of the mechanism of corroding of bones. In [41] the situation before the invasion of Kuwait is

presented by President Saddam Hussein as being destructive in that it destroys the Arab countries, through destroying their body and spirit (expressed through the metaphor **A COUNTRY IS A PERSON**). In [42] *Iman*, belief, which is an essential Islamic property, is destroyed through internal processes of eating away. What remains are only dust and decayed bones. These two images entail that the essence (which, from the perspective of the folk theory, is understood to be strong) becomes decayed like bones.

Another mechanism is that of التحلل *tahal'lul*, i.e., disintegration of a block into small pieces. The objectivist assumption about the physical world that the essence of physical things is strong and cohesive is mapped onto the political concept of state or people. According to Saddam Hussein, one of the major problems which led to the invasion of Kuwait is the *tahal'lul* of some countries of the Arab world.

[43] لقد جاء دوركم لانقاذ الانسانية من ظلم الظالمين الغاصبين الذين ساروا على مسار الظلم والفساد **والتحلل** والاستغلال والهوى والتجبر والتكبر تقدمهم في منزع الشر الولايات المتحدة الاميركية [صدام- 9 :ص 147]

[GLOSS] your time has come to rescue humanity of the unfairness of the unjust, the usurpers who have gone on the path of unfairness, corruption, **[social] disintegration**, profiteering, whims, arrogance and egotism, led in the inclination to evil by the United States

[44] ... يحترم رأي الاقلية عندما يكون نزيها وسيكون عند ذلك سلوكها بعيدا عن **التحلل** والفساد [صدام- 4: ص 65]

[GLOSS] ... who respects the opinion of the minority when it [i.e. the opinion] becomes fair, and then its behaviour will be far from **[social] disintegration** and corruption

The concept of *tahal'lul* is associated in Arabic with destroying moral values. In the previous two examples, *tahal'lul* is linked to such social phenomena as *fasad* (corruption), *dhulm* (injustice), and *sharr* (evil).

5.2.3.2. ESSENCE Metaphors in Translation

Several procedures were adopted to deal with the **ESSENCE** metaphors as follows.

(1) *Keeping the Functional Properties of the image schema*

Here the translator keeps a *functional property* of the **ESSENCE** metaphor without keeping any sign of the structural aspect of the image schema of **ESSENCE** itself. Two examples illustrate this procedure. Both occur when Saddam Hussein speaks about his concept of a good inter-Arab political dialogue and interaction.

[45] وعند ذلك، وعندما نتوكل على الله، ونحن متوكلون عليه ان شاء الله، ونعتمد على حوار معمق وأخوي يجري في أجواء تفاعل **صميمي** [صدام- 3، ص516]

[GLOSS] and then, when we depend on Allah, and we depend on him if Allah wills, and depend on a deepened and brotherly dialogue that takes place in atmospheres **[of] essential interaction**

[FBIS] When we rely on God - and we do rely on God - and depend on deep fraternal dialogue conducted in an atmosphere of **strong interaction** ... [SADDAM-3: p.91]

[46]   يا له من شرف عظيم ايها الاخوة يا رفاق السلاح ان نكون جزءا من هذه المسيرة التي صارت
تلامس بل وتتعامل مع المجد على الارض بكل معانيه ورضا ابناء الامة بكل ما اوتوا من دفق
العواطف **والتفاعل الصميم** [صدام-12: ص311]

[GLOSS]   What a great honour, O brothers, O comrades-in-arms, to be part of this march which has touched, and dealt with, glory on earth with its meanings and the satisfaction of the sons of the Ummah [nation] with all the effluence of feelings and the **essential interaction**

[FBIS] What a great honor it is for us, O brothers, O comrades-in-arms, to become part of this march, which bordering on, and in fact dealing with, glory in all of its meanings on the ground, and enjoying the satisfaction of the nation's sons as illustrated by their sincere feelings and **powerful cooperation.** [SADDAM-12: p.159]

In both examples, the interaction is described in Arabic as *sameemi* (essential, at the level of essence), in order to say that it does not only happen at the official circles but touches and strengthens the **ESSENCE** of Arabhood. In the English translations of both of the above examples, the aspect of *strength* that is a functional aspect of essences is realised in the words *strong* and *powerful* but without any reference to the **ESSENCE** metaphor itself.

One thing to say about this procedure is that in both the above cases it has led to a propositional change. In the original, the perceived interaction in both cases is not only expected to be strong, but to touch upon the essence of Arab nations, i.e., it touches the essential aspects and issues in Arab life. This means that the adjective *sameemi* in Arabic does not describe the interaction and dialogue between Arab countries. In contrast, in the translations, *strong* and *powerful* describes the interaction and cooperation. However, it describes the content and issues discussed in these dialogues. It is very difficult here to justify the translator's decision on the basis of any functional grounds. A more convincing explanation for this decision is that the translators *misunderstood* the message of the source text expression.

(2) Using a Different Image Schema than the Essence Schema

Here, the source text realises the ESSENCE metaphor, but in the translation, we do not get this metaphor but another (related) metaphor. An example of using this procedure is found in the following example.

[

[GLOSS] so how did you imagine that the threat frightens and scares them from the **centre of unbelief** which you represent?

The speaker in the Arabic source text assumes that there is an essence of *kufr* (disbelief in God) which is found in America. Because the *essence* of Islam is strong, and because of the interaction between the **ESSENCE OF ISLAM** metaphor and another folk metaphor **ISLAM IS TRUTH** (which entails that other beliefs are untrue), the speaker proposes that even if the American threat is strong because it represents the essential force of disbelief, it will fail because the essence of Islam is stronger by definition. Now, if we look at the translation, we find that *markaz alkufr* (centre of disbelief) is rendered as *atheist position*.

[FBIS] ... how can you imagine that threats can intimidate and frighten them when such threats come from the **atheist position** which you represent? [SADDAM-13: p.166]

The word *position* realises the **POSITION** metaphor which we have discussed above (in SECTION 5.2.1.), where our knowledge of the objects that exist in place is mapped to construct the concept of a political entity or **FORCE** that exists in place. Such shifts onto image schematic metaphors other than the ones used in the source texts lead to propositional change. This translation misses the point proposed in the Arabic source text expression. The Arabic text highlights the Islamic perspective that **THE CENTRE** or **ESSENCE OF DISBELIEF** is weak, so its force cannot affect the Muslim people who, because of the **ESSENCE** of Islam, are immune from that *kufr* force.

(3) Concretising an Image Schematic Metaphor

Here the source text realises the **ESSENCE** metaphor directly without any intermediate rich image domain, but the translation instantiates the same metaphor through rich images from the human body[30]. The following example shows this:

[48]   غاب قرار الاغلبية الوطنية والقومية الشريفة وتأثيرها القيادي عن الحياة العربية وحل محله قرار
الأقلية المدنسة الفاسدة التابعة للأجنبي فأصيبت الامة في الصميم [صدام –4: ص 65]

[GLOSS] the decision of the noble national and pan-Arab majority and its leading influence was absent from the Arab life and it was replaced by the decision of impure and corrupt minority that follows the foreigner, so the ummah [Arab nation] **was hit in its core**

Here, the Arabic source text realises the **ESSENCE** metaphor directly using the lexical item *sameem* [core or essence]. Saddam Hussein speaks about some political and social

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[30] For more on organic metaphor, see Hepple (1992: 141-146).

phenomena in the Arab world which are, from his point of view, negative. These phenomena have had effects that touched the *essence* of the Arab nation. The translation keeps the same image schematic metaphor but puts it into a concrete rich image:

[FBIS] The authority of the honorable national and pan-Arab majority and its leading influence on the Arab life was absent and was replaced by the authority of the corrupt minority, which is connected with the foreigner. As a result, **the nation was hit right between the eyes,** ... [SADDAM-4: p.114]

In the target text, we do not get a direct manifestation of the image schematic metaphor by using such lexical items as *essence*. The target text uses instead a familiar rich image lexicalised idiomatic expression of the **ESSENCE** metaphor in the English language realising the same entailment, i.e., that of destroying the entity. The expression *right between the eyes* carries the entailments of destruction and the grand destructive effect of these social and political phenomena. In addition, the image of centrality and middle position (*right between the eyes*) realises the underlying folk theory about essences, that they exist in the middle of things (as we have seen in the diagram above).

A similar change from a general image schematic metaphor into a rich image one is found in the next example.

[49] ... لوضع الامور في نصابها الصحيح بإعادة الجزء والفرع (الكويت) الى الكل والاصل والمصب (العراق) لتصحيح ما جار عليه الدهر والغاء الغبن والحيف الذي كان قد اصاب العراق في صميم كيانه قبل يوم النداء ... [صدام-6: ص 70]

[GLOSS] (speaking about the reason to invade Kuwait) to put things in their correct place by bringing back the part and the branch (Kuwait) to the whole and origin and the [main] river (Iraq) to correct the wrong of time and to cancel the injustice and unfairness which **had hit Iraq in the core of its** entity before the day of call [i.e. the day of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait]

Here, Saddam Hussein justifies the decision to invade Kuwait. He says that this decision was taken on the grounds that it will restore the logic of things and because the injustice which afflicted Iraq has targeted its essence. This means by entailment that invading Kuwait was a decision of life and death. Death, in this metaphoric understanding, takes place when Iraq does not move to fight the external powers that attempt to destroy it through targeting its essence.

[FBIS] ... in order to place issues in their proper perspective by bringing the part and branch, Kuwait, to the whole, origin, and source, Iraq; and to rectify what time had wronged and to cancel the injustice and unfairness that had **hit Iraq in the heart of** its entity before the day of the call; ... [SADDAM-6: p.122]

In the translation, we can see that this image schematic metaphor is concretised by using the image of the heart. Heart is an *essential* property of the human body. Without it, life is

impossible. An attack on the heart of someone means killing this person. In addition, heart represents the **CORE** image schema in that it is believed to be the *centre* of emotions.

By linking these two instances of concretisation to the other examples of concretisation that we have discussed above, we notice that the concrete rich image domain in all those instances is the human body (hands, heart, eyes). This points at a tendency towards *body* metaphors in translation into English.

(4) Shifting a Rich Image Metaphor Manifestation of the ESSENCE Metaphor into the Image Schematic Level

This procedure is the opposite of concretising. Where in concretising the translator adds the image schematic property to an element that belongs to the rich image domains, in this procedure, which we will refer to as *image-schematising*, the translator gets rid of the reference to rich image domains.

The speaker, in the following example, uses a rich image manifestation of the image schematic metaphor of **ESSENCE**. In the translation we do not get the same rich image coating but an expression that directly refers to the image schema itself.

[50] وكل الناس الطيبين والارض الطيبة التي سلخت عن العراق منذ زمن، واغتيلت **معانيها** الانسانية والوطنية الكريمة حيثما تمكن الاجنبي ان يغتال، وبقي منها، من **المعاني** الكريمة والعزيزة الكثير لتقرر عودتها الى حضن الام الكريمة [صدام–5: ص72]

> [GLOSS] ... and all the good people and the good land which was skinned off from Iraq since a [long] time, and its noble national and human **meanings** were killed wherever the foreigner was able to kill, but much has remained in it of the noble and dear **meanings** for it to decide to return to the lap of its generous mother

The speaker in the Arabic expression argues that after its splitting from its mother-land Iraq, most of Kuwait's essential meaning was destroyed by the measures taken by the Al-Sabah ruling family. Despite this destruction, some good essential meanings resisted these destructive forces and were kept. These remaining essential properties are the ones that, according to the speaker, make it possible for Kuwait to understand the true path of political behaviour by deciding to re-unite with Iraq.

Now let us look at the translation:

> [FBIS] and all the villages, and all the good people and the good land that was detached from Iraq some time ago and whose human and national **essence** was assassinated wherever the foreigner was able to assassinate. There remained enough of this generous **essence**, though, to decide to return to the lap of its generous mother. [SADDAM-5: p.117]

The English translation does not keep this folk knowledge of essential meanings in language and essential values in human beings that are realised in the word *ma'ani* [meanings] but rather uses the image schematic term *essences* in both cases.

(5) Deleting the Metaphor

Here the source text expression realises the **ESSENCE** metaphor, but this expression does not appear in the translation.

[51] اننا كعرب مستهدفون في صميم امننا ومصالحنا من هذه السياسات الاميريكية [صدام-3: ص
[517

> [GLOSS] We, Arabs, are targeted **in the core** of our security and interests by these American policies

The Arabic metaphor assumes that external political forces threaten the *essence* of the Arab security and interests. The translation, however, does not realise this metaphor. In "Arab security and interests are on the receiving end of these American policies," the whole manifestation of the **ESSENCE** metaphor does not appear. Unlike in other cases where the concept of *sameem* is rendered as the rich image idiomatic expression *right between the eyes* in example [48], or *in the heart* in example [49], here the translation has the potential of creating a misunderstanding of the proposition that Saddam Hussein attempted to make. That is, the Arabic expression مستهدفون في صميم امننا ومصالحنا *mustahdafoona fi sameemi aminna wa masalihina* (literally, *we are targeted in the essence of our security and interests*) highlights the destructive nature of these American policies and the conscious intention on the part of the United States to destroy the essence of Iraq. The English translation, however, lacks the whole idea of targeting the essence.

> [FBIS] **Arab security and interests are on the receiving end of these American policies.** We have to say as much to the United States without equivocation. We have to tell the United States that it cannot afford to pursue such policies and at the same time claim the friendship of the Arabs. This is not a policy of friendship. [SADDAM-3: p.94]

On the receiving end does not carry the same entailments of conscious destructive intention and suggests these American policies happen to have a negative effect on Arab security and interests.

The translation deletes another realisation of the **ESSENCE** metaphor. The source text realises the ESSENCE as the backbone which keeps the whole body cohesive.

[52] أما هذا الوضع الذي كانت عليه الامة قبل الثاني من آب من هذه السنة، انما يقتل الروح
والجسد، بعد ان يهدهما وينخرهما فلا يشعر المرء الا وقد هوى الى الهاوية [صدام-4: ص
[65

[GLOSS] but this situation which the Ummah [nation] had lived before the second of August of this year killed the soul and the body, after it **ruins them and** *yankharhuma* **(eats them [the bones] away)** so that one but feels falling down to the abyss

[FBIS] But the nation's situation before 2 August this year was fatal to its soul and body. One could not but feel its descent into the abyss. [SADDAM-4: p.114]

In this example, we get Saddam Hussein conceptualising the Arab nation, or Umma, as having an internal core, realised in the form of the rich image of *bone*, which is being attacked by internal diseases which eat this core/bone away. The English translation, although keeping the idea of descending into the abyss, does not keep the image of the bone, whose internal eating away is the reason for this descent. This, however, does not mean that the image of decaying bones does not appear in the English translation. In the other instance of using the *bone* rich image to concretize the image schema of **CORE**, the English translation keeps this image.

[53]   وهل من شأنه ان يبقي الايمان وشعائره غير **العظام النخرة والهباء** الذي لا يسمن ولا يغني
من جوع؟ [صدام- 16: ص 426]

[GLOSS] And can this leave belief and its rites but **eaten away bones and dust** which does not fasten and suffices from hunger [idiom meaning of no real use]

[FBIS] would any such act leave faith and its rites anything but **decaying bones and fine dust** that meet no need? [SADDAM-16: p.201]

We observed that unlike the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches where the **ESSENCE** metaphor tends to appear, English translations of the Omani texts did not preserve the **ESSENCE OF OMAN** metaphor. Oman, according to this metaphor, is thought of as an object which has an unchanging **CORE**. All actions of people and government must start from it. That is, no action is allowed if it is believed not to arise from that **CORE**. As far as the translation is concerned, the image-schema of **ESSENCE** does not appear in the English translation. Let us have a look at the two excerpts in which this metaphor appeared.

[54]   ووفقا لمبدأ اساسي التزمنا به دائما ولن نحيد عنه ابدا وهو ان تكون كل تجاربنا وكل اعمالنا
نابعة **من صميم** واقعنا العماني ومتوائمة مع القيم والتقاليد السائدة في مجتمعنا الاسلامي.

[GLOSS] ... a basic principle which we have observed always and we will never deviate from, namely that all our experiences and works arise from **the essence** of our Omani reality and are harmonious with the prevailing values and traditions in our Islamic society

[55]   لقد كان انشاء المجلس الاستشاري للدولة تجربة متميزة نابعة **من صميم** واقعنا العماني
أتاحت للمواطن قدرا كبيرا من المشاركة في جهود التنمية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية التي تقوم
بها الحكومة. [قابوس- 20، ص 335]

[GLOSS] the establishment of the State Consultative Council was a distinctive experience that arose from the **essence** of our Omani reality, which gave the citizen

> a big amount of participation in the efforts of economic and social development which is undertaken by the government. [Qaboos-20: p.227]

The expression صميم وواقعنا العماني *sameemi waqi'ina al-Omani* (Literally, *the essence of our Omani reality*), in both examples, realises the image schematic **ESSENCE** metaphor where Oman as a country is seen as having an essence, or necessary elements, which define it as Omani and not any other national identity. In example [54], the Sultan argues that governmental measures will be in accordance with that **CORE** and no action will be allowed by the government if it will end up affecting it negatively. In example [55], the formation of the State Consultative Council, according to the Sultan, is not a decision influenced by other external experiences of public participation. Instead it is an essential element of the Omani historical experience.

Now let us look at the translation for example [54]:

> [OFFICIAL] Since the beginning we have adopted a policy based on close links between the government and the citizens in carrying out our responsibilities and obligations to our beloved country, and we have today taken another step to ensure this close relation and to achieve our desire to widen the consultative base, according to the requirements of the development stages which our country is witnessing, and according to the basic principle to which we have always committed ourselves and from which we shall never desist, and that is that all our activities and experience should originate from **within the ideals and traditions** which prevail in our Islamic community.

In this example the metaphor **ESSENCE OF OMAN** disappears. The translation does not refer to Oman; rather, this reference is replaced by an expression of another image schema. The word *within* points to the **CONTAINER** metaphor, whose borders limit the actions taken by the government.

Nor is the **ESSENCE** metaphor in example [55] kept. Instead the translation keeps one of its functional aspects:

> [OFFICIAL] The information (sic.: Al-Harrasi) of the State Consultative Council has been a distinguished experience, which sprang from our **distinctive Omani traditions**. It enabled our citizens to participate more in the Government's economic and social development efforts. [Qaboos–20, p.227]

The expression *distinctive* in *distinctive Omani traditions* does not keep the **ESSENCE** metaphor in its image schematic level as in Arabic. Rather, it realises one aspect of essences only, namely the distinctiveness, i.e. properties that make one thing different from other things.

The same procedure, that of deleting reference to the **ESSENCE** image schema, is also followed in handling the metaphor **CORE OF ISLAM** in the speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman.

Islam, which is a major component of Omani life, is presented as having an essence. As we have noted above, the word لب *lubb* in the following example realises the **ESSENCE** metaphor by using the rich image of a fruit-stone or kernel.

[56]   و(على كل مواطن) ان يتمسك بلب مباديء دينه الحنيف وشريعته السمحة التي تحثه على
الالتزام بروح التسامح والالفة والمحبة. [قابوس–24، ص359]

> [GLOSS] (every citizen must) hold fast to [the] **core** of the principles of his true religion and its tolerant sharia that urges him to stick to the spirit of the tolerance, intimacy and love

The context of this statement is the Sultan's comment on the discovery of an Islamist secret political group working against the existing political regime. The Sultan in the above example advises the Omani people to hold to the core of Islam, which is more tolerant than the religious Islamist political groups in the Arab world show.

In the English translation we get:

> [OFFICIAL] They must hold fast to the principles of Islam that call upon us to have a spirit of tolerance, intimacy and love. [Qaboos-24, p.284]

Here, the **ESSENCE** metaphor is deleted. Instead of *hold to the core of the Islamic principles* we have *hold fast to the principles*. A similar thing is found in the following example derived from the speech by Qaboos bin Said.

[57]   لذلك ولكي لا يتخلف المسلمون ويتقدم غيرهم فانهم مطالبون شرعا بتدارك هذا الوضع ومواكبة
العصر بفكر اسلامي متجدد متطور، قائم على اجتهاد عصري ملتزم بمباديء الدين، قادر على
ان يقدم الحل الصحيح المناسب لمشاكل العصر التي تؤرق المجتمعات الاسلامية، وان يظهر
للعالم اجمع حقيقة الاسلام، وجوهر شريعته الخالدة الصالحة لكل زمان ومكان. [قابوس– 24،
ص396]

> [GLOSS] therefore, and so that the Muslims do not go backward while others go forward, they [the Muslims] are legally required to rectify this situation and keep pace with the age with a renewed Islamic thought that is sticking to the principles of religion, and is able to present the true suitable answer to the problems of the age that disturb Islamic societies, and to show to the whole world the reality of Islam and the **essence** of its eternal sharia which is useful for all time and place

The Sultan here asks the religious scholars to bring in an Islam that is more realistic, so to speak, i.e., a religion that addresses the real problems of contemporary Muslims rather than offering ideal teachings that are far from being applicable in today's world. Such a new religious thought would be the excellent manifestation of the **ESSENCE** of Islam which is applicable regardless of the change in time and place. Particularly, this expression is based

on the aspect of *unchangingness* that characterises essences according to the traditional folk theory.

If we look at the translation we find that this metaphor is deleted as follows:

> [Official] ... Thus they can show the world the reality of Islam and **its principles** which are applicable to all times and places. [Qaboos-24, p.284]

In this translation, the **ESSENCE** metaphor disappears.

We sum up this discussion of the treatment of the **ESSENCE/CORE** metaphor in translation by saying that this metaphor plays a major role in conceptualising the political entities of the Arab world and Iraq in Saddam Hussein's discourse, and Oman and Islam in the case of the speeches of Qaboos bin Said. This metaphor was instantiated several times. The concept of metaphorised **ESSENCE** appears also in the English translation. There were shifts between the image schematic and other rich image domains controlled by the **ESSENCE** image schema. There were some cases of deletion. We have shown that some of these shifts and deletions seriously influence the propositional load of the source text.

5.2.4. The DISGUISE/ REVELATION Metaphors

Chilton (1996: 141) noted that the *Long Telegram*[31] used the metaphor **MARXISM IS A DISGUISE**, according to which "secretiveness and deception" is an important element of the concept of the Soviet mind. This metaphor was used in some Arabic political texts in the corpus of this study, especially in the speeches of Saddam Hussein during the Gulf Crisis. According to this metaphor, the enemy in a political struggle has an essentially bad, dangerous nature but is trying to hide it from the public. Types of disguises found in both Arabic and English-speaking cultures appear in both the Arabic original texts and the English translation. Consider, for example, the *entrapment* image in the following two examples.

[58]   انها سياسة التوريط، ولكن هل هذه هي السياسة الصحيحة التي تختبر بها النوايا المقابلة؟
[صدام-2 :ص 478]

> [GLOSS] (speaking about American and British offers to sell non-conventional weapons to Iraq) it is a policy of **entrapment**, but is this the correct policy to test the opposite intentions [i.e. of the other countries]

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[31] The *Long Telegram* is a historical text written by George Kennan, the US charge d'affaires in Moscow, in February 22, 1946, discussing the ways that the US should follow to deal with the Soviets. It is believed that this text had a significant influence on the shaping of the US international strategy in the post-WW2 era (see Fakiolas 1998).

[FBIS] This is the policy of **entrapment**. Is this the right policy with which the real intentions of others are tested? [SADDAM-2: p.56]

[59] فهل هذا هو شرف مسؤولية الدولة العظمى في ان تستخدم اسلوب **التوريط** حتى تقول ان الطرف المقابل يريد هذا والحمد لله رغم اسلوب **التوريط** لم تغرنا عروضهم **الملغومة** ... [صدام-2: ص478]

[GLOSS] so is this the honour of the responsibility of the great country, in using the style of **entrapment** in order to say that the opposite party wants this. Thank Allah, in spite of the style of **entrapment** we were not lured by their **booby-trapped offers**

[FBIS] Is this what the superpower's honor and sense of responsibility means, that it resorts to the method of **entrapment** against the other party? Thanks be to God, in spite of this **entrapment** method, we were not enticed to their **suspicious offers**. [SADDAM-2: p.57]

Disguise also takes the form of putting a cover on negative things so that they are not visible to the outside. Saddam Hussein described America and the West as covering their actions, but Iraq was able to remove that cover and expose reality. As the following examples show, the metaphor appears in both the source and the target texts:

[60] لقد حاولت الولايات المتحدة ان **تغطي** على تحركاتها المعادية للانسانية وشعوب المنطقة بدعوى ان قرارات المقاطعة الاقتصادية للعراق هي احتجاج على مساعدة العراق لاهل الكويت الذين انقذوا انفسهم من حكم ال الصباح [صدام-7: ص78]

[GLOSS] the United States attempted to **put cover** on its hostile moves to humanity and people of the region by arguing that resolutions of the economic boycott on Iraq are a protest against the Iraq's assistance to the people of Kuwait who saved themselves from rule of Al Sabah (the Kuwait ruling family)

[FBIS] The United States has tried to **cover** its moves, which are hostile to humanity and the region's peoples, on the pretext that the decisions of the economic boycott of Iraq constitute a protest against Iraq's assistance to the people of Kuwait, who have saved themselves from the al-Sabah rule. [SADDAM-7: p.125]

[61] ان هذا الذي نقوله لكما اليوم هو حقائق الوطن العربي والامة العربية وليس اختراعا او مجرد حجة لتبرير او **غطاء** لمآرب مختلف عليها [صدام-10: ص156]

[GLOSS] (in a letter to Bush and Gorbachev) this that we say to both of you today is the facts of the Arab homeland and the Arabic nation and not an invention or mere excuse for justifying or **covering** for controversial purposes

[FBIS] ... what we are telling you right now concerns facts of the Arab homeland and nation, and that this is not an invention or a mere excuse to justify or **cover up** controversial purposes. [SADDAM-10: p.147]

The above examples take an image schematic form which might justify their presence in both the Arabic original and the English translation. There are cases, however, when the Arabic politician uses conventional idiomatic images of a beard and grey hair to realise the **DISGUISE** metaphor. The next example shows a case where the **DISGUISE** metaphor is realised using a culture-specific conventional image.

[62] كان اللاعبون الاساسيون في السابق اثناء الحرب يلعبون عن طريق ايران، والان وبعد النتيجة الكبرى التي حصلت رأوا انه ليس امامهم الا ان يلعبوا اللعبة **بلحيتهم** كما يقال في الريف

[GLOSS] the-players the-major in the-past during the-War played through Iran, but-now after the-result the-big that happened they-saw that [there is] not in-front-of-them but to play the game **with their beard** as [is] said in the-countryside or by-themselves.

[FBIS] but now, after the great result that has been realized, they find that they have no choice but to play the game themselves. The big ones, therefore, are now playing the game **directly**. [SADDAM-2: p.51]

Saddam Hussein here proposes that Iran, in the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988), was a mask under which the Western anti-Iraq powers were fighting Iraq. Now that the war was over, but the anti-Iraq intentions persisted, the Western powers were faced with a situation in which they had to act against Iraq without a disguise, so they decided to يلعبوا اللعبة بلحيتهم *yal'abo allu'bah bilihyatihim* (literally, *they decided to play the game with their beards*).

As Saddam Hussein himself pointed out, this is an idiomatic expression used in the Iraqi countryside. To understand the interaction between the rich image of someone with a beard found in the idiom and the **DISGUISE** image schema it is necessary to have some knowledge of social values in the Arab world generally, and in Iraq in particular. Islam teaches that men should grow beards. Following this teaching, it is the norm that Arabic men have beards, and people are known in many cases by the way their beards look. Based on this background, criminals, in order not to be known to the public, wear a disguise, like hiding their beards with a piece of cloth. Under this cover, it is impossible for people to know their identities. When a person takes off this piece of cloth and exposes his beard, it means that he has decided to bring what he used to do secretly to the public. Linking this to the expression by Saddam Hussein, we find that he means that with Iraq's alleged triumph over Iran in the war, the Western powers who, for eight years of the war, acted under the disguise/cover of Iran, were exposed and forced to take off their disguise and show *their beards*.

Lacking this knowledge and entailments in English, it seems that the translator decided to realise this expression of the disguise image schema metaphor without this middle rich-image and social domain activated in the idiom *bi-lihyatihim* (*with their beards*). The adverb *directly* realises the end of the disguise stage of political performance. A disguise makes one's actions indirect, while its absence makes such actions direct.

A similar expression of the **DISGUISE** metaphor, in which human hair is involved, is found in the following examples and their English translation. The image of *grey hair* that appears in the examples means that the person talked about has decided that there is no need for **DISGUISE**. Showing one's gray hair, i.e., the sign of old age, means that the person does not respect any moral value to the point that s/he puts on no disguise and comes to the public with the signs of old age which is assumed to prevent people from doing mischievous things.

[63] اذن انظروا انهم عندما رأوا ان اللاعبين الصغار، لم يخرجوا بنتيجة، ظهر اللاعبون الكبار بنفس
ملامحهم وبحالهم **وبشيبتهم** [صدام- 2: ص 478]

[GLOSS] then when they saw that the small players did not come out with (achieve) a result, the big players appeared with the same features [of face] and condition and **grey hair** [of old age]

[FBIS] Therefore, when they found that the small players could bring about no result, the major ones appeared, with their image and **gray hair**. [SADDAM-2: p.58]

The translation in the above case keeps the same rich image associated with **LACK OF DISGUISE** in Arabic. It is, however, not clear whether the English translation reader in the CIA or the White House would understand the real proposition of Saddam Hussein. Indeed talking of *gray hair* in a political speech sounds strange if not absurd. The next example is more illustrative of this point. Saddam Hussein here expresses his shock that the Western political players have exposed themselves and have shed their **DISGUISES**. The absence of a disguise as manifested in the appearance of one's gray hair or beard is also found in the following expression. The only difference is that the translation introduces the colour *white* instead of *grey* to describe the hair of old age.

[64] الا يعرفون الحقائق، الا يستحون على **شيباتهم**، الا تستحي تاتشر على **شيباتها**، الا
يستحي الاخرون والاميركان على **شيباتهم**؟ [صدام- 2: ص 477]

[GLOSS] do not they know the facts? Do not they get shy of their **grey hair** [of old age]? Does not Thatcher get shy of her **grey hair** [of old age]? Do not the others and the Americans get shy of their **grey hair** [of old age]?

[FBIS] Are they not ashamed of their **white hair**? Is Thatcher not ashamed of her **white hair**? Are they not ashamed of their **white hair** [SADDAM-2: p.56]

Another conventional image of taking off the disguise is that of '*awrat* (literally, *private parts*) which is found in the following example:

[65] لقد وجد اولئك النفر من الاعراب وربما غيرهم من بعض الحكام حتى بعض الاجانب ان كل صفة
ايجابية فيكم وفي بنائكم تفضح وبمرايا مستديمة نقصهم بل **وعورتهم** امام الشعب والامة
[صدام- 16: ص 427]

[GLOSS] those group of A'Arab, and maybe others of the rulers, even some foreigners, that any positive feature in you and in your structure reflects, with

eternal mirrors, their shortcoming, even their **'awrat** in front of the people and the ummah (nation)

Saddam Hussein here proposes that Iraq had been able to take off the disguise of some Arab rulers that supported the United States against Iraq. While they talk about Arabhood, their reality, Saddam Hussein proposes, is that they hate the Arabs and that they are traitors. This is realised in the expression عورتهم *'awratahum* The Arabic lexical item *'awrah* refers to the private parts or genitals of a person, which are kept hidden and not supposed to be seen by others. The assumption is that those Arab rulers are disguising their real intentions in waging the war against Iraq. These intentions are not the liberation of Kuwait, which Saddam Hussein accepted conditionally in his 12 August 1990 initiative which linked the withdrawal of Iraq's forces from Kuwait to Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and with the withdrawal of the Western forces from the Gulf. By accepting to stand with the United States and the other Western countries against Iraq in the Gulf War, those rulers have shown that the liberation of Kuwait is but a mask that covers their *'awrah* or the hidden reality, which is their collaboration with the Western countries to destroy Iraq and consequently the Arab world.

Now let us look at the FBIS translation:

> [FBIS] ... that group of Arabs, and maybe other rulers, and even foreigners, have found that every positive feature in you and your structure reflects in a shining mirror their shortcomings and **defects** before the people and the nation. [SADDAM-16: p.201]

Here we find that it uses the word *defect* as equivalent for the word *'awrat*. A defect is defined in the American Heritage Dictionary as "The lack of something necessary or desirable for completion or perfection; deficiency. 2. An imperfection that causes inadequacy or failure; a shortcoming."

Unlike *'awrat*, the English defect does not realise the **DISGUISE** image schema. It is closer to a *neutral* problem, so to speak, that carries no social entailments. A defect can be shown and recognised, while an essential part of an *awrah* is that it is, by nature, hidden.

The next example also shows the same point about the conventional social image of exposing what is behind a disguise. This is an extract from the prelude to the initiative to solve the Gulf Crisis of Iraq in 12 August 1990:

مساهمة منا في خلق اجواء سلام حقيقي في المنطقة، وتسهيلا لوضع المنطقة في حالة **[66]** استقرار، وكشفا لزيف اميركا وحليفتها المسخ اسرائيل وفضحا لعملائها الصغار وجرائمهم ضد الامة وتوكيدا للحق من موقع الاقتدار المؤمن بالله والشعب والامة قررنا ان نتقدم بالمبادرة التالية ... [صدام-7: ص 78]

[GLOSS] as a contribution from us to create atmospheres of real peace in the region and to facilitate putting the region in a state of stability, and to **expose the falsehood** of America and its deformed ally Israel and **fadh'han** of its small allies and their crimes against the Ummah and to reaffirm the truth from the position of ability that is believing in Allah and people and the Ummah, we have decided to present the following initiative ...

[FBIS] So as to contribute to creating an atmosphere of true peace in the region, to facilitate placing the region in a state of stability, to **expose the falsehood** of America and its deformed midget ally, Israel, **to expose** its small agents and their **crimes** against the nation, and to reaffirm right from a position of strength with faith in God, the people, and the nation, we have decided to propose the following initiative... [SADDAM-7: p.125]

The **REMOVAL OF DISGUISE** metaphor is realised in two instances. The first one is an example of the *uncovering* image schema which has been discussed above. We are interested here in the second expression: وفضحا لعملائهم الصغار *wa fadh'han li'umala'ihim assighar* (literally, *and so as to disgracefully expose its small agents*). The word *fadh'han* is used in the social domain to uncover the bad reality of someone who appears to the outside as good. Particularly, it is used to refer to exposing such socially rejected actions involving illegal sex as committing adultery or homosexuality. The translator has shifted this social-domain **DISGUISE** metaphor into the image schematic **DISGUISE** metaphor. This may have been done to preserve the cohesion of the text because the verb *to expose* has already been used in the same sentence. That is, while the Arabic text preserves coherence in this part of the text through different realisations of the same image schematic metaphor, the English translation concretises this, so to speak, by keeping the same lexical item used to express the **REMOVAL OF DISGUISE** image schema.

Another example of the **FADHIHAH** metaphor is the following:

[67] وينطبق هذا بشكل اساس على شيوخ بترول الخليج او على الاغلبية منهم، وكان آل صباح في مقدمتهم، ذلك لان سرقتهم كانت اكثر فظاظة وانفضاحا من غيرهم [صدام-8: ص 111]

[GLOSS] this, fundamentally, applies to the sheikhs of Gulf oil or to the majority of them, and Al-Sabah were in their front; that is because their theft was ruder and more **infidha'han** than others

[FBIS] This particularly applies to the shaykhs of the Gulf oil, or most of them. The al-Sabah family were most prominent among them, since their theft was the more **open** and flagrant. [SADDAM-8: p.131]

Saddam Hussein describes the rulers of Kuwait as thieves, but, unlike normal thieves who hide their thefts, their theft was characterised by being أكثر فظاظة وانفضاحا *akthara fadhadhatan wa infidhahan* (literally, *ruder and more exposed*). The FBIS translation lacks the social **REMOVAL OF DISGUISE** metaphor as represented in the word *infidhahan*.

What we get is an image schematic *more open*. The English word *open* also realises another image schema, i.e. that of container. Normally, what is outside the container does not see what is inside. The borders defining the container in this case become COVERS that hide the reality that is inside. The word *open* thus entails an image schematic removal of the cover that hides the reality.

Summing up, then, the **DISGUISE** metaphor appears in both the source Arabic and the English target texts. In the Arabic texts it appears in two major forms: image-schematic and culture-specific. The image schematic representations of the metaphor are translated directly. The tendency is to render the culture-specific realisations through using image schematic terms which do not capture the cultural associations and images that are conventional in Arabic society.

5.2.5. Conclusion

This chapter dealt with how translators in the corpus of this study have dealt with conceptual metaphors whose source domains are image schemata which, in specific instances, took different rich image instantiations. The discussion has shown that the concept of *image schemata*, which has been developed in cognitive linguistics and the conceptual theory of metaphor, plays a significant role in metaphorising political concepts. As far as handling metaphor in translation is concerned, it becomes evident that the notion of image schemata is an indispensable tool which sheds light on MiT procedures that have not been previously highlighted. Our analysis has proven the validity of the hypothesis we put forward in SECTION 5.2. regarding the possibility that MiT procedures involve image schemata. We have shown that several of the translation shifts are in reality shifts within a specific image schema. We have also seen, in our discussion of example [17] that grammar itself can represent an underlying image schema which is realised not only in a grammatical construction of the target language but also in a lexical item that is not found in the source text. Image schema can also interact with culture, as we have seen in our analysis of example [10], where the image of *ants* (realising an image-schematic *small size*) interacts with Qur'anic verses using the same image. procedures of handling metaphor in translation, with reference to the notion of image schemata, will be discussed in detail in CHAPTER EIGHT, where we will highlight the significant role of image schema through a comparison between the MiT procedures which we have found with the sets of MiT procedures that are proposed by other scholars.

5.3. Animal Metaphors

Animal metaphors are the conceptual metaphors of which the source domain belongs to the animal life. An example of an animal metaphor is **ENEMIES ARE ANIMALS OF PREY**, which is found in the speeches of the Iraqi president during the Gulf crisis. According to this conceptual metaphor, politics is conceptualised as a jungle in which strong animals kill weaker animals. As far as the existing MiT literature is concerned, we have noted that only a few scholars have mentioned this type of metaphors. Nida (1964) commented on the difference between languages in using animal metaphors (where metaphor is limited to the *expression* following the traditional approaches to metaphor):

> Languages may ... differ in the extent to which they employ metaphorical extensions, especially in certain areas of the vocabulary. In English, for example, we have a number of metaphors based on animals, (e.g. *fox, rat, ass, goat, monkey*), insects (e.g. *louse, bug, fly*), flowers (e.g. *pansy, lily, rose*), ... However, English has nothing like the number of metaphors common in Brazilian Portuguese, in which almost all animals, fruits, and vegetables have certain metaphorical extensions of meaning, many with vulgar connotations. (Nida 1964: 94)

Crofts (1988) also suggests that different cultures attach different character traits to animals, which in turn limits the possibility of transferring these metaphors in translation. Crofts believes that animals constitute a major problem of translating metaphor. She argues,

> Rarely do two quite different cultures credit the same "character trait" to a certain animal, so the metaphor will carry wrong meaning if rendered literally. "Mother chicken" may denote care of chicks in English, but "chicken" (even if specified "male") connotes an over-sexed man to the Munduruku, no matter how one spells out the metaphor. A non-Australian would be hard put to give the ground of similarity to "he is a kangaroo" or "he is a platypus". (Crofts 1988: 51-52)

Snell-Hornby (1988/1995) also highlights the use of animals to refer metaphorically to particular human traits. For her, the differences of conceptualisations between the different cultures can best be exemplified by animal metaphors. The sense of the word *cat* in *She is a cat* in English is "spiteful, malicious" while the word *Katze* in German is not associated with spitefulness and malice but with grace and agility (Snell-Hornby 1988/1995: 56, see also Newmark 1980: 95-96).

We have come across a number of instances in which Arabic source texts use conceptual metaphors which involve animals as their source domains. In what follows, we want to argue, as some of the examples will show, that the relevance of animal metaphors for translation is *not only* due to the traits credited to animals by different cultures, but to an aspect that has been ignored by MiT studies, namely *the interaction between animal*

images and the deeper level of image schemata. We will also discuss how the animal conceptual metaphors in the corpus of our study have been handled in the English translation.

5.3.1. COALITION FORCES ARE WILD ANIMALS AND HARMFUL CREATURES

Politics, according to this metaphor, takes place in a jungle. A basic fact about the jungle is that the strongest is the most able to wield their force. Animals, from that point of view, can be categorised into two types: eating and eaten. We found that the same metaphoric concept appeared in the target text without serious changes, as the following two examples show:

[68]   ما ان خطوا (العرب) الخطوة الاولى حتى **وقعوا في مخالب** قوى العصر الذي هم فيه. [صدام-
4: ص65]

[GLOSS] once they (i.e. the Arabs) made the[ir] first step, they **fell in the claws** [of] powers [of] the [contemporary] time in which they are in

[FBIS]   when... the virtuous and patriotic Arabs determined to change the image of the state of the Arabs, they **fell into the claws** of the forces of the age as soon as they took their first step. [SADDAM-4: p.113]

[69]   وإذا تذكر من يتوجب **الحملة المسعورة** التي سبقت أحداث الثاني من آب الماضي [صدام-
10: ص156]

[GLOSS]   if the one who should [remember] remembers the **rabid campaign** which had preceded the events of the second of last August ...

[FBIS] Whoever needs to be reminded of the **rabid campaign** that preceded the events of 2 August ... [SADDAM-10: p.148]

In some instances, there are translation shifts but these are at the level of specific rich images only and do not affect the metaphorised concept of the political world as a world of attacking and attacked animals, as the following example shows:

[70]   بعد ان ينزع العرب مجتمعين أنياب الذئاب الكاسرة التي تنطلق عليهم لتعطل حركتهم
الى أمام ولتنهش وليد أملهم لحاضر مسور بالعز ومستقبل افضل يجدد الدور الانساني
لأمتهم المتطلعة دوما لتحقيق كامل اهدافها القومية والانسانية [صدام- 3: ص514]

[GLOSS] after the Arabs **extract the canine-teeth of the predator wolves that are pouncing on them** to halt their movement forward and **to bite the baby** of their hope for a present that is fenced with glory and a better future that renews the human role of their nation which is always looking at achieving all of its national and human aims

[FBIS] It will take place after the Arabs have joined forces **to extract the teeth of the ferocious wolves that have pounced on them**, to thwart their progress and **destroy** the hopes for a proud present and a better future. [SADDAM-3: p.86]

The Arabic excerpt speaks about extracting the teeth of wild animals which attack the Arab nation, those animals which even تنهش وليد أملهم *tanhash waleed amalahum* (literally, *bite the baby of their hope*). The idea of hope is metaphorised in the source text as a baby which is attacked and bitten by the wild animals. Although the English translation keeps the images of attacking wild animals, it does not keep the rich image of *biting the baby of hope* which is transformed to the image-schematic *destroy the hopes*.

The rich image of animals attacking a prey is also found in the next example where the translator resorts to a very rarely used translation procedure:

[71] لان مواقف الجماعة ان تأسست على اقل او اضعف اقتدار بيننا فمعنى هذا ان خطوات الجمع ستبنى على خطأ، وسيتأخر الوصول، ان لم نقل ان الوحوش الكاسرة ستأكل من في الجمع، الواحد بعد الاخر، قبل ان ينجز الجمع طريق الوصول وهدف الوصول، وستصاب الامة بنكسات مروعة [صدام-3: ص 516]

[GLOSS] if the stances of the group, if they are based on the less or the weakest ability among us, this means that the steps of the group will be built on a mistake, and the arrival will be delayed, if we do say that **the predator (wild) animals will eat who is in the group, one after the other**, before the group achieves the path of arrival and the goal of arrival, and the nation will be hit by dreadful setbacks

[FBIS]   If the policies of a group are built on the weakest or least efficient of its stances, then all steps thereafter will be based on a mistaken foundation and we will arrive too late if **the deadly monsters, so to speak, have not eaten up every member of the group**, one after another, before the group arrives at its destination and goal. [SADDAM-3: p.92]

Here, the English translation preserves the same metaphor. However, it alerts the reader that what he is reading is no more than a metaphor. The English idiom *so to speak*, which is added in the English translation, is usually used in English as an apologetic qualification for an imprecise, unusual, ambiguous, or unclear phrase. From a conceptual theory point of view, the translator's decision to keep the same metaphor while adding *so to speak* means that the translators might have felt that this metaphor, which maps monsters onto political actors, is unusual in English. This issue will be discussed in more detail in CHAPTER EIGHT.

In addition to big animals, there are examples where the source language speaker uses other types of animals such as snakes and germs, all of which appear in the English translation. Saddam Hussein, in one instance, instantiates the metaphor **IRAQ IS A SNAKE**. In the Merger decision (8 August 1990) we get a threat to the enemies of Iraq to keep away from Iraq. Kuwait is an internal Iraqi issue in which no one should interfere.

[72] وما دام الامر في بدايته فان العراق كريم وان الله غفور رحيم فليكفوا غيهم عن ميدانه ويبعدوا نفث سمه في ضلوعهم [صدام-6: ص 70]

[GLOSS] since the matter is in the beginning, Iraq is generous and Allah is forgiving and merciful, thus they should stop their sin from its arena and **put away squirting out its venom inside their ribs**

In the translation, the **POISONOUS SNAKE** metaphor is used, but with an important change. That is, while the original Arabic is, pragmatically speaking, a threat indicating that Iraq will *squirt out its venom inside their ribs*, the FBIS translation puts Iraq in the position of the attacked person while the West is the **SNAKE**. This is a misreading of the original Arabic expression.

[FBIS] Since the matter is still at the beginning, Iraq is generous, and God is forgiving and merciful. So, let them stop their transgression against Iraq and **remove the venom from their tongues.** [SADDAM-6: p.123]

Another example of metaphors from animal life used to describe the enemies of Iraq is the following, which realises the metaphor **ENEMIES OF IRAQ (AND THE ARABS) ARE DANGEROUS GERMS**. This was expressed in Saddam Hussein's open letter to President Husni Mubarak of Egypt (23 August 1990) after telling him to listen to an attached tape of an alleged telephone conversation between King Fahad bin AbdulAziz of Saudi Arabia and an unidentified leader of an Arab Gulf country.

[73]   وعند ذلك افترض ان يقينك ان يزداد ويثبت على قناعة ان قارون الكويت ومن هم على شاكلته كانوا

وما زالوا **جراثيم فتاكة تنهش** كل ما هو شريف وعزيز في الامة [صدام- 8: ص 111]

[GLOSS] then I assume that your assuredness will increase and will stand firm on a conviction that the Qaroon of Kuwait and all who are like him were and still are **deadly germs biting** everything that is noble and honourable in the ummah (nation)

The FBIS translation keeps the same image schematic and rich image domain metaphor, as follows:

Then [i.e., after listening to the tape], I assume your assuredness will be greater and you will arrive at the conviction that the Croesus of Kuwait and his like have been **baneful germs eating away** at all that is honorable and dear of the nation's possessions and all that provides the nation with spiritual or material power. [SADDAM-8: p.113]

In the following example, in which Saddam Hussein describes the period of early 1990s, we get metaphors involving deadly animals of land and sea:

[74]   عالم اليوم الذي تنتشر على ارضه **عقارب وافاعي** الغدر والظلم، مثلما تنتشر في وعلى

بحاره ومحيطاته **كواسج** الغدر والنذالة **وسمك القرش** اللئيم تجاه اي فرصة سانحة. [صدام-

12: ص 310]

[GLOSS] the world of today that in whose land spread **scorpions** and **snakes** of treason and injustice, and also spread in and on its seas and oceans **kawasij** (sharks) of treason and lowness and the wicked **shark** (another word) against any chance opportune

The same images appear in the English translation as follows:

[FBIS] ... in today's world, on whose land the **scorpions** and **vipers** of treason and injustice spread like the **swordfishes** of treason and depravity, and the mean **shark** prevail in it and on its seas and oceans vis-à-vis possible opportunity. [SADDAM-12: p.157]

The **ANIMALS OF PREY** metaphor is not used much in the speeches of Qaboos bin Said. The only instance where this metaphor is used is the following example, in which the Sultan answers a hypothetical inquirer about the reason why Communist groups have created internal problems throughout the world:

[75]   ورب سائل يسأل: ترى ما هي الغاية من هذه المحاولات؟ ان الغاية واضحة ومعروفة وهي دفع الدول والشعوب المستقرة الى حالة من الفوضى والاضطراب والانحلال الخلقي والمادي باسم الحرية والمساواة وبحيث يصبح من السهل **الانقضاض** على هذه الدول والمجتمعات لان هذه **القوى لا هم لها سوى السيطرة على العالم** [قابوس-7، ص 135]

[GLOSS] an inquirer might ask: what is the goal behind these attempts? The goal is clear and known and it is pushing the countries and peoples to a state of chaos and confusion and moral and material dissolution in the name of freedom and equality so that it becomes **easy to leap upon** these countries and societies because these **forces** have no concern except the control of the world

World Communism is represented here as an animal which leaps upon its prey. This image of such an attack of an animal on another animal is not used in the English translation.

[OFFICIAL] It may well be asked, what can be the object of this desire to reduce mankind to a state of anarchy and total lawlessness? We do not have to look far to find it. The object is to bring the countries of the free world to a state of moral and material disintegration - a condition of total impotence - **ripe to be taken over** by **forces** which seek nothing less than world domination. [Qaboos-7: pp.60-61]

Here, the translation keeps the image schematic functional property of *taking over* while the concrete rich image domain from animal life is absent. In fact, the word *ripe* instantiates a different rich image metaphor whose source domain is taken from the vegetation sphere: **WEAK COUNTRIES ARE FRUITS PICKED BY STRONGER COUNTRIES**. We have to notice here that the translation procedure adopted is an intra image schema in which the translator uses the image of a person picking ripe fruit that belongs to a particular image schema, **ENABLEMENT,** instead of a different rich image, i.e., that of a wild animal attacking its prey, which also realises the same image schema.

5.3.2.   THE UNITED STATES IS AN UNRULY ANIMAL

In this metaphor, the United States is presented as an unruly animal. This metaphor is actually based on the image schematic concept of **STABILITY**. Participants in a political situation are seen as animals who should act peacefully. Al-Harrasi (unpublished) has discussed instances of this metaphor in very old Arabic political texts by Imam Ali Bin Abi Talib, the cousin of Prophet Muhammad and the fourth Caliph of Islam. In one instance,

Imam Ali described the Umayyad family, which he believes has stolen the Islamic government from him, as an unruly camel:

[76]   وايم الله لتجدن بني امية لكم أرباب سؤ بعدي كالناب الضروس تعذم بفيها وتخبط بيدها وتزبن برجلها وتمنع درها (Al-Radhi undated: 261)

> [GLOSS]   By Allah you will find Bani Umayyah for you masters of evil after me like an old unruly she-camel which is biting with its mouth and beating with its fore-legs and kicking with its hind-legs and refusing [to give you] its milk

In the speeches of Saddam Hussein during the Gulf Crisis, the United States (and the Western countries aligning with it) is presented as an animal that is out of control. In the following three instances where this metaphor was realised, we find that the translation keeps the image schematic metaphor of **STABILITY** and **BALANCE**.

[77]   غير ان امريكا ستبقى قادرة على ان تنفلت خارج ضوابط ما جرت عليه العادة في المحيط الدولي في مدى السنوات الخمس القادمة، لحين تكون قوى الموازنة الجديدة يضاف الى ذلك ما يثيره التصرف غير المنضبط وغير المسؤول من عداء وضغينة ضدها من قبل الغير ان هي اقدمت على حماقات مرفوضة. [صدام-1: ص467]

> [GLOSS]   but America will continue to be able **to escape outside [the enclosure of] restrictions of** what is normal in the international context. Added to that is what is aroused by this undisciplined and irresponsible behaviour of enmity and rancour against it by the others if it embarks on rejected stupidities.

> [FBIS] However, we believe that the US will continue to **depart from the restrictions** that govern the rest of the world throughout the next five years until new forces of balance are formed. Moreover, the undisciplined and irresponsible behavior will engender hostility and grudges if it embarks on rejected stupidities. [SADDAM-1: p.41]

In this example, the verb *tanfalit*, which describes a domestic animal like cows and camels which gets free from the rope which it is tied to by its owner, realises the **UNRULY ANIMAL** metaphor. The **UNRULY ANIMAL** metaphor is part of a more general metaphor, **RULES ARE FORCES THAT KEEP ONE WITHIN A CONTAINER,** which is composed of mappings with the source domains of the image schemata **FORCE** and **CONTAINER**. The English translation does not keep the image of the animal which has gone beyond the boundaries of control. Rather, it sticks only to the image schematic metaphor.

On another occasion, Saddam Hussein prays to Allah as follows,

[78]   اللهم اكبح جماح الجامحين والظالمين [صدام-2: ص479]

> [GLOSS]   O God **rein in the bolt of those who bolt** (run away in an uncontrollable manner) and the unjust

The nomen verbi of the noun جماح *jimah* and the adjective جامح *jamih* in Arabic is جمح *jamaha*. According to *Lisan Al-Arab*, this verb means an animal which runs so fast that its rider loses control of it. Saddam Hussein, then, prays to God to stop such unruliness of

such excited countries as the U.S. The translation, again, does not keep the rich image level of the metaphor.

> [FBIS] O God, **stop the excessiveness of the reckless** and unjust people. (60)
> [SADDAM-2: p.60]

The expression "excessiveness of the reckless" realises the same image schematic metaphor of a force that is completely **OUT OF CONTROL**, but it realises this more in the human domain. That is, unlike the Arabic word جماح *jimah* which realises an animal domain, the word *reckless* describes a person who acts and does things without thinking of the consequences of her or his actions. This case is, then, an instance of shifts between rich image that are controlled by the same image schema.

The third occurrence of the metaphor **THE UNITED STATES IS AN UNRULY ANIMAL** is found in the following segment of the open letter of Saddam Hussein to President Bush (17 January 1991):

[79] ولانكم على ما يبدو تقيمون الوزن الأساس للاعلام والحرب النفسية قبل بدء المنازلة ارخيتم
العنان لانفسكم فرحتم تقرعونها بالمزيد من التهديد والوعيد لشعب العراق العظيم [صدام]
13: ص376]

> [GLOSS] because, as it appears, you give the basic weight to media and psychological war before the start of the confrontation, **you let the [animal's] rope loose** for yourself, so you continued frightening it with more threats and menace to the great people of Iraq

> [FBIS] It seems that because you give priority to propaganda and psychological warfare before the battle begins, **you have unleashed yourself** and began to make more threats to the great Iraqi people... [SADDAM-13: p.165]

The idiomatic expression *arkha alanana li* (literally, *let the animal's rope loose*) realises the image of a person riding a camel or a horse and controlling the camel with the rope. When the rider lets the rope loose, the animal moves fast, while by pulling the rope, the rider makes the animal lessen its speed. This idiomatic expression of the metaphors of **FORCE** and **CONTROL** through the rich image domain of horse riding is used to describe the actions of the United States, which is represented metonymically (the Head of the State for the State) by president Bush. The U.S., according to Saddam Hussein, is without a rider who can control its actions, so it has loosened its rope by itself. This emphasises the *unruliness* of American external policies.

The translation captures both the image schematic level of **CONTROL** and the rich image of riding animals by using the very close expression *unleash*. This expression is defined in the American Heritage Dictionary as "To release or loose from or as if from a leash." Although the precise image of unleashing is different from the image of loosening the rope

expressed in the Arabic expression, both the Arabic and the English translations attempt to capture the image schematic level in the metaphor **INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IS AN INTERACTION OF CONTROLLED FORCES.**

5.3.3.   THE WEST IS A GROUP OF BATS

This single-image metaphor is itself constructed as an entailment of the bigger metaphor **INVASION OF KUWAIT IS LIGHT.** According to the **LIGHT** metaphor, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait has produced light in the Arab world, which in turn will show the Arabs the way to unity.

[80]   لقد بزغ فجر جديد في حياة العرب يضيفونه الى الايام القليلة التي يفرحون فيها مجتمعين، يعاونهم كقنديل ضوء كبير لتبديد وطرد العتمة والظلام، ولا مجال ليغيب عن مساره العظيم. لقد طلع الفجر ليبقى وعلى الخفافيش ان تعود الى جحورها. [صدام-6: ص70]

[GLOSS] a new dawn has emerged in the life of Arabs, which they add to the few days which they rejoice together, which helps them as a big light lamp to dissipate and pushing dimness and darkness away, and there is no way that it can be absent from its great path. **Dawn has emerged to stay and the bats have to go back to their caves**

[FBIS] A new dawn has broken in the lives of the Arabs, so that they may add it to what few days they have rejoiced in together, and so it can act as a beam to dissipate darkness. **The dawn has broken to stay, and the bats will have to go back to their caves.** [SADDAM-6: p.123]

In the Arabic culture, there is a folk idea about the relationship between light and the behaviour of bats. Bats, in the Arabic mind, cannot stand the light, so they hide all day and begin to go out of their caves when it is dark. Indeed, the Arabic word for bats, i.e., خفاش khaffash, is also pronounced as خشّاف khash'shaf which, according to Lisan Al-Arab, means the person or animal who moves in the night. In western culture, there is a similar, but not identical, association of bats. In Mark Twain's short story A Dog's Tale, a character says

"There, I've won--confess it! He's as blind *as a bat!*" (Mark Twain 1996a: 65)

Despite this, the western stereotypical view of bats is different. While in Arabic culture the only epistemic association of bats is that they hide when it is light, bats have an essentially different association in the Western mind. A bat is seen as an inherently fatal animal which sucks the blood of people and so kills them. In addition to blood sucking, bats are also seen as animals with strange behaviour. This view has been metaphorically mapped onto the domain of social interaction. In English the idiom *to have bats in (one's) belfry* means, according the American Heritage Dictionary, to behave "in an eccentric, bizarre manner."

Functionally, the translation is expected to raise, in addition to the association of a bad animal which fears light, all the negative associations linked to bats in the Western culture. This means that this expression will potentially be understood as meaning that the West, which has sucked the blood of the Arab world for so long, is fated to leave and the age of this exploitation of the Arab resources is coming to an end. Although these associations were not present in the Arabic expression, they nevertheless are compatible with the macro-propositions in the Anti-Western political discourse in Iraq (see Bengio 1998).

5.3.4.   AN ENEMY IS A HORNET[32]

This is an interesting metaphor. In the context of threatening the United States and Israel (four months before the invasion of Kuwait), Saddam Hussein said that

[81]   اننا لم نعتد على احد ولا نعتدي .. ولكن الكل ينظر الى حدود العراق، وهي مرسومة.. والدبور الذي يتقدم عليها او حاول ان يعتدي على العراق نقطع ذنبه من الوراء، ونقطع رأسه من الأمام، ونترك وسطه فقط. [صدام-2: ص 476]

> [GLOSS] we have not committed aggression against anyone and we do not commit aggression at all. All should know to the borders of all Iraq. They are drawn. The **dabbour** [hornet] that crosses them and commits aggression against Iraq we will cut its tail from behind, and we will cut its head from its front, and we will only leave its middle part
>
> [FBIS] We have not and will not commit aggression against anyone, but everybody is looking at the Iraqi borders as they are now drawn. The **drone** which dares to approach these borders or commits aggression on Iraq, will have its sting cut off from behind and its head cut off from the front. We will only leave the middle part. [SADDAM-2: p.52]

The idea that Saddam Hussein wants to communicate is that Iraq's borders are clear and no one from outside it should 'get in' against the will of Iraq. An enemy is represented as a *dabbour* (hornet) that attempts to get inside the Iraqi container.

This translation raises several questions. First, this translation provides an ambiguous idea as far as the border proposition is concerned. The two parts of the sentence, "We have not and will not commit aggression against anyone," and "but everybody is looking at the Iraqi borders as they are now drawn" do not present a coherent proposition. This ambiguity arises from the use of "but" which gives the impression that what is to be said goes against what preceded.

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[32] It is not clear if it was a mere coincidence that the U.S. Department of Defense labeled a fighter-bomber during the Gulf War a *Hornet* (for more on the metaphor MACHINES ARE ANIMATE which was used in the American political discourse during the Gulf War, see Pancake 1993: 285-288).

Although we do not attempt in this thesis to study all aspects of the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches, the previous paragraph is presented because it is coherently related to the analysis of the metaphor of *dabbour* which will follow. The seemingly simple **DABBOUR** metaphor needs a thorough analysis. First of all, the word *dabbour*, which was used in Arabic to realise a particular functional aspect in the struggle experience, does not correspond to the expression used as equivalent in the English translation, i.e., *drone*. The word *dabbour* in Arabic refers to a type of flying insect found in rural areas and which is known to have a very harsh sting. So the aspect that is mapped here is that of harmfulness and dangerous activity. Saddam Hussein warns that if such a dabbour/country comes near the Iraqi borders to *sting* Iraq, it will be met with very strong reaction. The reaction will not only keep it away but get rid of it completely.

The image of *hornet* is used frequently in such English idiomatic expressions as *stir up a hornet's nest* and *put one's hand in a hornet's nest* to refer to someone who creates trouble for himself by interfering in other people's affairs unwisely. This idiom is used, for example, in the following excerpt from Jack London's *Iron Heel*:

> Young Wickson put his hands up first, then turned to confront Biedenbach, who held a thirty-thirty automatic rifle on him. Wickson was imperturbable.
> 'Oh, ho,' he said, 'a nest of revolutionists- and quite *a hornet's nest* it would seem. Well, you won't abide here long, I can tell you.' 'Maybe you'll abide here long enough to reconsider that statement,' Biedenbach said quietly. (London 1966: 192)

or this, from Arthur Cannon Doyle's *Study in the Scarlet*,

> "You've hit it there, pard," the young hunter answered. "I have a respect for you, but if you were alone in this business I'd think twice before *I put my head into such a hornet's nest.* It's Lucy that brings me here, and before harm comes on her I guess there will be one less o' the Hope family in Utah." (Doyle 1974: 113)

Other than in this idiomatic phrase, hornets are very rarely used as source domains of metaphors. In the following passage in Twain's *An Undelivered Speech*, we get a character who instantiates the metaphor **A DANGEROUS PERSON IS A BITING HORNET**:

> I do not care for a whale's opinion about me. When we are young we generally estimate an opinion by the size of the person that holds it, but later we find that that is an uncertain rule, for we realize that there are times when a *hornet's opinion* disturbs us more than an emperor's. (Twain 1996b: 360)

If we look at the FBIS translation we find that there was an attempt to reproduce the same single-image metaphor but by using the word *drone*. This choice carries the potential of ambiguous understanding on the part of English language audience since although drones are flying insects, they do not have the same functional characteristics that are usually attached with *dabbour* (of which the closest word in English is *hornet* or *wasp*). The

functional properties associated with drones in English are idleness and harmlessness. This is clear in the definition given for the word drone in the American Heritage Dictionary.

> 1. A male bee, especially a honeybee, that is **characteristically stingless, performs no work,** and produces no honey. Its only function is to mate with the queen bee. 2. An **idle person** who lives off others; a loafer. 3. A pilotless aircraft operated by remote control. (highlight added)

This definition reflects the functional aspect of inactivity and harmlessness. The definition also reflects a metaphorical usage of the concept of drone in which the functional entailment of idleness and laziness is mapped to describe an individual who is inactive but depends on others. Adding *its sting* in the translation indeed makes the translation sound absurd. A stinging drone!

The conclusion that we can get from this example is that translators need to be aware of the distinction between the structural and functional properties of metaphors. In this example, the translator attempted to reproduce the structural image of the flying insect by bringing in an image which already has an association (harmlessness) that goes against the intended associations (harmfulness) that are pragmatically activated by the source text producer.

5.3.5. UNITY BETWEEN ARAB COUNTRIES IS FLYING IN ONE FLOCK

The source domain is the flock or flight of birds that fly together. Watching these flocks is an experience that is normal in the Arab world, where birds fly in groups in search for water. The target domain is Saddam Hussein's perception of an Arab unity.

[82]   ... ويحفزها الى اقتدار اعلى يتناسب ويندمج ويتفاعل مع ما اتفق عليه الجماعة ليصبح السرب يرى فيه اوله اخره ويتفاعل في الهمة اخره مع اوله، وان يشجع الجميع من هو صاحب همة اعلى على المضي مدعوما بما يمكن من قدرات وتمنيات الجميع بالتوفيق من غير مغامرة او انعزال. [صدام –3: ص 516-517]

> [GLOSS] ... and pushes it to higher ability that suits and merges and interacts with what the group agrees on so that the beginning of **the flock** could see the end and the end could interact in the ability with its beginning and the whole [group] should be supported by that who has a higher ability to continue supported by what is possible of abilities and wishes of the group of success with no adventure or isolation

Saddam Hussein speaks here about the collective pan-Arab efforts. There are two types of Arab countries: those in the lead and the others that follow them. This collective movement, a realisation of the **TOGETHER** image schematic metaphor, is represented as a flock of birds that fly together. Those who are in a lower level should support the bird that leads them higher.

This rich-image metaphor of a flock is not instantiated in the translation, which is content with the image schematic **TOGETHER** metaphor.

> [FBIS] Those who are less capable among us must work hard for greater ability that matches, is integrated with, and interacts with what is agreed on by the **group** so that those in the lead can see and interact with those in the rear. And the whole group must encourage those with great ability to move forward with all their support and good wishes of success without letting this lead the more capable ones into adventurism or isolation. [SADDAM-3: pp.92-93]

The translation keeps the **TOGETHER** schema but does not keep the image from the rich perceptual world, i.e., that of a flock of birds.

5.3.6. Conclusion

The above analysis of the instances of animal metaphors in translation tells us more than one thing. First of all, although attributes attached to animals (e.g., the fear of light in the *bats* example above) are one aspect which influences translation (a point hypothesised by Crofts 1988), other aspects of animal metaphors are also relevant. The most important pattern that we have encountered is that animals serve as rich images which instantiate deeper image-schematic metaphors. Most of the shifts, as we have seen, are controlled by the concept of image schema, such as the shift from the rich image of *flock flying together* to the word *group*, which realises the image schema **TOGETHER**. Another example is the shift between rich images which belong to the same image schema as in example [75]. We have also seen in one case (example 81) that the translator uses a different image from the one used in the source text, leading to a different message than the one intended in the source text, since the animal used in the target text does not carry the same traits as that used in the source text.

5.4. Colour Metaphors

Colours provide an example of a folk theory that serves as a source domain for conceptual metaphors. We say that they are examples of a folk theory because they are reminiscent of the objectivist philosophy which suggested that objects in the outside world have human-mind-free properties. Colour is one of these assumed properties. Colours are not real physical aspects of things, but rather are

> created by our color cones and neural circuitry together with wavelength reflections of objects and local light conditions. (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 105)

Studies on colours are very diverse (see, for example, Kay and McDaniel 1978 and Berlin and Kay 1969) and it is not the intention of this thesis to concentrate only on colour metaphors. In terms of quantity, the corpus of this thesis does not show a large number of instantiating colour metaphors. One feature of the colour metaphors that will be discussed below is that they all belong to what Berlin and Kay (1969) referred to as *basic color categories*. These categories define common and generally known colours. According to Lakoff,

> The color categories that basic color *terms* can attach to are the equivalents of the English color categories named by the terms *black, white, yellow, green, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange* and *gray* (Lakoff 1987c: 25, italics in the text).

This section will thus be concerned with studying how the instances of colour metaphor in the Arabic political texts in our corpus have been handled in their English translation. The colours that will be discussed are white and black, red and green.

5.4.1. GOOD IS WHITE and BAD IS BLACK

Amidst the trend of semantic universals which occupied anthropologists during the late 1960s and the 1970s, Berlin (1970), after analysing over 100 languages, was led to conclude that "all languages have colour terms for black and white" (Berlin 1970: 8, see also Berlin and Kay 1969: 2 and 15). Both Arabic and English obviously have terms for these two colours. The colour white, or "The achromatic colour of maximum lightness; the colour of objects that reflect nearly all light of all visible wavelengths; the complement or antagonist of black, the other extreme of the neutral gray series" (The American Heritage Dictionary) is called in Arabic أبيض *abyadh* (masculine) or بيضاء *baydha'* (feminine). The black colour, which is "producing or reflecting comparatively little light and having no predominant hue" is called in Arabic أسود *aswad* (masculine) or سوداء *sawda'* (feminine). The two colours are, however, used as metaphors that map specific associated values onto a particular target domain. Such mappings, which might be conventional in one culture, might not be in another culture.

In his speech on the merger unity between Iraq and Kuwait, Saddam Hussein speaks of his expectations of a coming struggle with his enemies in terms of a contrast between two states metaphorized using the colours white and black.

[83]   وإن شعب العراق الذي يعرفون قادر على المجابهة حتى النهاية المظفرة التي يريدها الله، ولن
يخسر فيها الا الخاسرون وسوف تبيض وجوه وتسود وجوه والفجر طالع والشمس بازغة
تكشف دروب العتمة والغي [صدام- 6: ص 70]

[GLOSS]   the people of Iraq whom they know are capable of the confrontation until the victorious end that Allah wants. And no one will lose in it except the losers. **[Some] faces will become white and [some] faces will become black.** And dawn is rising and the sun is appearing exposing the paths of darkness and aberration

The significant aspect of the expression سوف تبيض وجوه وتسود وجوه *sawfa tabiyadhu wujoohun wa taswaddu wujoonhun* (*some faces will become white and some will become black*) is not only the colour properties that it uses metaphorically, but its intertextual component. The very expression was used in the Holy Qur'an (.3: 106-7):

يوم تبيض وجوه وتسود وجوه فأما الذين اسودت وجوههم أكفرتم بعد إيمانكم فذوقوا العذاب بما

كنتم تكفرون(106) وأما الذين ابيضت وجوههم ففي رحمة الله هم فيها خالدون(107)

[106] **In the day when some faces will be (lit up with) white, and some faces will be (in the gloom of) black:** to those whose faces will be **black,** (will be said): did you reject faith after accepting it? taste then the penalty for rejecting faith [107] But those whose faces will be **(lit with) white,** they will be in (the light of) God's mercy: therein to dwell (for ever). (Ali's translation)

Commenting on this verse of the Qur'an, the translator Abdulla Yusuf Ali says (154)

432. The "face" (wajh) expresses our Personality, our inmost being. White is the colour of Light; to become white is to be illumined with Light, which stands for felicity, the rays of the glorious light of Allah. Black is the colour of darkness, sin, rebellion, misery; removal from the grace and light of Allah. These are the Signs of heaven and hell. The standard of decision in all questions is the justice of Allah.

It is worth mentioning here that this positive association in the metaphorical mapping of the colour white is deeply entrenched in the Arabic culture. In the book, *Tafseer al-Ahlam* (Interpretation of Dreams) Ibn Seereen says the following:

وأما بياض اللون فمن رأى كأن وجهه أشد بياضا مما كان حسن دينه واستقام على الإيمان فإن

رأى أن لون خده أبيض فإنه ينال عزا وكرما[33]

As for the white colour, who dreams that his face is whiter than before his religion improves and he becomes straight in belief. If one dreams that his cheek is white he will gain dignity and honour. (AOT)

By using this expression, in the same wording, Saddam Hussein activates some epistemic entailments that exist in the original Qur'anic expression. The Qur'anic verses describe a scene from the day of Judgment where God distinguishes between believers and disbelievers. On that day, truth about every one is revealed. Those with *black* deeds will be punished while those with *white* deeds will be rewarded. The entailment is that any coming

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[33] Source: Ibn Sireen's *Tafseer Al-Ahlam* (electronic version 1.09) in Al-Muhaddith Program (www.muhaddith.org).

struggle between Iraq and any enemy would show the realities of political agents. That is, such a struggle will be a decisive point, like the Qur'anic Day of Judgment, in which the truth of those political entities and their goals will be revealed. And in interaction with the metaphor **IRAQ IS THE RANK OF GOD WHILE AMERICA IS THE RANK OF SATAN**, we get the entailment that in any coming struggle, the enemies of Iraq will be punished and the Iraqi side will win.

Now if we turn to the translation provided by the FBIS we get the following:

> The people of Iraq, as they know, have it in them to make a stand until the victorious end willed by God. Accursed be the lowly. **There will be those who will triumph and those who will reap ignominy.** The dawn will break and the sun will rise to brighten the paths of darkness and aberration. [SADDAM-6: p.123]

The procedure used is to change the metaphorical mapping into a non-metaphorical *will triumph* and *will reap ignominy*[34]. Two points can be made about this translation. First, that although some colour properties are shared in the cultures of both the source text and the target text, this does not mean that the translators will keep the same mapping. The second point has to do with the intertextual aspect of metaphors. Metaphors exist in a cultural web. Understanding this cultural web is a prerequisite for the understanding and translation of a particular text with a high load of metaphorical expressions.

The colour white was used metaphorically at another occurrence:

[84]   تحية الى كل من حمل على الباطل بما يستحق والى كل صاحب قول صادق وكلمة شريفة ويد
نظيفة بيضاء [صدام-15: ص 420]

> [GLOSS] greeting to all who carried on [attacked] falsehood with what it deserves and to all owners of sincere saying and honourable word and **white clean hand**

Here Saddam Hussein salutes and thanks people who stood on the side of Iraq against the Allied forces. Those people are described as having يد نظيفة بيضاء *yadd nadhifah baydha* (literally, *white clean hand*). As we have seen in the former expression of metaphorical whiteness, in this example this colour is associated with the virtue of purity. A pure thing is the thing that does not contain properties which pollute its essence. A white thing is pure when it does not contain any thing that is of any other color, especially the colour black. This association of the colour white is emphasised by the other adjective used, i.e., *nadheefah* (literally, *clean*). Metaphorically, this aspect is mapped to describe people. We have to point at the conceptual metonymy represented by the word *yadd* (*hand*): **A HAND**

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[34] We should point here at the metaphor **RESULTS ARE FRUITS** that is realised in the word *reap*. This metaphor is not instantiated in the source text.

OF THE PERSON IS THE PERSON HIMSELF OR ALL ACTIONS S/HE DOES.

This is justified by the fact that physical actions of people are mostly, or at least in the folk mind, done using hands. A thief is impure because he used his hand in an impure deed.

Add to this the intertextual experience associated with white hand. The Holy Qur'an narrates the story of Moses, saying that one of his miracles is that he was able to change his hand's colour to become white as in the following Qur'anic verse (Surah 27: 12) where Allah addresses the Prophet Moses:

وأدخل يدك في جيبك تخرج بيضاء من غير سوء في تسع آيات إلى فرعون وقومه إنهم كانوا قوما فاسقين

> Now put thy hand into thy bosom, and **it will come forth white without** stain (or harm): (these are) among the nine Signs (thou wilt take) to Pharaoh and his people: for they are a people rebellious in transgression. (Ali's translation)

The same story where the *white hand* is mentioned is repeated in the Qur'an five times (7:108, 20:22, 26:33, and 28:32, in addition to the above 27:22).

In modern Arabic, the idiomatic *yadd baydha'* is also used to describe generous persons. In *Al-Mawrid* Arabic-English Dictionary, the English equivalents for this idiom are the following:

> beneficent hand(s), beneficence, benefaction, benevolence, generosity, skill, skilfulness, dexterity;

Saddam Hussein's use of this metaphorical whiteness then presupposes all these intertextual value-laden associations of purity and generosity, which are not found in the translation.

> [FBIS] Greetings to everyone who has attacked falsehood and uttered a sincere and honest word. Greetings to everyone with a clean and **white hand.** [SADDAM-15: p.194]

Looking at the translation provided, we find that it attempts to capture the associations of purity by providing the direct equivalent "clean and white hand", but this, however, does not capture the associations of generosity towards Iraq that are also active in the source text metaphor.

5.4.2. PROSPERITY IS GREEN

Another colour used metaphorically in the Iraq corpus is green. This is found in the following excerpt of Saddam Hussein

فكنا نجد ما يجبر القلوب، ويبقى **الأمل اخضرا**، والسعي جادا حثيثا الى امام في نماذج [85]
النضال والجهاد على ارض العرب من المؤمنين النشامى والمؤمنات الصابرات الذين تمثلوا مجتمع
محمد بن عبدالله ودور الأنبياء والرسل في مجتمعاتهم العربية على مر الزمن ... [صدام-12: ص

[GLOSS] we used to find what comforts the hearts and **keeps hope green** and the attempt forward serious and fast in the experiences of struggle and jihad in the land of Arabs of the brave believers and the patient women who imitated the community of Muhammed bin Abdullah [the Prophet] and the role of prophets and messengers in their Arabic societies throughout the ages

[FBIS] We found in the examples of struggle and jihad on Arab lands demonstrated by the proud and faithful men and the patient and faithful women who epitomized the community of Muhammad Bin 'Abdullah and the roles of prophets and messengers in their Arab societies over many years what comforted the hearts, **allowed for hope to remain vivid**, and ensured that endeavors will remain serious and persistent. [SADDAM-12: p.158]

The Arabic example compares the situation of the Iraqi army in its confrontation with the Allied powers in the Gulf in the Gulf Crisis to similar cases in Arab history in which particular political powers carried banners of Jihad and fighting nonbelievers. The triumph of these past cases gives hope to the Iraqi side. In particular, the colour green was used to describe this hope in اخضرا الأمل ويبقي *wa yubqi alamala akhdaran* (literally, *and keeps hope green*). Green is associated in the Arabic culture with hope and good news. It is the colour of plants, which are a symbol of life.

Green is also the colour associated with the Islamic religion itself. Islam promises its followers that they will go to paradise. In the Qur'an, *al-jannah* or paradise is a place which is full of trees and rivers. The colour green, as we said above, is understood to be the opposite of the colour red, which is regarded as the colour of hell. This metonym (green, originally the colour of paradise in Islam, is used for Islam itself) can be seen in the fact that the colour green is a major colour in the flags of several Islamic countries.

These epistemic associations, are then mapped onto the concept of hope in Saddam Hussein's expression. However, the translation uses the expression *allowed for hope to remain vivid*. The English word *vivid* is often used to describe bright, strong colours. It is also used to describe a thing or a person that is full of life (see for example the American Heritage Dictionary). This example, then, shows that the associations that a particular colour metaphor activates to construct a metaphorical concept (hope) can, depending on the intention of the translation, still be kept in the target text without using the same source domain (the colour green) that is used in the source text.

5.4.3. DANGER IS RED

The final colour that was used in the Iraq corpus is the colour red.

[86]   وإذا كان لدى اميركا **خطوط حمر** معروفة لا تتجاوزها تجاه مصالح الأمم الأخرى ممن تتعامل

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معها تعاملا سلميا فليس في سياستها حتى الان اية خطوط حمر تنبه أصحاب الامر في
امريكا على عدم تجاوزها تجاه مصالح العرب. [صدام-1: ص 469]

[GLOSS] If America has the known **red lines** that it does not tread against the interests of the other nations with whom it deals peacefully, there is not in its policies up until now any **red lines** that warn those concerned in America that it should not tread against the interests of Arabs

[FBIS] The United States may have the famous **red lines** beyond which it does not tread concerning the interests of other nations that deal peacefully with it, but its policy so far has no **red lines** warning the concerned sides in the United States not to tread beyond them where Arab interests are concerned. [SADDAM-1: p.45]

The expression *red line* brings together some folk associations of the colour red with the metaphor **COUNTRIES ARE FORCES IN CONTAINERS**. That is, the colour red in both the Arabic and the English cultures symbolizes blood and killing. Added to this is the idea of border. Border is a basic element of the container image schema. A border separates the interior from the exterior. It also keeps the inner forces from external forces. Based on this, a red line means the boundary of a container that should not be passed by a hostile external force. It is the line where this force can come to its end. These associations that are realised in the expression *red line* exist both in English and Arabic.

5.4.4. Conclusion

To sum up, colours provide source domains for political metaphors. The most salient aspects of colours and the aspects that are mapped onto target domains are their epistemic aspects, not their structural or functional properties. That is, these metaphors carry associations that are mapped onto the target domains (*cf.* Crofts 1988: 52). Of the three cases of a colour metaphor in the original, only one was reproduced in the translation: the expression *red line*, which is a familiar political idiom in both Arabic and English. The other two expressions (using green and white/black) entailed particular values in the Arabic culture which are not shared in the political culture in English. In one case, the translator kept the associations without the actual word referring to the colour, while in the other case translator opted for the procedure of rendering only part of the abstract concept (i.e., *triumph and loss*).

5.5. Conclusions

The above analyses deal with how particular conceptual metaphors whose source domain belongs to the physical domains of human life were handled in English translations of Arabic political texts. The basic conclusions are the following.

First of all, the concept of image schema is highly important for understanding several patterns of behaviour in translation as far as metaphor is concerned. Translators make extensive use of this level of metaphoricity, in that seeming translation shifts are, in many cases, variations of rich images which are instantiations of a deeper image-schematic pattern. This issue will be discussed in more detail in **CHAPTER EIGHT**.

Second, animal and colour metaphors are more complicated than they have been thought to be (see for example Crofts 1988). Traditionally, animal metaphors are seen as manifesting social associations. This analysis, however, revealed that animal metaphors interact very strongly with the cultural and intertextual experience of cultures. In translation, metaphors of both types either were reproduced as they were (i.e., kept the same source domain image) or shifted the source domain image to a specific association. As far as the question regarding animal metaphors is concerned, we have shown that these are relevant for translation not only because they are metaphors for particular human traits, but because they are instantiations of underlying image-schematic metaphorical mappings. While some of the images of animals appear in translation, others do not, but the same image schema that is instantiated in the Arabic source text appears in the English translation, although without a rich image instantiation.

Regarding the question of the way translators handle colour metaphors, we have shown that in some cases the colour does appear in the English translation; in other cases the translation keeps only the trait that this colour metaphorises. In one case (example 83), we saw that colour metaphors can be very imbedded in culture, in that they have associations with Qur'anic verses. There was no attempt in the English translation to keep this level of the metaphor.

Now that we have discussed metaphors with physical source domains in this chapter, the next chapter, **CHAPTER SIX**, deals with another area that provides source domains for metaphors, namely the human life domains.

CHAPTER SIX

Human-Life Domain Metaphors: Psychology, Social Practices and Ideologies

6.1. Introduction

Human-life domain metaphors do not map properties of domains belonging to the physical world, but rather those belonging to aspects of human life, which include ideas about human psychology, social activities and ways of living, and values that societies have developed to control how an individual should deal with other individuals within the same community. Social reality is not a god-given phenomenon, but, as critical discourse analysts (e.g. Fairclough 1989) have argued, is constructed in a way that suits a particular social power in an ever-dynamic situation of power struggles.

Some scholars have already studied metaphors with source domains belonging to human life. An example of such studies is that by Lakoff in his book *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know that Liberals Don't* (1996a). In this book, Lakoff explored the differences in the way the ideal society is conceptualised by the two major political orientations in contemporary American society: conservatives and liberals. Lakoff traced the social views of these two approaches in many matters, such as gun control and abortion, to two major metaphors which belong to the social domains: **THE STRICT FATHER** metaphor and the **NURTURANT PARENT** metaphor. The conservatives, who adopt the first metaphor, see the community as a family, the moral authority as a parental authority, and the person subject to moral authority as a child who is expected to obey. On the other side, the liberals, who adopt the **NURTURANT PARENT** metaphor model of society, see the community as a family, the moral agents as nurturing parents, the people needing help as children needing nurturance, and moral action as nurturance (Lakoff 1996a: 117). The source domains for these two competing metaphors thus are particular social values and beliefs of how a family and its members are to be treated (see also Lakoff's discussion of the metaphor system of morality in Lakoff 1996b).

This chapter asks the following specific questions:

1.   How do English translators, in the corpus of this study, handle metaphors which are based on culture-specific phenomena (such as folk theories about human psychology and culture-specific models of women)?

2.   How do translators handle ideological metaphors?

To answer these two questions, this chapter will analyse how translators have handled conceptual metaphors with aspects of human life as source domains. On the basis of this analysis, we will concentrate on representative metaphors, i.e., those which represent different aspects of human life, such as psychological states, social actions and events, and social ideologies.

6.2. Psychology

Psychological states of individuals are of course a universal aspect of human life. People from all cultures experience states of happiness, sadness or anger. In what follows, we will see how translators in the corpus dealt with conceptual metaphors where psychological aspects are the source domains. Psychological metaphors are entailments of the more generic metaphor **STATE IS A PERSON**. We will analyse two metaphors. In the first, the enemy is presented as psychologically unbalanced person who is not conscious of what s/he is doing. In the second, Saddam Hussein suggests that Iraq can be زعلان (feeling sad and displeasured) from what other states do. Some of the aspects of these metaphorical concepts appear in the translation, while others do not.

6.2.1.   ENEMIES ARE PSYCHOLOGICALLY UNBALANCED

This metaphor is found in the discourse of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein when he refers to the West in general and the United States in particular. According to this metaphor, the United States is a person with unbalanced psychology and mental abilities. This person is full of psychological complexes, is sadistic, and imagines things that do not exist in the real world. American actions are based on such sick psychology. As far as translation in the corpus is concerned, the general tendency is to keep the same metaphor. The following two examples represent America and President Bush as having نزعات شريرة *naz'at shar'reerah* (evil inclinations) and psychological complexes.

[87]   وفي كل الاحوال وعندما لا تتجاوب اميركا هي وحلفاؤها الصغار من عملائها مع مبادرتنا هذه،
فإننا سنقاوم بقوة، نحن والخيرون من ابناء الامة العربية وشعب العراق العظيم، نزعاتها
الشريرة ومخططاتها العدوانية [صدام-7: ص 79]

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[GLOSS] In all cases and when America and its small agents-allies fail to react to this initiative of ours, we and the good sons of our Arab Ummah (nation) and the great Iraqi people will resist strongly its **evil inclinations** and its aggressive plans

[FBIS] However, if America and its small agents do not respond to our initiative, we, the good sons of the Arab nation and the great Iraqi people, will strongly resist **its evil intentions** and aggressive schemes. [SADDAM-7: p.126]

[88] انما نزعل فقط عندما يحاول من يحاول من الدول الامبريالية فرض موقفهم علينا بالقوة تعبيرا **عن عقدة** عدم احترامهم لبلدان وشعوب العالم الثالث ... [صدام– 11: ص 166]

[GLOSS] we get displeasured/sad only when one of the imperial countries attempt to impose their stance on us with force as **an expression of the complex** of not respecting the countries and the peoples of the third world

[FBIS] We only get angry when any imperialist state tries to impose its position on us by force as **an expression of the complex of** their lack of respect for the Third World countries and people. [SADDAM-11: p.152]

Another realisation of this conceptual metaphor is extracted from a letter Saddam Hussein sent to Bush in which he describes Bush's declaration of war on 16 January 1991 as a نزوة *nazwah* which seeks to harm and destroy the Iraqi people. The expression was kept in the English translation.

[89] ويكفي الحصيف نظرة خاصة الى الناس في العالمين الاسلامي والمسيحي ومن يمثل مواقفهم الدينية والجماهيرية في خط المقاومة **لنزواتكم** ... ويكفي الحصفاء تمعنا في الذي حصل ليكتشفوا انك تعيش وسط عالم صنعته لنفسك بالاموال والتهديد وحب **التدمير والايذاء** ... [صدام– 13: ص 377]

[GLOSS] it is sufficient for the wise [to caste] a special glance at people in the Islamic and Christian worlds and those who represent their religious and public stances in the line resisting **your whims (caprices)**; and it is sufficient for the wise one to think in that which had happened to discover that you live amidst a world that you made for yourself with the money and the threat and **the love of destruction and harming**

[FBIS] In truth, it suffices to cast a look at people in the Islamic and Christian worlds and at those who represent their religious and mass positions, who stand in the line resisting your **whims [...]** For the wise to discover that you are living in a world that you created for yourself through money, threats, and **the love of destruction and harm**, they need to examine what has happened. [SADDAM-13: pp.168-169]

Along the same conceptual metaphor **ENEMIES ARE PSYCHOLOGICALLY UNBALANCED,** Saddam Hussein conceptualises Bush as suffering from hallucination. This is kept in the English translation.

[90] (رسالة الى بوش) واذا ما كان هذا هو تفكيرك على امل ان العراق يخضع لك بعد الضربات الجوية وظهور سماسرة السياسة وتجارها ليدعون الى وقف القتال والمساومة، وتتصور ان ذلك ممكن بما فيه امكانية تحييد القوات البرية فانك ستكون واهما **وسوف يضعك وهمك في مأزق كبير.** [صدام– 13: ص 378]

[GLOSS] ... If you imagine that that is possible including the possibility of neutralizing the land forces, then **you will be deluding and your delusion will put you in a big quandary**

> [FBIS] If this is what you are thinking of, hoping that Iraq will yield to you after the air strikes and the emergence of the brokers and merchants of politics who will call for a cease-fire and bargains, and if you believe that the ground forces can be neutralized, then **you are deluding yourself, and this delusion will place you in great trouble.** [SADDAM-13: p.169]

In one case, the translation does not keep the same image of a deluded personality although it keeps the expected result of such a delusion by using the word *mistaken*, as follows.

[91] (رسالة الى بوش) واذا كنت تتصور ان ذلك (دفع اموال للدول الاخرى في التحالف) غير معروف فانت واهم [صدام– 13: ص378]

> [GLOSS] (from a letter to Bush) if you were imagining that that (i.e. paying bribes to other countries in the Allied forces against Iraq) is unknown, **then you are deluding (or fancying) [things]**

> [FBIS] If you think this is not known, **you are mistaken.** [SADDAM-13: p.169]

There are, however, cases where the metaphor expressed in the source text carries intertextual connotations which are not kept in the English translation, as in the following example:

[92] اننا نقول لك باسم الله وباسم شعب العراق وباسم الامة ان هذا **الهوس الذي في رأسك** والذي تريد اطلاقه ليسعى سيقضي عليه صمود المؤمنين بقدراتهم التي باركها الله [صدام– 13: ص378]

> [GLOSS] we say to you in the name of Allah and in the name of the people of Iraq and in the name of the Ummah (Arab nation) that this **hypomania that is inside your head and which you want to unleash to go [in an uncontrollable manner]** will be destroyed by the steadfastness of the believers with their abilities that were blessed by Allah

This is a very interesting example of the **UNBALANCED PSYCHOLOGY** metaphor. Saddam Hussein here tells George Bush that thinking that America and its allies will achieve triumph in the war to regain Kuwait from the Iraqi forces is a mere *hawas*, i.e., a product of his hypomanic and hallucinating mind. This mind, thus the argument goes, does not consider the fact that God has given the believers on the Iraqi side divine capabilities that cannot be defeated by America.

The realisation of this conceptual metaphor in the above example however cannot be fully comprehended without observing the fundamental intertextual phenomenon activated in the description of the U.S. as deluded and ignoring its opponent's divine help. Particularly, underlying this expression is an exploitation of the Qur'anic story of the Prophet Moses and the magicians in Egypt. In *Surat Taha*, the Qur'an narrates the story of Moses' challenge to the magicians in the court of the Pharaoh. Moses and his brother Aaron invited them, according to the Qur'anic story, to believe in God.

قالوا يا موسى إما أن تلقي وإما أن نكون أول من ألقى (65) قال بل ألقوا فإذا حبالهم وعصيهم يخيل إليه من سحرهم أنها تسعى (66) فأوجس في نفسه خيفة موسى (67) قلنا لا تخف إنك أنت الأعلى (68) وألق ما في يمينك تلقف ما صنعوا إنما صنعوا كيد ساحر ولا يفلح الساحر حيث أتى (69) فألقي السحرة سجدا قالوا آمنا برب هارون وموسى (70)

Ali translates these verses as:

> 65 - They said: O Moses! whether wilt thou that thou throw (first) or that we be the first to throw?
>
> 66 - He said, Nay, throw ye first! Then behold their ropes and their rods so it seemed to him on account of their magic began to be in lively motion!
>
> 67 - So Moses conceived in his mind A (sort of) fear.
>
> 68 - We said: fear not! for thou hast indeed the upper hand:
>
> 69 - Throw that which is in the right hand: quickly will it swallow up that which they have faked what they have faked is but a magician thrives not (no matter) where he goes.
>
> 70 - So the magicians were thrown down to prostration: they said, We believe in the Lord of Aaron and Moses. (Ali's translation)

The magicians at first thought that Moses was lying and, under the Pharaoh's commands, they decided to challenge him by showing him their magic of changing the ropes that were in their hands into snakes. But Moses, with Allah's divine help, threw his rod which Allah transformed into a very big snake which ate the small snakes of the magicians.

Saddam Hussein maps this Qur'anic story onto his conception of deluding America. America, like the magicians in the story, imagines that it could defeat Allah's will. But when the time of challenge comes, Allah will give his support to the believers. In real battle the miscalculations of the U.S. will emerge, and it will be defeated.

If we look at the English translation, we find that it keeps the metaphor of **MENTALLY UNBALANCED AMERICA** in the word *illusion*.

> [FBIS] We say to you in the name of God, in the name of the people of Iraq, and in the name of the nation that **this illusion** will be dispelled by the gathering of believers. [SADDAM-13: p.170]

The intertextual level of the metaphor is completely lost.

Another interesting culture specific realisation of the **UNBALANCED PERSON** metaphor is the one that presupposes a metaphysical explanation. A folk explanation in the Arab world for such unbalanced actions is that the person performing them is haunted by metaphysical powers such as *jinnis* or *shaytan* (Satan). In Saddam Hussein's speech we get

one instance which realises this metaphor: ACTIONS OF THE ENEMY ARE ACTIONS
OF SATAN:

[93] (رسالة الى بوش) وقد التزمنا افضل التزام بما اراد الله فاعددنا للمنازلة ما هو مشرف ان اردتم
ذلك ودفعكم الشيطان اليها. ولكننا عندما ندعو الى طريق السلام وتجنب الحرب فلأننا نلتزم
ايضا بالمعاني التي اوصانا بها الله سبحانه وليس خشية منا من قوات الشيطان الذي ركب
على منكبيه فاركبك رأسك [صدام-13: ص 376]

[GLOSS] (from a letter to Bush) we have stuck in the best manner with what Allah
wants and we prepared for the confrontation what is honourable if you want that
and **Shaytan (Satan) pushes you towards it**. But when we call for the path of
peace and avoid war that is because we also stick to the meanings that Allah
Almighty recommended for us, and not out of fear on our part from the forces of
the Shaytan which rode on its shoulders and made you ride your head

This example uses two idiomatic expressions which reflect a folk theory of psychology.
The first is ركبه الشيطان *rakibahu ash'shaytan* (literally: *Satan is riding on him*) which is
used to describe a person who behaves abnormally and rejects advice of others who
attempt to help him to behave normally. The second is ركب رأسه *rakiba ra'sahu* (*he has
ridden his [own] head*) which is used in the same context as of the first idiom. Looking at
the English translation, we find that the translator literally renders the first idiom (*the devil
that rides on your shoulder*) but deletes the second as follows.

[FBIS] We have followed the dictates of God to the letter and prepared ourselves
very well for battle if you choose and **if Satan prods you to give battle**. When we
call for peace, we abide by what God says, not out of fear. You are ignorant of
history. We are being faithful to the values which God almighty has inspired in us,
for we have no fear of **the forces of Satan, the devil that rides on your
shoulder**. [SADDAM-13: p.166]

Although it does not keep the same image of the Arabic idiom, the translation keeps the
association of an American president who does not act by himself but actually performs
actions of a metaphysical devil.

6.2.2. The ZA'AL Metaphor

زعل (*za'al*) is an Arabic word that points at a psychological state of sadness where
someone you normally like or respect intentionally commits an action that is harmful to
you. This is used as a metaphor to show that events taking place among countries in
international relations create psychological effects on the participating countries, following
the generic metaphor **STATE IS A PERSON**. Through the metonym **LEADER IS THE
STATE**, we get several instances where Saddam Hussein shows that he is *za'lan* (*annoyed
or irritated*) by particular actions. The following two examples show this:

[94] لا نزعل من اختلاف المواقف على اساس اختلاف زوايا النظر او التباين في المعطيات
والمعلومات، انما نزعل فقط عندما يحاول من يحاول من الدول الامبريالية فرض موقفهم علينا

بالقوة تعبيرا عن عقدة عدم احترامهم لبلدان وشعوب العالم الثالث ... [صدام-11: ص 166]

[GLOSS] we do not **get displeasured/sad** as a result of difference in stances on the basis of the difference in points of view or the difference in facts and information, but we **get displeasured/sad** only when one of the imperial countries attempt to impose their stance on us with force as an **expression of the complex** of not respecting the countries and the peoples of the third world

[FBIS] **We also do not get angry** as a result of differences in positions on the basis of different views and differences in facts and information. **We only get angry when any** imperialist state tries to impose its position on us by force as an expression of the complex of their lack of respect for the Third World countries and people. [SADDAM-11: p.152]

[95] قرأت رسالتكم ثم قلبت الامور وخلفية كل العلاقة بين بلدنا وشعبينا فإنتابني شعور بضرورة
الزعل او العتب عليكم, ... خف عني **الزعل** وغاب العتب عن مجرى الحديث في رسالتنا هذه
[صدام-14: ص 381]

[GLOSS] I read your letter then I thought over the affairs and the background of the relationship between our two countries and peoples and the need for **al-za'al (displeasure/sadness)** or al-atab (blame [in a friendly manner]) to you haunted me ... this **al-za'al (displeasure/sadness)** and the al-atab ([friendly] blame) lessened and disappeared on passage of the talk in this letter of ours

[FBIS] Having read your letter and reviewed the situation and the background of relations between our two countries and two peoples, I had a feeling that I should be **angry** with you, or at least blame ... **my anger abated** and I desisted from leveling any blame here in my letter. [SADDAM-14: p.172]

In both the above examples, Saddam Hussein presents his country's point of view on particular issues by showing his own inner feelings following the conceptual metonym **SADDAM HUSSEIN IS IRAQ**. He reveals that he is زعلان. The adjective زعلان and the verb زعل refer in modern Arabic to the feeling of displeasure and annoyance one experiences when a person with whom one is supposed to have an intimate relationship does something negative. This state describes a relationship between individuals who are close to each other. The word زعلان is not used to describe a reaction to something done by an enemy.

In both cases, the manifestation of this metaphor is rendered in English as "angry" which gives it different entailments. While زعلان entails that a person is only sad because s/he did not expect a negative action to be committed by a person close to him, which is in some ways a good feeling since it presupposes a good intimate relationship, the English word *angry* carries different entailments. Anger, according to the American Heritage Dictionary means "A strong feeling of displeasure or hostility". While the Arabic *za'lan* and the English *angry* share the sense of *displeasure*, the latter essentially entails hostility. From a functional point of view, we think that presenting Saddam Hussein as admitting being angry goes in accordance with the American stereotype of him as a dictator who does not

respect human life. Indeed, this stereotype is emphasised by this choice of the word *angry* instead of another word, such as *displeased*, which would lack the hostility entailments and so correspond to his real feeling. That is, Saddam, in examples [94] and [95], for example, is not angry at his own people but at an external figure, President Gorbachev of the Soviet Union. The choice of *angry* shows that Saddam Hussein is a mentally unbalanced person who shows anger for one moment and then says that he is no longer angry.

Summing up then, the few examples which we have come across of metaphors involving human psychology tell us that psychological phenomena such as complexes are kept in the English translation. Some cases, like the **ZA'AL** metaphor, experienced a shift which might create a different (negative) effect from that intended in the source text. Other Arabic metaphors are very much related intertextually to the Qur'an, which is not evident in the English translation.

6.3. Social Source Domains Metaphors: *Social Practices*

In addition to human psychology, political discourse uses metaphors whose source domains belong to the social arena. Examples of social phenomena include social activities like games, which are a source domain for the conventional political metaphor **POLITICS IS A GAME**, and social ideologies (such as the masculinist social ideology, which produces such metaphors as **PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY**) and political ideologies (as in the **TRANSACTION** metaphor). Social life metaphors, as we shall see, highlight several translation issues, such as what the translators do when the source text metaphor employs a special culture-specific social phenomenon which cannot be found in the target culture, as well as the effect of the difference in political ideologies between the source culture and the target culture in the actual production of the target text.

POLITICS IS A GAME

The source domain of this metaphor is the domain of games. A game is a competitive activity or sport in which players contend with each other according to a set of rules (The American Heritage Dictionary). This basic structure of games is mapped metaphorically onto the political domain. Actors in a specific political situation are seen as players. Howe (1988) observes that sports metaphors which "depict politics as a rule-bound contest between two opponents" (Howe 1988: 89) are pervasive in contemporary American

political discourse. These metaphors draw heavily and systematically from such games as football, baseball and boxing (see also Ching 1993). Another example of this metaphor in use was noticed in the discourse of Silvio Berlusconi, who became Italy's Prime Minister in 1994. Semino and Masci (1996) found that this politician systematically metaphorised politics as a football game and used this metaphor in his campaign because football in a major cultural element in the Italian society. Finally, Pancake (1993: 288-291) observed that the metaphor **WAR IS A GAME** was systematically used in the American political discourse during the Gulf War in 1991.

We have come across instances in which Saddam Hussein used the **GAME** metaphor to describe politics. Saddam Hussein saw the political situation between Iraq and the Arab world on the one hand and the West on the other hand as that of a game (ball games and gambling), as the following examples show. Specific structural characteristics of games were highlighted, such as the difference between small players and big players. The same metaphorised concept of politics is reproduced in the FBIS translation, as the following few examples show.

[96] والان وبعد النتيجة الكبرى التي حصلت رأوا انه ليس امامهم الا ان يلعبوا اللعبة بلحيتهم كما يقال في الريف او بأنفسهم فاصبح الكبار هم الذين يلعبون اللعبة مباشرة بعد ان لاحظوا ان العراقيين ثبتوا الشوط على مسار النور باتجاه الذرى المرسومة في عقولهم [صدام-2: ص 476]

[GLOSS] now after the big result that was achieved they saw that there is not in front of them but to **play the game with their beards** as it is said in the countryside [of Iraq] or by themselves. **The big became the ones who play the game** directly after they noticed that the Iraqis maintained the progress on the path of light towards the summits that are planned in their minds

[FBIS] but now, after the great result that has been realized, they find that they have no choice but **to play the game themselves. The big ones, therefore, are now playing the game directly.** They have found that the Iraqis have set their feet firmly on the path of light in the direction of the objectives they set for themselves. [SADDAM-2: p.51]

[97] وهم يراهنون على الزمن مثلما راهن اللاعبون الأصليون من خارج المنطقة [صدام-2: ص 475]

[GLOSS]   they **wager on time** like **the original players** from outside the region wagered

[FBIS] They **wager** on time, as **the original players** in the big conspiracy wagered. [SADDAM-2: p.51]

[98] فلم كل هذا الانزعاج؟ ألم يكن باستطاعة اللاعبين الكبار ان يوقفوا الحرب التي استمرت ثماني سنوات؟ [صدام-2: ص 477]

[GLOSS]   why is all this discomfort? Was it not in the capability of **the big players** to stop the war that continued for eight years?

[FBIS] Why are **the main players** so upset? Could they not have stopped the war in eight years? [SADDAM-2: p.54]

[99] ظلوا يلعبون هذا اللعب لثماني سنوات بينما كان على العراقيين ان يقاتلوا في سبيل حقهم
[صدام-2: ص 477]

[GLOSS] **they played this game** for eight years while it was the Iraqis [had to] to fight in path of [idiom meaning for the sake of] their right

[FBIS] They **played these games** for eight years and just let the Iraqis fight for their rights. [SADDAM-2: p.55]

[100] اللاعبون الكبار دخلوا الان الساحة بطولهم وعرضهم ونحن لا نخافهم، اذ اننا لا نخاف احدا
على الحق، وعندما اقول عدا الله .. فاني اعرف ان الله مع الحق، فاذا اراد اولئك اللاعبون الكبار
ان يحتلوا العراق فليجربوا حظهم [صدام-2: ص 477]

[GLOSS]   the **big players** entered the court with their length and width [idiom meanings with all their power] and we do not fear them, because we fear no one on truth and when I say 'except Allah' that is because I know that Allah is with right, so if those **big players** to invade Iraq let them try their luck

[FBIS] **The great players** have now **entered the arena with all their might.** We are not awed by them. We fear no one when right is on our side. We fear only God and that is because God is justice. Let those who want to occupy Iraq try to do so. Let them come. [SADDAM-2: p.55]

[101] عندما رأوا ان اللاعبين الصغار لم يخرجوا بنتيجة، ظهر اللاعبون الكبار بنفس ملامحهم
وبحالهم وبشيبتهم [صدام-2: ص 478]

[GLOSS] when they saw that the **small players** did not go out with a result, the **big players** emerged with their same features [of face] and condition and their grey hair

[FBIS] Therefore, when they found that **the small players** could bring about no result, the **major ones** themselves appeared, with their image and gray hair. [SADDAM-2: p.58]

[102] وكانت مبادرة الخامس عشر من هذا الشهر شباط الجاري الذي اطلقها وقذف بها بيان قيادة
الثورة على مرمى العدو لتكون في تعبير الرياضة والرياضيين قادرة على ان تهز شباك
ملعب الاعداء [صدام-16: ص 426]

[GLOSS] the initiative of the 15th of this current month February which **was thrown and cast** by the statement of the Revolution Command Council **at the goal of the enemy to be, in the language of sports and athletics, able to shake the net of the court of the enemies**

[FBIS] Thus came the 15 February initiative (another version of the 12 August "linkage" plan), which the Revolution Command Council statement **fired at the enemy goal- to use the terms of sports and athletics- so as to shake the nets of the enemy court.** [SADDAM-16: p.199]

While the above examples highlight cases of games where the two sides are aware of the activity they are engaged in, and where the rules controlling the activity are followed by both sides, a game can also be a metaphor for a situation in which one side attempts to *play* with others, i.e., to use them as a tool to establish a specific goal. In this sense, a game is a metaphor for evasive, trifling, or manipulative behaviour. The FBIS translators followed

two translation procedures to handle the instances of this metaphor. The first is to keep the same instance as in the following example, which realises this metaphor in the word لعبة

lu'bah (game).

[103]   ألا ينتابك تعذيب بقايا الضمير فتنثني عن الشر بدلا من الوقوع في مهاوي **اللعبة** التي اعتمدتها
واعتمدت عليها [صدام- 13: ص 377]

> [GLOSS] doesn't agony of what remained of a conscience haunt you so that you give up evil instead of falling in the abysses of the **game** which you adopted and depended on?

> [FBIS] Do you not experience nagging qualms of conscience that may deter you from evil, so as to spare you the horrible price of continuing the **game** that you have started? [SADDAM-13: p.167-168]

In the other instance, however, the translators used a translation shift in handling the GAME metaphor. Saddam Hussein argues that the Iranians were not aware that the war they waged against Iraq was actually not for their own interest but for the interests of the Western powers. Specifically, Saddam Hussein maps the fact that in a game involving an object like the ball, the object itself is not aware of what is happening. Others only use it for their own purposes. Saddam Hussein maps this to construct his metaphorical conception of Iran's understanding of the war.

[104]   سوف يكتشف الايرانيون حقائق كثيرة ان شاء الله، وقد اكتشفوا الان الحقائق المرة وسوف
يكتشفون حقائق اكثر حول مدى ما **لعب بهم** في هذه الحرب ومدى ما تأخرت عليهم فرص
لشعبهم وللحياة [صدام- 2: ص 478]

> [GLOSS] the Iranians will discover many facts if Allah wills, and they have now discovered the bitter facts and will discover more facts about the extent to which they **were played with** in this war and the extent to which chances for their people and life were [or reached them] late

The translation follows a special procedure; it gets rid of any reference to the GAME metaphor, but keeps the sense of manipulation.

> [FBIS] God willing, the Iranians will discover the facts. Now they have discovered the bitter facts. They will further discover how much they were **manipulated** into this war and how many life opportunities their people have missed. [SADDAM-2: p.58]

This translation is interesting because the translation does not keep the GAME metaphor which is realised in Arabic in the passive verb لعب بهم *lu'iba bihim* (literally: *being played with*) but opts directly for the sense which is realised in the word *manipulated*. While traditional MiT scholars, like Crofts (1988), would deem this a case of de-metaphorising or shifting the metaphor to sense, it is actually a case of shifting a (conceptual) metaphor to another (conceptual) metaphor. That is because the verb *to manipulate*, in addition to having the meaning of operating or controlling something by a

skilled use of hands, is a social metaphor for influencing or managing shrewdly or deviously and for using someone for one's own interest.

To sum up then, the **GAME** metaphor was kept in the English translations in the corpus with no significant shifts. This might be because this metaphor is a conventional political metaphor in both Arabic and English and because the source language speaker has not used culture-specific cognitive models of games, but rather trans-cultural ones, including sizes of players and types of games (such as football and gambling).

6.4. Ideological Metaphors in Translation

As is the case with several abstract concepts, the concept of ideology is very difficult to define in a way that is generally accepted. Yet, there seems to be agreement among the different scholars that have tackled ideological aspects of cultures that ideology "is that set of ideas, values and norms that indicate and establish to a certain society *what* its members should think, value, feel and do and *how* they should think, value, feel and do" (Bordenave 1992: 47). For Mason, ideology is "the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts, etc." (Mason 1994: 25). Critical discourse analysis scholars tend to associate ideology with social power relations. A social group maintains its power through spreading and naturalizing its ideology through its discourse (see for example Eagleton 1991, Eagleton 1994, and Van Dijk 1989), As Haider and Rodriguez (1995) put it, "subjects of discourse are trapped by established power and become simple repeaters of arguments that implicitly defend inequality" (Haider and Rodriguez 1995: 134).

6.4.1. Ideology, Metaphor and Translation

Scholars in critical discourse analysis have noticed the ideological potential of metaphor. In Fairclough's words, ideology "involves the representation of 'the world' from the perspective of a particular interest" (Fairclough 1995: 44). Seeing metaphor as "a means of representing one experience in terms of another" (Fairclough 1989: 119), Fairclough recognises this potential and thinks that it is of particular interest for critical analysis, "for different metaphors have different ideological attachments" (ibid). Ng and Bradac (1993) also point out the ideological power of metaphor. They assume that a source of this power is "its transparency at the point at which it becomes a familiar part of one's mental world" (Ng and Bradac 1993: 140). On this point they also argue that

Metaphors come to seem natural and inevitable and, therefore, no more objectionable than one's own field of vision, and unfortunately, one may be misled by one's own selective view of things. (ibid: 141, see also chapter 4 entitled 'Metaphor' in Lee 1992).

The above quotation assumes that ideological metaphors become part of the social *common sense*. That is, these metaphors become entrenched in a particular culture to the point that members of that culture fail to notice or accept that there are metaphors and not real facts. To use the terminology of critical theory, metaphors become a property of the orderliness of discourse, that is, they become naturalized. Naturalization of ideological representations means that those representations, such as metaphor, "come to be seen as non-ideological 'common sense'" (Fairclough 1995: 28); or in Fowler's words, by "accepting as natural a coding which is in fact arbitrary, we become acquiescent, uncritical, we acknowledge meanings without examining them" (Fowler 1996: 57). Revealing that they are in fact ideological requires such deconstructionist methodologies as *defamiliarization*, which means "the use of some strategy to force us to look, to be critical" (Fowler: ibid).

In this context, one has to point out the similar finding that both critical discourse analysis and studies on conceptual metaphors are presenting. Both fields of inquiry point to the significance of the *unconscious* processes that underlie linguistic expressions. Critical discourse analysis provides an ideological explanation. That is, such processes become discursive, serving a particular power group in a particular society to maintain its social power through the processes of naturalization. People often fail to notice that what they deem as natural is in fact ideological. Conceptual metaphors thus work in a similar way. People often "live by" conceptual metaphors, using them unconsciously and dealing with them as if they were real and not metaphorical. If we attempt to bring these two similar propositions together, a clearer picture of the working of ideology emerges: in the process of *naturalizing* their discourse, ideologies depend on conceptual metaphors that carry, from their source domains, properties that, when used unconsciously, serve a particular ideological orientation in a specific society. We present the following diagram to illustrate the relationship between the relevance of *unconsciousness* in conceptual metaphor studies and in critical discourse analysis, using the example of PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY.

Example: *Abna'u Oman (Sons of Oman)* = *the Omanis*		
Level of Consciousness	**Critical Discourse Analysis**	**Conceptual Theory of Metaphor**
Surface Level	Common sense: *A usual way of speaking*	No metaphor recognised *'People are sons of their country'* *is literal and not metaphor*
Unconscious Deep Level	Ideological discourse serving the interests of specific groups *The expression illustrates the masculinist dominant social ideology*	Conceptual mapping of a domain onto another domain *The expression instantiates a mapping from the ideological source domain of family relationships onto politics*

Unconsciousness in Ideology and Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis

The table shows that at the surface level, referring to people as sons of their country is a common sense which people do not normally see as expressing a deeper ideological metaphor. At the deep level though, seeing *people* as *sons* is actually a metaphor, which underlies masculinist ideology (people as *sons* not *daughters* or *sons and daughters* for example)[35]. Let us take another conceptual metaphor: **GOVERNMENTAL PROJECTS ARE GIFTS**. This metaphor, which is so pervasive in the contemporary Omani political discourse, and indeed in several other Arab countries, is used so automatically and unconsciously that it becomes hard to draw the attention of its users to the fact that it is (a) a metaphor, mapping *positive* knowledge about rich people helping the poor, and (b) it serves the dominant social power, which uses this metaphor to highlight particular properties such as *generosity* of the government, and to hide other aspects of reality, such as the fact that such services as education and health are not *gifts*, that economic sources of the country are public funds, and governments are only administrative institutions that direct the way such funds are distributed, not owners of the funds.

Translation and Ideology

In a fascinating work of exploration into early Arabic translations of the Bible, David Thomas (1996) shows how the Muslim theologian al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim al-Rassi (ninth century), who translated parts of Matthew's Gospel into Arabic, systematically followed specific translation strategies that made the original conform to Islamic beliefs. Those strategies included omission of some parts that "water down Islamic principles" (Thomas

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[35] For more on the patriarchic nature of the Arab family and its influence on the political culture in the Arab World see Sharabi (1987) and Barakat (2000: 465-478 and 551-555).

1996: 35) and the replacement of Christian ideas with ones that are mentioned in the Qur'an. Such an Islamising translation of the Bible is an extreme example of how ideology becomes a central factor in the process of translation.

Ideology has become an important topic in Translation Studies. Since translation is a trans-cultural communication, it necessarily involves ideology in different ways. Álvarez and Vidal (1996) put this ideological role of translators very convincingly in the following quotation:

> If we are aware that translating is not merely passing from one text to another, transferring words from one container to another, but rather transporting one entire culture to another with all that this entails, we realize just how important it is to be conscious of the ideology that underlies a translation. It is essential to know what the translator has added, what he has left out, the words he has chosen, and how he has placed them. (Álvarez and Vidal 1996: 5, cf. Bordenave 1992)

Hatim and Mason (1997: 143) distinguish two different types of the interaction between ideology and translation: (1) the ideology of translating and (2) the translating of ideology. Venuti (1995) explores extensively the ideological role of the translator's decisions during the process of translating. He particularly highlights how Anglo-American translators have "domesticated" translations. Domestication, in Venuti's model, refers to the process by which a translator minimizes the strangeness of the target text for the target language audience. This strategy shows that the target cultures, in which the translation is produced, are aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign. Here the translator becomes *invisible*, that is, the translator's product conforms to the target language norms (as in the example of the Arabic translation of the Bible mentioned above). Domestication is the opposite of *foreignization*, which involves a translation that retains the foreignness of the source text.

How ideology is involved in handling metaphor in translation is a major question of this thesis. This section will explore how two conceptual metaphors which interact very strongly with particular ideological assumptions of the source Arabic (Omani) culture are handled in the official English translation. These two conceptual metaphors are **OMANIS ARE SONS OF OMAN** and the **TRANSACTION** metaphor. The first conceptual metaphor presupposes the dominant masculinist ideology in its source domain, while the second presents the interaction between government and people as that of a transaction between two people. The government is presented as a generous person who generously *gives* public projects and services to people, while people *give* their loyalty and hard work to the country.

What is suggested here is that by joining the findings of the conceptual theory of metaphor with those of critical discourse analysis we get a clearer picture of how ideology functions through metaphors and how translators handle such metaphors. This new picture is highly significant for MiT research. Specifically, it raises the following question: *What happens when a translator translates a source text that uses a metaphor whose source domain is ideological?* This question will be examined below with a case study of two conceptual metaphors (the **PEOPLE AS SONS** and the **TRANSACTION** metaphors) in the speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said.

6.4.2.   The TRANSACTION Metaphor

The source domain of the **TRANSACTION** metaphor, which is used extensively in the speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman, belongs to the field of commercial dealings: taking and giving. The metaphor constructs the way Qaboos bin Said conceptualises the relationship between the citizens in a country and the state. The following diagram is a schematic representation of the process of transaction suggested by the metaphor.
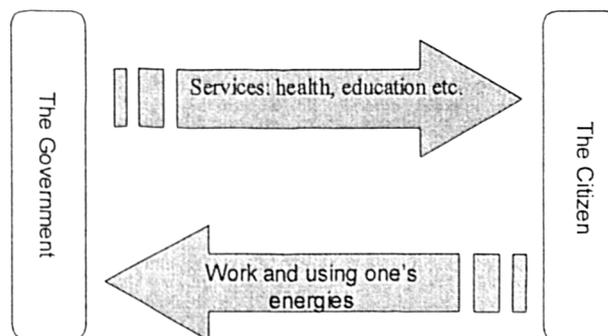
Figure 11: The TRANSACTION Metaphor

The transaction metaphor assumes that the relationship between a people and their government involves a transaction. The government, who is described as كريمة *kareemah* (generous) or معطاء *mi'ta* (generous giver), is seen as a generous person who gives public projects. The word مكرمة *makramah* (something given out of generosity) is a frequently used word in the Omani political discourse to describe governmental projects. It literally means *a generously-given gift*. But although they are gifts, those public services become a moral debt which the people have to give back when the government needs something from them. It becomes a حق *haqq* (a right) of the country which people have to give in time of *need*. People are also described as *generous* and (ought to) *give* as much as possible of their energy to their country. They are expected not to be mean when the

government *needs*. The concept of giving back itself is referred to normally as رد الجميل

raddul jameel (giving back goodness [which was given to you]).

The following table shows some aspects of this metaphor and some of the Arabic words used to express this conceptual metaphor.

Aspects of the TRANSACTION	Words used
Activities of the transaction	يأخذ (to take) ، يعطي (to give)، توفير (to provide)، لا يألوا ولا يدخر (not to spare)، يقدم (to present)،
Generosity	سخاء (generosity)، كريم (generous)، بذل (generous giving)، عطاء (generous giving)، معطاء (generous giver)
Things Exchanged	ما عنده (what one has)، طاقة (energy)، روح (soul)، امكانيات (capabilities)، حق الوطن (the right of the country)
Measures of things exchanged	يعطي بقدر ما يأخذ (to give *as much as* one takes)، مزيد (to give *more*)
Values involved	بإخلاص (loyally)، حق الوطن (the right of the country)، بتجرد

Figure 12: Aspects of the TRANSACTION Metaphor and the Words Used to Express Them

As far as translation is concerned, it was striking that the majority of the references to this metaphor are eliminated in the translation. We have come across 32 instances where this metaphor is realised through such linguistic items as عطاء (giving) or بذل (generous giving). In the majority of these instances the metaphor is either deleted or shifted to the target domain, that of *achievement* and *work*. In what follows we will give a detailed description of how this translation handling takes place through translation procedures.

The following chart shows the distribution of the different procedures used to handle the **TRANSACTION** metaphor in the official English translation of the speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman.
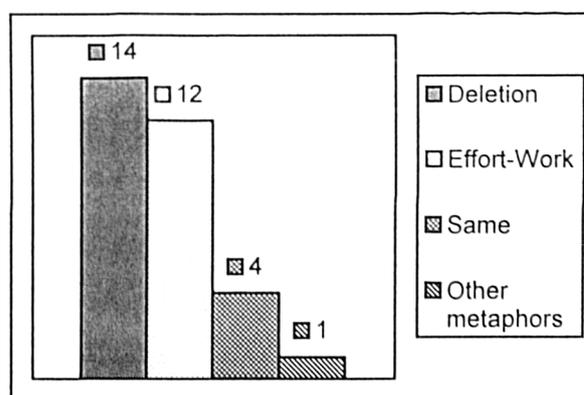
Figure 13: The TRANSACTION metaphor in the Official Omani Translation

The chart shows that out of 31 instances expressing this metaphor, only 4 instances were kept, one was shifted to another (related) conceptual metaphor, 12 instances were shifted to expressions referring to the target domain of working and achieving things, while 14 were deleted in the translation. In what follows, we will describe these procedures.

Procedure 1: Keeping Expressions of the Same Conceptual Metaphor

In a few cases, the metaphor is reproduced in the English translation. A common characteristic of these instances is that the concept of giving is not as abstract as in the other cases where giving is associated with generosity for example. The concept of GIVING in these instances is concrete in that an event is taking place: a party gives something to another party. This is manifested in the following examples:

[105] ص ،4 –قابوس] الكريم البلد لهذا ووفاء واخلاص وعرق جهد من يقدم ما بقدر يأخذ [العماني]
[76

> [GLOSS] [The Omani citizen] **take as much as he gives** of effort and sweat and loyalty and faithfulness for this **generous** country

> [OFFICIAL] **He must take as much as he gives** of his efforts, sweat, sincerity and loyalty to his dear land. [Qaboos-4, p.40]

In this case, the idea of giving and taking is present in the English translation. Still there is a difference between the original and the translation. Specifically, the Arabic source text describes the البلد *al-balad* (country) as كريم which is literally *generous*. In the English translation, the idea of generosity disappears; instead we get *dear country*, which does not realise the metaphor of **GENEROUS COUNTRY**. Generosity is also lost in the English translation of the following instance.

[106] في استنزافها او وقدراته لطاقاته وتعطيله متنوعة ميادين في جهده الى ماسة بحاجة فالوطن
حرا فكان بسخاء اعطاه الذي الوطن حق في تقصير هو انما لها اعدت التي المجالات غير
–قابوس] وتجاربه خبراته من وينمي مهاراته من يصقل وان تجرد_وان باخلاص بخدمته يقوم ان
[367ص ،22

> [GLOSS] the homeland is in **serious need** of his [the citizen's] efforts in various fields and deactivation of his energies and capabilities or exhausting them in the fields to which they were not prepared for is but a negligence of the right of the homeland which **gave him generously so that it was appropriate** for it to serve it sincerely and with devotion and to develop his skills and improve his experiences and expertise

> [OFFICIAL] The country is in **serious need** of their efforts in innumerable fields. Their skills and energies are **wasted** if they do not apply themselves to this demand. Your country calls upon you to perform your duty with faith and discipline, to sharpen your skills, to increase your resources and experience and tirelessly develop them. [Qaboos-22, p.258]

In this example, Qaboos bin Said calls upon people to work hard for the sake of their country, which is represented as بحاجة *bihajatin* (literally: *in need of*). A citizen should

give his country because it أعطاه بسخاء *a'tahu bisakha'* (literally: *gave him generously*). In the translation, the concept of need was kept, but the concept of the country who gave its people generously is deleted.

A similar thing is found in the following example.

[107] ان ثباتهم على ارض المعركة وصمودهم في وجه العدو طيلة سنوات كفاحنا، واندفاعهم لبذل أرواحهم رخيصة للدفاع عن بلدنا، مكننا من بناء عماننا الحديثة. [قابوس- 10، ص 166]

[GLOSS] their steadfastness in the battle field and their firmness in the face of the enemy in all the years of our struggle, and their rush to **give [generously] their spirits** [lives] **cheap** to defend our country enabled us to build modern Oman

[OFFICIAL] Throughout the long, hard years of our struggle, it was their defiant resolution in the face of the enemy, their willingness to **give their lives** in the defence of our country that enabled us to build a new Oman. [Qaboos-10, p.82]

Qaboos bin Said, in this example, praises the Omani soldiers who died in the fight against the communist guerrillas in Dhofar[36], the southern region of Oman. The reason for praising them is بذل أرواحهم رخيصة *bathli arwahihim rakheesatan* (literally, *giving their spirits* [metonym for lives] *cheap*). The meaning of this is that, following the **TRANSACTION** metaphor, those soldiers gave to their country a very precious thing, their lives. The word *rakheesatan* (cheap) means that they dealt with their lives as if they are worth nothing, although they are actually very precious. By losing their lives, they are seen as selling those lives very cheap. The English translation keeps the giving part of the metaphor in the phrase *give their lives*. However, it does not realise the idea of selling one's life cheap in the defence of one's country.

As far as other instances are concerned, it could be easily seen that they realise a concrete sense of the concept of giving as the following instances show.

[108] فيجب ان يكون هدفها [التنمية] اسعاده [المواطن] واعداده ليعطي بلاده احسن ما عنده من انتاج. [قابوس- 4، ص 74]

[GLOSS] its [i.e. the development's] goal should be his [the citizen's] happiness and preparing him to **give the best of what he has of production**

[OFFICIAL] its objective is to ensure happiness for the individual and his reformation so as **to give the best of his talent and production.** [Qaboos-4, p.37-38]

[109] اننا نعطي كل امكانياتنا وطاقاتنا لابنائنا وبلدنا [قابوس- 4، ص 75]

[GLOSS] we **give all our capabilities** and our energies to our sons and our country

[OFFICIAL] We **give all our energy and potential to** the welfare of our students abroad. [Qaboos-4, p.39]

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[36] For more on the Dhofar War, see El-Rayyes (2000).

وليقوم الشعب العماني بأجمعه **باعطاء الشباب** ما يصلحه من اهتمام وتعليم وتثقيف وتشجيع **[110]**
واعداد للمستقبل [قابوس- 13، ص 205]

[GLOSS] so that the Omani people as a whole will **give** the youth what improves them of care and education and culture and support and preparing for the future

[OFFICIAL] ... and so that our people of Oman as a whole will **give** our youth the attention, education and the encouragement they deserve to prepare them for the future- [Qaboos-13, p.115]

A common aspect of the above examples is that they represent a somewhat concrete form

of giving, which does not directly involve generosity.

Procedure Two: Deletion of References to the Conceptual Metaphor

The second procedure used is to delete any reference to the **TRANSACTION** metaphor. This is the major procedure used to handle this metaphor. Following are two examples where this metaphor is totally deleted.

من عادتنا كل سنة ان نحتفل معا في مثل هذا اليوم لنحمد الله العلي القدير على ما **اسبغه** **[111]**
على عمانا الحبيبة من نعم **وبركات**، ولنجدد العهد لخدمة هذا البلد **المعطاء** والعزيز على
قلوبنا جميعا [قابوس- 10، ص 165]

[GLOSS] [one of] our traditions each year is to celebrate together in the same day to thank Allah the Supreme the Capable for what he **generously given** our dear Oman of **blessings and [divine] gifts** and to renew the promise to serve this **generously giving** country which is dear in the hearts of all of us

[OFFICIAL] Each year it has been our custom to celebrate together on this day to give thanks for the blessings that God has given to our country and to pledge ourselves anew to His service and the service of our beloved Oman. [Qaboos-10, p.81]

يشمر عن ساعد الجد باذلا قصارى طاقته في **الاسهام** الايجابي في حركة التنمية الشاملة، **[112]**
متدرعا بالصبر والامل والعزيمة والعمل، والتضحية والايثار [قابوس- 23، ص 380]

[GLOSS] (the youth must) roll up their sleeves **giving generously** the utmost of his energy to positively **contribute to** the process of comprehensive development, shielded with patience, hope, will, work, sacrifice and altruism

[OFFICIAL] They must roll up their sleeves **with** the utmost energy to **contribute** positively towards our comprehensive development. They must be armed with patience and hope, determination and industry, and a spirit of sacrifice and unselfishness. [Qaboos-23, p.272]

انه بقدر ما يسهم به كل فرد منهم من فكر متطور وعلم متقدم وفن متحضر وعمل مفيد مثمر، **[113]**
يكون مستقبل هذا الوطن أكثر اشراقا وبهاء، **وأغدق خيرا وعطاء** واعظم ازدهارا واستقرارا
[قابوس- 24: ص 393]

[GLOSS] it is in as much as each one of them [the citizens] contribute with developed though and progressing science and civilized art and fruitful and useful work, the future of this homeland will be brighter and more brilliant and **it will be giving more abundantly** goodness and **more generously** and will be greater in its flourishing and stability

[OFFICIAL] If everyone contributes to the fullest extent of his knowledge and personal resources to our country, the future stability and prosperity of our country will be safely assured. [Qaboos-24, p.283]

[114] واننا اذ نعمل جادين للاكثار من اصدقاء هذا الوطن، فإن علينا ان نعتمد على انفسنا وان نبذل المزيد من اجله **ونواصل العطاء** لعزته ورفعته [قابوس- 14، ص 211]

[GLOSS] while seriously working to increase the friends of this homeland, we have to depend on ourselves and to **give more** for its sake and **continue [our] generous giving** for its glory and [keeping it in] its high place

[OFFICIAL] For you must remember that although certainly we have friends, in the defence of our country, as in all other things, we must first and foremost **rely upon ourselves**. To do otherwise would be the grossest folly. [Qaboos-14, p.120]

[115] ان بناء الانسان العماني وتكوين شخصيته المتكاملة وتعليمه وتثقيفه وصقله وتدريبه هو في مقدمة الاهداف النبيلة والغايات الجليلة التي نسعى دائما وابدا الى تحقيقها من اجل **توفير** العيش الكريم لكل فرد على هذه الارض **المعطاء**. [قابوس- 23، ص379]

[GLOSS] building the Omani human and make his integrated character and educating, culturing, refining, and training him are in the forefront of our noble aims and lofty targets which we will always and forever seek in order to **provide** the noble living for each individual on this **generously giving** land

[OFFICIAL] The building of the Omani nation, the shaping of their character through education and culture, with training and with qualifications, is in the forefront of our noble cause, for which we shall always strive. Thus we can **achieve** a worthy standard of living for all. [Qaboos-23, p.271]

In this example, the concept of a **GENEROUS COUNTRY** *giving* services to the people disappears. While in Arabic the Sultan speaks about a generous country that attempts to provide an honorable life standard, we have no reference in the English translation to the concept of a generous country. The concept of standard of living is shifted from being a sign of generosity of the government in the Arabic source text into a product of work that is *achieved* rather than *given*.

In the following example, we get more than one type of realising the **GENEROUS COUNTRY** metaphor: rich images and intertextual associations. Both disappear in the English translation.

[116] بالجهد والتفاني والاخلاص في العمل وبالتكاتف والتساند بين القيادة والمواطنين امتد **عطاء** النهضة الزاخر الى كل بقعة في ارضنا الطاهرة دافقا بالخير والنماء زارعا للخصب والرخاء مبشرا بغد اسعد وأمجد. فلله الحمد من قبل ومن بعد وله الشكر والثناء على ما اسبغ من نعم، وما اولى من جود وكرم، وما قيض من توفيق وسداد وهداية ورشاد. ونسأله سبحانه المزيد من فيض آلائه وبركات ارضه وسمائه، انه سميع قريب مجيب الدعاء، يزيد الشاكرين فضلا ويمحق الكافرين عدلا [لئن شكرتم لأزيدنكم ولئن كفرتم ان عذابي لشديد] صدق الله العظيم [قابوس- 24، ص 392]

[GLOSS] through the effort, devotion, sincerity in work, and through the support and cooperation between the leadership and the citizens, the **abundant generous giving of the development** extended to every corner in our pure land pouring with goodness, growing fertility and prosperity, giving the promise of a happier and more glorified tomorrow. So for Allah is the thanks before and after [now] and for him is the praise and commendation for what he gave of blessings and what he

renders of generosity and bounty and generosity, and what he sent of guidance and righteousness and guidance and true guiding. And we ask him Almighty more of the abundance of his blessings of his lands and his heavens. He is the all-hearing and answering prayers, he who gives the thankful more generosity and destroys the unbelievers very justly. [He, Allah says] "if you thank I will give you more, but if you disbelieve, my punishment is harsh" Allah says the truth

[OFFICIAL] Through this hard work and support to the leadership by all our people **the successful development** of our country is to be seen everywhere. These achievements justify our faith in a glorious future for our country. We thank God for His generosity and guidance in our efforts. We call upon Him to continue to extend His grace to us. [Qaboos 24, p.281]

We have two points to say about this example. First of all, it is clear that the realisation of the **GENEROUS COUNTRY** does not appear in the translation. The generosity of the country, which is (represented as a river that is) extending everywhere in Oman is shifted into *successful development*. The generosity is metaphorised in the original text using the rich image domain of water which transforms land into a green fruitful place (see the gloss above). But neither the image of the country as a land nor that of the development as moving water that makes trees grow and give fruit are present in the English translation.

The second thing to say about this example is that the original text makes an intertextual reference to the following Qur'anic verse found in Surat (14) *Ibrahim*:

<div dir="rtl">وإذ تأذن ربكم لئن شكرتم لأزيدنكم ولئن كفرتم إن عذابي لشديد</div>

7- And remember! your Lord caused to be declared (publicly): "**If ye are grateful, I will add more (favours) unto you; but if ye show ingratitude, truly My punishment is terrible indeed.**" (Ali's translation)

In this verse, Allah, according to the Qur'an, tells people that objects in this world are signs of his generosity. If they are thankful, Allah will give them more of these objects. If they are not, he will punish them very severely.

There is, we argue, an implicit parallelism between the state's *generosity* as represented in the governmental projects and God's *generosity* as manifested in worldly phenomena of well being like health and money. In the translation, this Qur'anic verse is not rendered. This might be justified by the hypothesis that the translation is, functionally, made to be used by an English speaker who is not aware of this religious association of the **GENEROUS COUNTRY** metaphor.

Procedure Three: Demetaphorising

This procedure is the second most frequently used, after the deletion of the metaphor. Here the translator demetaphorises the concept of **GIVING** (of both the government and the

people) by using concepts derived from the domain of achievements which is the target domain of the metaphor used in the source text. So, the governmental generosity is shifted to *achievements* while the "give back" of the people to the country is shifted as "hard work." This is very clear in the following examples.

[117]   اننا لا **نألوا** جهدا ولا **ندخر** وسعا في العمل على رفع مستوى الفرد العماني [قابوس- 4، ص76]
[

[GLOSS] we do **not spare** an effort and do **not keep** any capacity on the work for raising the level of the Omani individual

[OFFICIAL] **We are trying our level best** to raise the standard of living of the Omani citizen [Qaboos-4, p.40]

[118]   اننا ندرك ان عملنا مرتبط بهدفه وان ما نشهده اليوم من نجاح لسياستنا الداخلية والخارجية لهو التعبير الحقيقي **لعطاء شعبنا** وطهر ارضنا واحترام العالم لنا وفهمه لاهدافنا بعد ان ارتفعنا الى مستوى حقنا وحقيقتنا [قابوس- 4، ص 79]

[GLOSS] we recognize that our work is connected to its goal and that what we witness today of success of our internal and external policies is the real expression of the **generous giving of our people** and purity of our land and respect of the world for us and its understanding of our goals after we arose to the level of our right and our reality

[OFFICIAL] We fully realize that our work is bound by the targets we aim at. The success we see today in the sectors of both our local and international policies, is the true reflection of **the efforts of our people**, the sacredness of our soil and the respect and understanding of the world towards us and our aims. [Qaboos-4, p.43]

[119]   الكل منكم ايها الشباب تدركون مدى التضحيات الجسيمة والجهود المخلصة التي **قدمها شعبنا** الأبي خدمة لخير ومصلحة هذا البلد العزيز [قابوس- 13، ص 206]

[GLOSS] all of you, O youth, recognise the extent of the big sacrifices and the sincere efforts which **our proud people gave** in service of the goodness and interest of this dear country

[OFFICIAL] All of you young people will be conscious of the great sacrifices and devoted efforts our people **have made** for the welfare and in the interests of our dear country. [Qaboos-13, pp.115-116]

[120]   نشيد **بالعطاء** الذي **قدمه** أبناء الوطن من المهنيين والحرفيين في تنمية البلاد [قابوس- 16، ص 254]

[GLOSS] we praise the **generous giving** which is **given by** the sons of the homeland [including] the technicians, and [traditional] workmen in the development of this country

[OFFICIAL] We praise all that has been **achieved** so far **by** our craftsmen and technicians in every field. [Qaboos-16, p.161]

[121]   ولكل **عطاء** مخلص يشارك به المواطن في تحقيق ما نرجوه لبلادنا من تقدم مضطرد في كافة المجالات [قابوس- 17، ص 260]

[GLOSS] [thanks to] all sincere **generous giving** as a contribution by the citizen to achieve what we wish for our country of continuing progress in all fields

[OFFICIAL] and **all other types of work** in which our Citizens are engage, to achieve the continuous progress we desire in all fields. [Qaboos-17, p.165]

[122] .. عطاء وبذلا .. والانجاز العمل ومواصلة الجهد بمضاعفة ووعدا بالغد، وأهلا ... بالعيد فأهلا
مواكبة للتطور [قابوس–5، ص 92]

[GLOSS] welcome to eid (celebration) and weclome to the tomorrow (future) and we promise to double effort and continue work and achievement by **giving generously (bathlan wa 'ata'n)** to keep pace with development

[OFFICIAL] Welcome to the Eid. We promise **to double our efforts and continue the hard work** for a new tomorrow which shines with every morning day of the sixth year in our glorious march towards a happy future. [Qaboos-5, p.52]

[123] للتطور نموذجا الملون التليفزيوني الارسال بمشاهدة الان يتمتعون الجنوبية المنطقة ابناء ان
السند كان الذي لشعبنا والبذل للعطاء طبيعية ومحصلة الاستقرار على ودليلا للنمو ومؤشرا
لهذه الطاقات الفتية في حركته المباركة وعهده الزاهر الميمون [قابوس–5، ص 92]

[GLOSS] the sons of the southern region are enjoying now watching the coloured televised broadcasting as an example of development and sign of growth and evidence of stability and a natural result of **the generous giving (al'ata wal bathl)** of our people which was the support for these young energies in its blessed movement and auspicious flourishing reign

[OFFICIAL] The people of the southern district today are enjoying colour television as a sign of development, growth and stability and a natural result of the **efforts** of our people who were the supporters of these young potentials in their blessed movement and prosperous era. [Qaboos-5, p.52]

The following table highlights the shifts encountered in the previous examples.

Example no.	Original	GLOSS	Official translation
117	لا نألوا جهدا ولا ندخر وسعا	we do not spare an effort and do not keep any capacity	**We are trying our level best**
118	التعبير الحقيقي لعطاء شعبنا	the real expression of the **generous giving** of our people	the true reflection of **the efforts of our people**
119	والجهود المخلصة التي قدمها شعبنا الأبي	the sincere efforts which **our proud people gave**	devoted efforts our **people have made**
120	نشيد بالعطاء الذي قدمه أبناء الوطن	we praise the **generous giving** which is given by the sons of the homeland	**We praise all that has been achieved so far by**
121	ولكل عطاء مخلص	[thanks to] all sincere **generous giving**	and all other types of **work**
122	ومواصلة العمل والانجاز .. بذلا وعطاء	continue work and achievement by **giving generously**	**to double our efforts and continue the hard work**
123	ومحصلة طبيعية للعطاء والبذل	a natural result of the **generous giving**	a natural result of the **efforts of our people**

Figure 14: Shifting GENEROSITY to EFFORTS

The above table highlights instances of using this MiT procedure. Different types of generosity are shifted to efforts and achievements. The explanation for adopting this

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procedure could be that the translators were aware that the English reader does not share the conventional political metaphor of **TRANSACTION**. The concept of making effort, work and achieving things is more conventional.

The **GIVING** metaphor is sometimes realised alongside the target domain. In other words, the Sultan in the same sentence speaks about both giving to the country and working for it. It has been observed that in the English translation, the translators do not keep the realisations of the giving metaphor but keep the concept of work for the country, as in the following examples.

[124] نتطلع الى المزيد من **العطاء وبذل** الجهود بدون كلل او ملل- والله في عون العبد ما كان العبد
في عون اخيه.. [قابوس- 14، ص 212]

[GLOSS] we look forward at more of **generous giving and giving** efforts with no tiredness or boredom and Allah is in the help of the worshiper as long as the worshiper is in the help of his brother

[OFFICIAL] We expect you to **continue your untiring efforts** to fulfill these goals. [Qaboos-14, p.121]

[125] ان تقدمها لا يقاس بالازدهار العمراني فقط وانما بمدى أصالة هذا التقدم واستيعابه لقدرات
المجتمع وتقاليده في العمل **والعطاء** [قابوس- 16، ص 253]

[GLOSS] [countries'] development is not measured by constructional flourishing only but by the extent of originality of this progress and its assimilation of the capacities of the society and its traditions in work and **generous giving**

[OFFICIAL] The development of all nations is measured, not by superficial achievements, but by their origins and the legacy of the past. [Qaboos-16, pp.160-161]

[126] هذا اليوم الذي نلتقي فيه للاحتفال بمناسبة تاريخية خالدة تتوج عشرين عاما من **الجهد**
الباذل، والعطاء المتجدد لمسيرتنا الظافرة الزاهرة [قابوس- 20، ص 333]

[GLOSS] this is the day in which we meet to celebrate an eternal historic occasion that crowns 20 years of **generously giving** work and renewed **generous giving** of our flourishing victorious march

[OFFICIAL] This is a day full of happiness and bright with hope. Glorious with pride and honour. This day, on which we meet to celebrate an eternally historic occasion, to crown 20 years of **devoted effort and renewed dedication** to our prosperous march. [Qaboos-20, p.225]

[127] انما تتحقق (الطموحات العظيمة) بالاعتماد على النفس والعمل الدؤوب والجهد الخلاق والمبدع
والعطاء الصادق الاخلاص والمشاركة الواعية المسؤولة [قابوس- 20، ص 337]

[GLOSS] but they (the great aspirations) are realized by the dependence on the self and the untiring work and the creative and the innovative effort and the sincerely honest **generous giving** and the responsible rational participation

[OFFICIAL] They are only achieved by self-reliance, hard work, creative efforts, and wholehearted and responsible participation. [Qaboos-20, p.229]

[128] غير ان هذه الغاية الجليلة لا تتحقق على ارض الواقع الا **بالجهد الباذل والعطاء المتواصل**
والتخطيط الواعي، والفكر المستنير الذي يستقرئ المستقبل [قابوس- 22، ص 366]

[GLOSS] but this noble goal cannot actualize except with effort **the-(generously) giving effort and the continuous giving** and conscious planning and the enlightened thought that reads (scrutinizes) the future

[OFFICIAL] This noble target cannot be achieved in reality except with **effort, hard work,** and enlightened thought, so that the challenges of the future can be overcome. [Qaboos-22, p.257]

Procedure Four: Shifts to Other (related) Conceptual Metaphors

Here the translator uses an expression of a different domain of life which is related to or involves the notion of transaction or giving, but not necessarily the social domain of generosity. This is clear in the following example in which the translator uses the expression "repay" to describe the generous giving of people to their country.

[129] وحيث ان الشباب في كل أمة هم أملها الواعد، وذخيرتها للمستقبل، **وبقدر ما ينالون من** عناية ورعاية، وتوجيه وتثقيف، واعداد وتأهيل، واذكاء لروح الانتماء الوثيق للوطن في نفوسهم، **يكون عطاءهم وبذلهم،** وتفانيهم واخلاصهم، وتضحيتهم وايثارهم ... [قابوس- 22، ص 370]

[GLOSS] and since youth in every nation is its promising hope and supply for the future and **as much as they receive** of attention and care, and direction and culture, and preparing and qualifying, and kindling of the spirit of strong belongingness to the homeland in their minds **be their generous giving** and their devotion and sincerity, and sacrifice and altruism ...

This example shows a case where the metaphor, which is actually derived from the domain of generosity, is shifted into the domain of financial dealings. The Sultan argues in Arabic that the Omani youth ought to *give generously* because the government provided all kinds of services for them.

[OFFICIAL] The youth of every nation is its hope and promise for the future. The measure of care, welfare, education and guidance of youth should stimulate the spirit of attachment of each of them to their country. Thus their contribution, dedication and devotion will **repay all that this country has given them.** [Qaboos-22, p.261]

Here the notion of *giving* is shifted to *repay* which directly manifests a financial relationship between the country and its people. The idea of giving back in Arabic is not derived from any legal formal domain such as the financial domains but rather from the idea that when a generous person gives you something it is a moral obligation on you to give this person when he needs something that you want. That is, it is a hidden, inter-personal moral contract rather than the financial one represented in *repay*.

Summing up our discussion of how the **TRANSACTION** metaphor was handled in translation, we can say that, although some aspects of this metaphor appeared in the English translation, there is a systematic tendency to get rid of the metaphor in the English translation. In this regard, two major procedures were used. The first is to eliminate the

metaphor, i.e., to not refer to this metaphor in the English translation. The second is to demetaphorise the abstract concept by providing expressions that belong to the target domain to which the metaphor is mapped without expressing the metaphor itself, i.e., by shifting signs of *generous giving* into *achievement* or *work*. We think that the treatment of this social metaphor requires more attention and theoretical analysis. We will do this in the section on translation and ideology in the next chapter.

6.4.3. PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY

The source domain in the metaphor **PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY** is that of family. According to this metaphor, a country is a family. The following table shows aspects of this metaphor.

Elements of the Metaphor	*Source Domain* FAMILY	*is mapped onto*	*Target Domain* NATION
Structural elements	Father	→	Sultan or Government
	Sons and daughters	→	People
	Mother	→	the Country
Functional elements, Entailments and examples	Intra-family relationships	→	State-People relationships
	Father is more powerful than other members	→	Government has the ultimate power
	Ideological Values (Masculinist social ideology): Male is more powerful than female	→	Ideological Entailments Mapped onto the Target Domain: PEOPLE ARE *SONS* OF THE COUNTRY

Figure 15: Conceptualising the Country Metaphorically as a FAMILY

Of particular importance of the elements highlighted in the above table is the aspect of ideological values. The ideological values in a society get mapped to structure the target domain of the metaphor as in the conceptual metaphor **PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY**. As far as translation is concerned, we have observed that several instances of the **NATION IS A FAMILY** metaphor appear in both Arabic and English. We have, however, noted two cases that deserve pointing at as follows:

Case 1:

[130] وقد أستطعنا كسر شـوكتـهم ووفرنا الأمن والحماية لسكان الجبال في المقاطعة الجنوبية ضد
إرهابهم [قابوس-4، ص 72-73]

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[GLOSS] we succeeded in breaking their backbone and provided security and defense for the **people of the mountain** in the southern province against their [the Communists'] terrorism

[OFFICIAL] In spite of this, we stand firm and have succeeded in breaking their backbone, as a result of which **our brethren** in the mountains now enjoy protection and security from their terrorism. [Qaboos-4, p.36]

The above example shows a case where an expression of the **NATION AS FAMILY** metaphor is introduced. While, in the Arabic source text, the Sultan Qaboos bin Said speaks about providing security and protection for the non-metaphorical *inhabitants of the mountains*, the English translation opts for activating the **FAMILY** metaphor. The perceived potential effect for this change is creating a *humane* image of the Sultan. Through this choice, i.e. metaphorising a non-metaphorical concept, the translator makes the Sultan appear as a member of a larger family whose members are equal (belonging to the same *rank* as brothers in a family). Another related effect of this shift is that it assists in shifting the view of the Dhofar War from a political and military power struggle to a social and moral struggle in which the Sultan, being a member of a family, legitimately works for bringing peace and security to other members.

Case 2:

[131] ان شعبنا اذ يحتفل اليوم بهذه الذكرى الوطنية العزيزة في جميع أنحاء البلاد، من اقصى الشمال الى اقصى الجنوب وفي الداخل وفي السهول وفي المدن والريف فإنه يذكر بكل فخر واعتزاز الانتصارات المجيدة والانجازات العظيمة التي حققناها معا بالتلاحم والتآلف والعمل والكفاح والتضحية، يواجه المستقبل بإيمان عميق وقلوب ملؤها الثقة [و]العزيمة والأمل. [قابوس-7، ص 133]

[GLOSS] our people, while celebrating today this dear national anniversary in all corners of our country, from the furthest north to the furthest south, and in the interior and in the plains, cities and countryside, it remembers with pride and glory the dignified victories and great achievements which we have achieved together by the cooperation, harmony, work, struggle and sacrifice, [and it also] faces the future with deep belief and hearts that are full of confidence, will and hope

In this example, the Sultan speaks about the Omani people's celebration of an anniversary of the National Day. The proposition is that the Omani people are celebrating this anniversary in all parts of Oman: south and north, plains, cities and countryside. The English translation keeps this geographical extension of the celebrations, but adds a simile realising the **NATION AS FAMILY** metaphor, as follows.

[OFFICIAL] Throughout our beloved country our people are celebrating this National Anniversary **as one united family** from the far north to the far south, in the interior and on the coastal plains, in the towns and in the rural areas, our Omani people are proudly conscious on this day of the great victories we have won together and are facing the future with confidence and determination. [Qaboos-7, p.59]

The **FAMILY** metaphor is realised in the expression *as one united family*. This expression is an example of how a conceptual metaphor, the **FAMILY**, is realised using a tool that is traditionally seen as non-metaphorical, namely the simile represented in the word *as*. What is the effect of this shift? In discussing this, we need to notice the adjectival words *one united*. These two lexical items realise the image schematic metaphor **WHOLE** or **UNITY**, as opposed to its **PARTS** or **FRAGMENTATION**. That is, these two words, in addition to the word *family*, present the Omani country (as represented metonymically in its people who in turn are metaphorised as a **FAMILY**) to the English-speaking audience of the translation as resistant to external forces.

The context in which this phrase was said presents some clues to understanding this shift. The Sultan said these words in the National Day speech in 1977, that is, two years after the Sultan forces' 1975 triumph over the Omani communist groups in the Southern province of Dhofar. Seen from the FAMILY metaphor perspective, these groups were fighting against their own family and were deceived by enemies of the family (China and the USSR). The emphasis on the *unity* of the *one family* thus is a message to the external world that implies, in explicit political terms, that the Sultan is now in control of *all* Oman and Omanis who are united in their loyalty to the government. This shift carries the potential to be a political message to whom-it-may-concern, particularly the Communist powers at that time like the USSR and China.

The above example shows how a particular way of handling a conceptual metaphor has dimensions that go beyond such phenomena as translatability and equivalence to be directly involved in the political situation in which the translation is produced.

OMANIS ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY

Families, social units that join people related by blood or marriage, are a universal phenomenon. Ideological differences however exist between the different societies of the world as to the power relations within the family. Man as a rule is traditionally more powerful than woman.

In the Western countries, this has led to the movement of feminism, which in turn has led to both conceptual and linguistic changes. Despite the fact that "men have more power than women in modern Western society" (Kiesling 1997: 65), feminism has strongly influenced this society to give women equal rights. One of the ways of obtaining these rights is through a *feminist critique of language* (see Cameron 1990: 1), which has already resulted in shifting from traditional terms like *chairman* to *chairperson* for instance. A

specific type of this critique of language has to do with metaphorisation. Gibbon (1999) devotes a section of her book *Feminist Perspectives on Language* to a discussion of 'Language, Gender and Metaphor' (26-31), in which she discusses how perceptions about women are used in conceptualising other phenomena.

> Hurricanes, until recently, were systematically given female names; nature is personified as female in Mother Nature and viewed as an irrational and potentially destructive force to be controlled and subdued by man/men. (Gibbon 1999: 30)

Let us remind ourselves that a metaphor maps not only the structural aspects of the source domain but also its functional and connotative properties. Following this rule, the **FAMILY** metaphor in the Qaboos bin Said's speeches is expected to reflect the *masculinist* Omani society. The **OMANIS ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY** metaphor shows how the domination of men in a masculine society is entrenched through metaphor. This metaphor, which maps the domain of family to the political domain of people of a country, presupposes superior masculine power. It is ideological because the element from the domain of family that is mapped to construct the concept of people is not that of children but of *sons*.

Some studies have noted a correlation between masculinity and concepts of political discourse. For example, Aertselaer (1997) discussed the representations of masculinity in Spanish political discourse. One of the cases he mentions is an excerpt from a political statement by Felippe González, the Socialist Party leader, as a suggestion to the leader of the Partido Popular upon the latter's defeat in the June 1993 national elections for parliamentary seats. The segment goes "Espero que sepan aceptarlo con hombría" which Aertselaer translates as "I hope they know how to take it [the defeat] *like a man*" (159). He adds that

> In Spanish society, *hombría* evokes male identity indicators pertaining to diverse areas: biological orientations (strength, versus weakness for women), societal orientation (power, control and dominance, as opposed to female submissiveness; men as leadership-centred, as opposed to relationship-centring for Spanish women), and rhetorical orientation (assertive speech acts versus passiveness on the part of women).

In this thesis, we are not interested in presuming a general discussion of representations of masculinity in Arabic political discourse. The following discussion is limited to analysing how the **PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY** metaphor is handled in the English translations of speeches of Qaboos bin Said of Oman. The main question that this discussion attempts to answer is, *how do translators deal with expressions realising a conceptual metaphor whose source domain is ideological?*

The striking thing in the translation is that the translators have filtered out this masculine ideology. The following chart shows the distribution of the procedures used by the

translators of the official English translations of the National Day speeches of Qaboos bin Said.
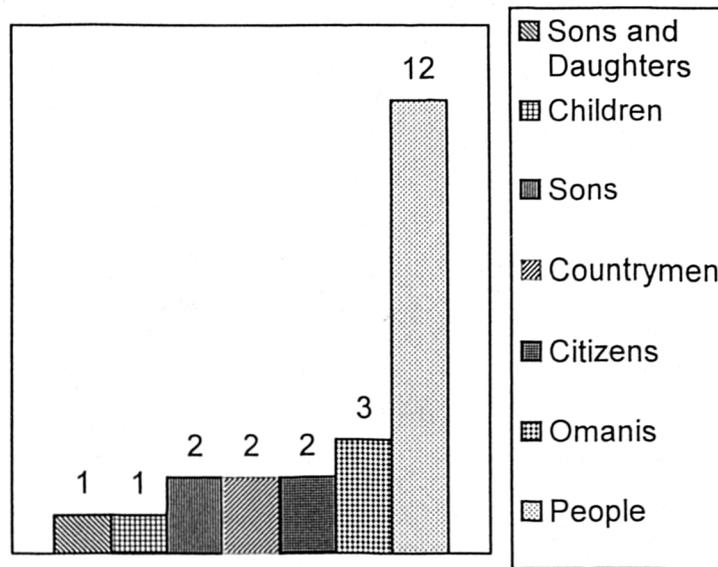
Figure 16: The PEOPLE ARE SONS Conceptual Metaphor in the Official Omani Translation

The chart shows that out of 23 instances of instantiating this metaphor in the source Arabic texts, *sons* appeared only in two cases, while one instance was shifted to *sons and daughters*, one to *children*, two to *countrymen*, two to *citizens*, three to *Omanis* while the majority of instances (12 instances, 52.1% of the total) were demetaphorised as *people*. These translation procedures are discussed below.

Procedure One: De-Masculinising the FAMILY Metaphor

In this case, the signs of masculine society as represented in the conceptual metaphor **PEOPLE ARE SONS** completely disappear in the translation. Instead, the translation attempts to de-masculanise the discourse of Qaboos bin Said. By *de-masculinising* we mean that, while the source text uses the word أبناء *abna'* when referring to the *people* of Oman, the target text uses a word or set of words that do not show any preference to masculinity. There are two major ways of de-maculinising metaphors. The first is by providing an expression that keeps to the same **FAMILY** metaphor but at the same time does not presuppose a masculinist social ideology. The second is by getting rid of the metaphor altogether and providing a non expression of the concept of **PEOPLE**.

1.1. Remaining within the Conceptual FAMILY Metaphor but Including Female Elements

Here, while the source text presupposes the masculine ideology only, the translator adds an expression which represents the other gender, as in the following example, in which Qaboos talks about the conditions that prevailed before he assumed power on 23 July 1970.

[132] كان كثير من **ابناءنا** ذوي المواهب قد تركوا البلاد بعد ان يأسوا من الاوضاع التي كانت سائدة حينذاك [قابوس- 10، ص 165]

[GLOSS] many of our talented abna' (أبناء) **sons** had left the country after they lost hope regarding the conditions that were widespread [in the country] then

[OFFICIAL] many of our gifted **sons and daughters** had left in despair to make a life for themselves in other lands [Qaboos-10, p.81]

So for أبناءنا *abna'ina* (literally, *our sons*), which refers to the Omani people in general, the translation gives *sons and daughters*. This shift is an attempt on the part of the translator to make an ideological balance. A case similar to the above example is shifting الأخوة "ikhwah" (*brothers*) to *brothers and sisters*. Here, the Sultan addresses the Omani people by saying "ayuhhal ikhwah" (O' Brothers), but the translation presents a more gender sensitive expression:

[OFFICIAL] But today, **dear brothers and sisters,** we can pause for a moment in our labours to draw renewed faith and confidence from the glory of our achievements. [Qaboos-6, p.55]

The above examples show that the translation shifts here are not only conceptual but ideological, i.e., the shift brings in another ideology than that expressed in the original.

1.2. Remaining within the Conceptual FAMILY Metaphor but Using an Expression Referring to Both Genders

In this case, the source texts refers to *abna'* (sons), while the translation chooses an expression that keeps to the **FAMILY** metaphor but does not realise either of the two genders. The following example illustrates this by using the word *children* for *abna'* (sons):

[133] التركيز على التعليم المهني والعالي يأتي أهتماما باتاحة الفرصة **لأبنائنا** لتلقي العلم في شتى مراحل الدراسة بوطنهم الحبيب [قابوس- 4، ص 74]

[GLOSS] the emphasis on vocational and high education comes as a [sign of] our concern of providing the chance for **our sons** to receive science in the different stages of education in their dear homeland

[OFFICIAL] We have now moved to a higher as well as vocational education. Our object in providing both the vocational and higher education is to enable our

children to receive their education in its various stages in their **mother** country. [Qaboos-4, p.38]

In Arabic, the Sultan talks about the necessity of vocational and high education. Students are seen as *abna'una* (our sons). In the translation, it was clear the translator was aware of the **FAMILY** metaphor. This is clear in two shifts. The first has to do with shifting *abna'una* to *our children*. Children, in English, like the Arabic word أطفال *atfal*, is a general word that includes both male and female young people. The second shift is from وطنهم الحبيب which is literally *their dear (or loved) homeland*, to another expression of the **FAMILY**, metaphor which is the word *mother*. The concept of *mother* is coherently related to the concept of *children*. Both these shifts eliminate the manifestation of the masculinist ideology that is present in the word *abna'* in Arabic.

Procedure 2. Demetaphorisation

The elimination of the masculinist reference is also manifest in another procedure employed by the translators of the official English translation of the speeches of Qaboos bin Said: demetaphorisation. Demetaphorisation here means using a term that refers directly to the concept of **PEOPLE OF Oman**, and getting rid of the metaphor completely.

Sons to people

The major procedure for handling the **SONS** conceptual metaphor is to replace the word *abna'* (sons) with the word *people*. The following two examples show this procedure.

لقد تمكن أبناء هذا الوطن العزيز من تحقيق نتائج ايجابية في شتى المجالات [قابوس- 4، ص **[134]**
[71

[GLOSS] the **sons** of this dear homeland have achieved positive results in different fields

[OFFICIAL] **Our people** have achieved successful results in all fields of life, under hard and abnormal circumstances. [Qaboos-4, p.35]

In the above example, Qaboos refers to *abna'* of the country who have made achievement in different fields of life. In the English, the metaphorical concept is eliminated and we get the expression *Our people*.

In some cases, Qaboos uses *abna'* to refer to the population of a particular region of Oman. In the following example, the Sultan talks about *abnau' almantaqah aljanoobiyyah* (literally, *the sons of the southern region*):

[135]   ان **أبناء** المنطقة الجنوبية يتمتعون الان بمشاهده الارسال التلفزيوني [قابوس- 5، ص 92]

> [GLOSS] the **sons** of the southern region are enjoying now watching the coloured televised broadcasting

> [OFFICIAL] The **people** of the southern district today are enjoying colour television [Qaboos-5, p.52]

As in the case of the above example, the translation eliminates the masculinist reference and opts for *The people of the southern district*. This shift takes place not only in the cases when the Sultan talks about Omani people only, but also when the Sultan talks about people of other countries as *abna'* of those countries, as in the following example.

[136]   انهم يدفعون بالأبرياء من ابناء شعبهم وقودا لحرب لا تمت للدين بصلة [قابوس- 5، ص 91]

> [GLOSS] they are pushing the innocent **sons** of their nation as fuel for a war that has nothing to do with religion

> [OFFICIAL] They use their innocent **people** as fuel in a war which has no relation whatsoever with religion or nationhood [Qaboos-5, p.51]

Rendering *abna'* (sons) as people thus eliminates not only the metaphorical understanding of the country as a family, but also the embedded ideological masculine ideology that is represented in the word *abna'*. The same is found in the next procedure.

2.2. Sons of Oman to Omanis

In this case, the English translation uses the word *Omanis* where the source text uses *abna'u Oman* as in the following example.

[137]   ففي مثل هذا اليوم من كل عام تحتفل الروابط المقدسة والمتينة التي تربط **أبناء** هذا الوطن العزيز معا بأصدق معاني الحب والولاء والتفاني لعماننا الحبيبة [قابوس- 8، ص 149]

> [GLOSS] In this day every year the holy and strong links that link the **sons** of this dear homeland celebrate together wit the most sincere meanings of love, loyalty, and devotion for our dear Oman

> [OFFICIAL] For on this special day each year the sacred and insoluble ties which bind **all Omanis** together in the love and devotion we bear to our dear country are foremost in our minds as we remember the glorious victories of our past and view together the road that lies before us. [Qaboos-8, p.69]

Here, the Sultan talks about the Omani people's celebrations of the National Day anniversary. He refers to the ties that link *abnau hatha alwatan alazeez* (literally: *the sons of this dear homeland*). In the English, this is shifted to *all Omanis*. The same procedure is used in the following example.

[138]   ففي مثل هذا اليوم من كل عام يلتقي **أبناء** عمان الحبيبة معا بقلوب مفعمة بالاعتزاز الذي نكنه لهذا الوطن الغالي [قابوس- 9، ص 157]

> [GLOSS] ... in this day every year the **sons** of dear Oman meet together with hearts full of pride which we have for this beloved homeland

[OFFICIAL] It is with warm and heartfelt feelings of affection that we greet you on this celebration of our National Anniversary Each year, on this day which we **Omanis** share together in the love and pride we bear for our dear country. [Qaboos-9, p.75]

As in the previous example, the Sultan here speaks about the feelings of pride the *sons of Oman* show in the anniversary of the National Day. In the translation, we get the same shift to *Omanis*. This choice is based on the fact that the word *Omanis*, unlike *sons*, is general and can include both sexes.

2.3. Sons of Oman to *Countrymen or citizens*

In this case, translators used official terms to refer to people instead of *sons* which was used in the Arabic source texts. *Countrymen* was used when rendering an expression of the SONS Qaboos uses to address the Omani people.

[139]   يا أبناء عمان الأعزاء [قابوس- 7، ص 139]

       [GLOSS] O, sons of dear Oman

       [OFFICIAL] My Dear **Countrymen** [Qaboos-7, p.64]

[140]   يا أبناء عمان الأبية أينما كنتم [قابوس- 3، ص 59]

       [GLOSS] O, **sons** of lofty Oman wherever you are

       [OFFICIAL] Dear **Countrymen** [Qaboos-3, p.29]

In two other instances, the source text talks about 'sons' but in English we get the more official word *citizens*.

[141] مهمتنا الوطنية [...] تدعونا جميعا الى تمجيد العمل كقيمة نبيلة تعطي للحياة مضمونا ايجابيا
نافعا وكواجب مقدس يحتمه الايمان بحق الوطن على أبنائه [قابوس- 16، ص 253]

       [GLOSS] ... our national responsibility calls upon us to glorify work as a noble value that gives to life a useful positive substance and as a holy duty that is decreed by the belief on the right of the homeland by its **sons**

       [OFFICIAL] We must recognise that work is noble and its makes life positive and useful. Moreover, it is a sacred duty on the **citizen** towards the Motherland. [Qaboos-16, p. 160)

In this example, the Sultan argues that working hard is not a matter of choice, but is a right on the part of the *sons* for their homeland. The translator here keeps one aspect of the metaphor, by keeping the idea that Oman is a *mother* for Omanis. However, the translator, it seems, was aware of the ideological assumption underling conceptualising the people of Oman as sons, so s/he uses a more neutral word *citizen*. This shift to *citizens* is also found in the following example.

[142] ان الاوطان انما تبنى وتزدهر بكفاح أبنائها البررة الاوفياء [قابوس- 16، ص 254].

[GLOSS] Homelands are built and become prosperous through the struggling of its loyal dutiful **sons**

[OFFICIAL] countries are built and become prosperous through the sincere work and the struggle of their own **citizens**. [Qaboos-16, p.161]

Procedure 3: keeping the same metaphorical expression 'sons'

Here, the TT keeps the image of 'sons' that was realised in the ST. We have come across two instances of following this procedure.

[143] وانه ليحز في نفوسنا انه في هذه اللحظة التي نحتفل فيها بهذا اليوم المجيد هنا يتعرض **أخوة**
لنا **وأبناء** هناك لصنوف القهر والارهاب [قابوس-1، ص 30]

[GLOSS] it is distressing that in this moment in which we celebrate this glorified day here [we have] **brothers and sons** there who are subjected to different forms of coercion and terrorism

[OFFICIAL] It is most distressing to us that at this moment, while we are all celebrating this glorious day here, we have **brothers and sons** there who are being subjected to coercion, terrorism and danger [Qaboos-1, p.20]

Qaboos said this in the first celebration of the National Day anniversary in 1971, one year after he assumed power. He was speaking about the Dhofari people, who were fighting the Communist guerillas in the southern region in Oman. He refers to the people as أخوة وأبناء (*brothers and sons*). The translation keeps the same expressions without any change. We have to point out, however, that the translator of that particular text was not systematic in handling the SONS metaphor. That is, in another expression of this metaphor, we find that he shifts أبناء (*sons*) to *people*.

[144] وهذه غاية لا يمكن تحقيقها الا عن طريق مشاركة **أبناء** الشعب في تحمل أعباء المسؤولية
ومهمة البناء [قابوس-1، ص 29]

[GLOSS] and this [development] is a goal that can not be achieved except by the path of participation of the **sons** of the people in bearing the burdens of the responsibility and the task of building

[OFFICIAL] That will be achieved only when the **people** share the burden of responsibility and help with the task of building. [Qaboos-1, p.19]

The next example is found in the translation of the speech on the occasion of the fourth National Day. Here the Sultan addresses the people as أيها المواطنون، يا أبناء عمان الحبيبة (Literally: *O citizens, O sons of dear Oman*). The translation keeps the same expression in '*My brother Citizens, The Sons of Our Dear Oman*'. In the same text, we also get the Sultan addressing Omani students as أبنائي الطلبة (*my sons the students*). In the translation,

we get *O my sons*. One of the most glaring examples of the **PEOPLE ARE SONS** is found in this text, i.e., in the fourth National Day Speech.

[145] وعمان ام تحب كل **ابنائها**، والعمانيون كلهم **ابناء** لهذه الام **الحنون**، تريدهم جميعا **بررة** أوفياء لذا فحبها وتقديرها يتفاوت من **ابن** الى **ابن** لكنها تحب الجميع [قابوس-4، ص 76]

[GLOSS] Oman is a **mother** that loves all her **sons**, and all Omanis are **sons** of this loving/**warmhearted** mother; she wants them all to be **dutiful** and loyal, so her love and appreciation varies from one **son** to [another] **son**, but she loves [them] all

Here, the Sultan elaborates on the metaphor **OMANIS ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY**. Oman is represented as a mother who loves her sons and who expects her sons to be loyal to it. Oman is, however, a metonym for the government, since the Sultan said this in the context of speaking about the rebellious Dhofari communists. The Sultan instantiates one of the major entailments of being a son and of dealing with mothers in the Arabic countries, i.e. that of *berr* (*dutifulness*). Sons are expected to do what their mother tells them to do and not to make her sad or angry.

The translation runs almost completely literally as follows.

[OFFICIAL] Oman loves her **sons** equally and the Omanis all are **sons** of their merciful **Motherland**. She expects them to be loyal and obedient to her cause, but the love of country differs from one citizen to another, but Oman loves all her **sons** ... [Qaboos-4, p.40]

The fact that we found very small number of instances of keeping *sons* in the English translation might be explained on the grounds that in translating this particular text, the translator decided to keep close to the source text conceptual world. Despite this, however, there are instances within the same text where the translator follows the general tendency of not keeping *sons* by shifting it to *people* as in the following two examples.

[146] لقد تمكن **أبناء** هذا الوطن العزيز من تحقيق نتائج ايجابية في شتى المجالات [قابوس-4، ص 71]

[GLOSS] the **sons** of this dear homeland have achieved positive results in different fields

[OFFICIAL] **Our people** have achieved successful results in all fields of life, under hard and abnormal circumstances. [Qaboos-4, p.35]

[147] يكفي هذا دليلا على مقدار اهتمامنا **بأبنائنا** وبلدنا واصرارنا على اختصار الزمن [قابوس-4، ص 75]

[GLOSS] this [governmental efforts] are sufficient as a proof of the extent of our care for **our sons** and country, and our insistence to ikhtisar az'zaman (cut time short)

[OFFICIAL] This in itself is proof of the extent of our interest in the advancement of the **people** of our country and our insistence to make as rapid a progress as possible. [Qaboos-4, p.39]

Abna' which was used to describe *students* was also deleted:

[148]   وهنا نريد ان ننبه **أبناءنا** الطلبة الموفدين في بعثات تعليمية [قابوس–4، ص 74]

[GLOSS] here we would like to point **our sons the students** who are sent in educational scholarships ...

[OFFICIAL] We would, however, wish to draw the attention of **our students** studying abroad, to beware of being seduced by foreign ideas. [Qaboos-4, p.38]

All in all then, we could conclude that in handling the **SONS** metaphor in the official English translations of the speeches of Qaboos bin Said, the translators show a systematic tendency to demetaphorise the concept of **PEOPLE ARE SONS**. We note that in the few texts where *sons* appeared in the English translation to refer to people or part of the people (like students), there was not a systematic strategy to instantiate the same metaphorical mapping, since we get instances of demetaphorising in the same translations. We would like to draw attention to one major point about these scarce cases of keeping the word *sons*. The cases where *sons* appears are in the two years 1971 and 1974, that is, in the early years of Qaboos' rule (which began in 1970). It seems that throughout the following years until the year of writing this thesis (2000), a major strategy developed of not keeping this metaphor in the English translation. The ideological implications of the shifts in handling ideological metaphors will be discussed in detail in **CHAPTER NINE**.

6.5. Two Culture-Specific Models of Women

While the shifts that were adopted in the cases of the **TRANSACTION** and the **SONS** metaphors are due to functional aspects of the translation, in the sense that the translators had the choice of instantiating the same metaphors, we have come across two cases where the translation shifts can be better justified on the grounds of the culture-specificity of the metaphorised model: the **'UQOOQ** metaphor and the **TAHARAH** metaphor.

6.5.1.   ARABS ARE ONE FAMILY: ANTI-IRAQ ARAB COUNTRIES ARE 'AQQOON

According to this metaphor, those Arab countries which sided with the United States during the Gulf Crisis are practicing the social behaviour of عقوق *'uqooq*, which has to do with a particular form of relationship between an individual and his parents. It takes place when an individual refuses to obey the advice of his mother and/or father and insists on following his/her own ideas. This form of disobeying the parental control carries in

Arabic the strong connotation of forgetting or denying all that those parents have done to nurture this individual in his/her childhood.

It is worth pointing out that practising *'uqooq*, disobeying one's parents, is forbidden in Islam (unless the parents' wishes are against the teachings of Islam). One of Prophet Muhammed's sayings is:

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: (إن الله حرّم عليكـــم: عقوق الأمهات ووأد البنات، ومنع وهات.

وكـرِه لكـــم: قيل وقال، وكـثرة السؤال، وإضاعةالمال) .

The Prophet said, "Allah has forbidden for you, (1) **to be undutiful to your mothers,** (2) to bury your daughters alive, (3) to not to pay the rights of the others (e.g. charity, etc.) and (4) to beg of men (begging). And Allah has hated for you (1) vain, useless talk, or that you talk too much about others, (2) to ask too many questions, (in disputed religious matters) and (3) to waste the wealth (by extravagance)

Another *hadith* says

قال: سـل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عن الكبائر قال: (الإشراك بالله، وعقوق الوالدين، وقتل النفس،

وشهادةالزور) .

The Prophet was asked about the greatest sins. He said "they are worshiping others with Allah, *uqooq* of parents, killing a soul, and giving a false witness." (AOT)

The above two *hadiths* and numerous others point out that practicing *'uqooq* against one's parents is a great sin in Islam. This means that it is not only a family matter but has to a great extent to do with Allah's own view of the ideal society, in which such practices are to disappear and whoever practices them is to be severely punished by Allah himself.

Saddam Hussein uses this social and religious knowledge of within-family disobedience when speaking about the Arab countries that sided against Iraq. He says in Arabic

وفي نفس المعركة تخوضون انتم والشعب والامة معركة ضد الظلم الاجتماعي والاقتصادي **[149]** والفوارق الظالمة التي اصابت الامة جراء فعل العقوق والعاقين من الذين حملوا جنسيتها [صدام-12 :ص 312]

[GLOSS] In the same battle, you, the people and Ummah [Arabic nation] are waging a battle against the social and economic injustice and the unjust differences which have struck the nation as a result of the action of **'uqooq and 'aqqeen** of those who carried Its nationality

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[37] Source: Hadith 2270, in Al-Bukhari's *Sahih* (electronic version 1.07) in Al-Muhaddith Program (www.muhaddith.org)

[38] Source: Hadith 2510, in Al-Bukhari's *Sahih* (electronic version 1.07) in Al-Muhaddith Program.

Saddam Hussein here says that the war Iraq is waging is against those who have practised *uqooq*. Saddam Hussein implicitly supposes that since practising *uqooq* is a religious sin, then by fighting those countries that practise it against their Arab *mother*land, the Iraqi army is representing Allah himself in punishing the sinful. The translation provided by the FBIS, understandably, lacks all these connotations.

> [FBIS] In the same battle, you, the people, and nation are fighting against social and economic injustice and the unfair discrimination that have afflicted the nation as a result of **disobedience and the action of the disobedient** who hold Arab nationality ... [Saddam-12, p.160]

The practice of *uqooq* is rendered as *disobedience*, which lacks both the social-religious aspect of this form of this disobedience and the assumed religious connotations of sinful action and expected punishment. In addition, *disobedience* has more to do with **RESISTANCE** than with the social value of caring for one's parents and trying to satisfy them.

6.5.2. OMAN IS A TAHIRAH WOMAN

The **TAHIRAH WOMEN** metaphor is instantiated several times in the speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman, especially speeches from the 1970s, when the Sultan's forces were engaged in war against rebellious communist groups in the southern province of Dhofar.

Understanding this metaphor is quite difficult for non-Arabs because it is built on several social values and other metaphorical structures. We will take several steps to explain this metaphor below.

Step One: The basic metaphorisation

The concept of *taharah* (the noun since *tahirah* is an adjective) is an important social and religious concept in the Arabic language and culture. It is usually associated with women. *Lisan Al-Arab* gives the following definition

الطهر: نقيض الحيض. والطهر: نقيض النجاسة

Attuhru (another version of *taharah*) is the opposite of menstruation, and (also) *attuhru* is the opposite of dirtiness.

A woman becomes *tahirah* when the menstruation blood stops and she becomes clean. So, the basic-level domain in this metaphor is not the menstruation blood itself, but rather the social belief that a woman is dirty when she is in her monthly period. This understanding of *taharah* has become a source domain for several metaphors in Arabic, all of which

emphasize purity or the lack of it. So, a woman becomes *tahirah* when she preserves her شرف *sharaf* (honour) by not engaging in illegal sexual affairs. The ideal *tahirah* woman in the Arabic culture is Miriam (Mary), the mother of Prophet Isa (Jesus Christ).

Step Two: Other important social beliefs ·

One must understand other beliefs to get a full understanding of the **TAHARAH** metaphor. One of them concerns the status of women in the Arab society. A woman is not considered a self-sufficient being. She is always dependent on a man for her defence. She is also an extension of men, so to speak. A woman is defined in her relationship to a man. So she is the daughter of so and so and the sister of so and so and the mother of so and so, where so and so is a man. The other way around is not acceptable: you cannot define a man by his relationship to a woman.

This belief might also be a result of Arabic historical experience of inter-tribal wars. A basic fact about wars between Arab tribes is that men were the fighters, while women are defended by men. Another thing is that women are basic components of men's dignity. A basic belief is that an Arab can stand any kind of torture, but not to have his enemy touch a woman who is dependent on him, like his sister or his wife. Therefore, it was an acceptable result of wars to take the women of the defeated party as جواري *jawari* (women-slaves) who were used then for sexual entertainment for the triumphant party.

Step Three: How the COUNTRY AS A TAHIRAH WOMEN is made?

The following table shows the nature of the elements mapped according to this metaphor.

Source Domain	is mapped	Target Domain
WOMAN	*onto*	**COUNTRY**
Man defends woman	→	The State (the army) defends the country
Preserving the woman means preserving one's dignity	→	Fighting against enemies is to keep the society's dignity
With the end of blood (seen as dirt) the woman is *tahirah* (clean)	→	By fighting and ending any rebellion the country becomes *tahirah*

Source Domain	is mapped	Target Domain
WOMAN	onto	COUNTRY
Woman is *hurmah* of the man	→	Country is *hurmah* of the people
Metaphorical associations: women as soil	→	Country as land

Figure 17: Elements Mapped In the TAHIRAH COUNTRY metaphor

The metaphor then maps all associations, beliefs and values about women in Arabic society onto the target domain of country. The metaphor even maps metaphors used to conceptualise women such as **WOMAN IS SOIL**. According to this metaphor, a woman is a soil. Sexual intercourse is a process of seeding. Offspring are plants or trees. This, intertextually, is manifest in the following two Qur'anic verses (2:222-3).

ويسألونك عن المحيض قل هو أذى فاعتزلوا النساء في المحيض ولا تقربوهن حتى يطهرن فإذا تطهرن فأتوهن
من حيث أمركم الله إن الله يحب التوابين ويحب المتطهرين (222) نساؤكم حرث لكم فأتوا
حرثكم أنى شئتم (223)

222- They ask thee concerning women's courses. Say: they are a hurt and a pollution, so keep away from women in their courses, and do not approach them until they are clean. But when they have purified themselves, ye may approach them in any manner, time, or place ordained for you by Allah. For Allah loves those who turn to him constantly and he loves those who keep themselves pure and clean.

223- Your wives are as a **tilth** unto you; so approach your **tilth** when or how ye will; (Ali's translation, highlight added)

This metaphor which is used to conceptualise women is itself mapped in conceptualising the country as a woman. The country becomes a *pure land*.

The general observation is that while the translators attempted their best to preserve the image schematic value of **PURITY**, the conceptualisation of country as a woman disappears completely from the translation. In two cases the idea of شرف *sharaf* (*honour*) associated with women is highlighted as a goal of the war against the communist rebellion, but this disappears from the English translation:

[150]   اننا نقف بحزم في مواجهة عمليات التخريب والالحاد والافكار الشيوعية حفاظا على شرف
كياننا وحرمة مقدساتنا واصرارا منا على دفع عجلة التنمية قدما والقضاء على كل العراقيل
والتحديات [قابوس- 3، ص 60]

[GLOSS] we stand firmly in the face of operations of destruction, atheism, and communist ideas **to preserve the sharaf of our entity and the hurmah** of our holy [places] and as an insistence from us to push the wheel of development forward and to destroy all obstacles and challenges

[OFFICIAL] We stand strongly in the face of subversive operations and Communist thoughts to safeguard **the honour of our country** and do away with all obstacles and challenges. [Qaboos-3, p.30]

Although it uses the word *honour*, the English translation here does not capture the manifestations of the **COUNTRY AS A WOMAN** concept. The words *sharaf* and *hurmah* are often associated with women and using them here to describe the struggle against the Communists expresses the social belief of defending one's محارم *maharim*, or women dependents.

In other cases, the **TAHIRAH COUNTRY** completely disappears, as in examples [151] and [152] below.

[151]   لتحقيق الامن والرخاء لبلدنا والحرية والكرامة والتقدم لكل فرد يعيش على ترابه **الطاهر**.
[قابوس– 10، ص 165]

[GLOSS] ... to achieve security and prosperity for our country, and freedom, dignity and progress for every individual living in its **tahir** soil

[OFFICIAL] it marks the tenth year since the commencement of our struggle together to bring peace and prosperity to our country, and freedom, dignity and progress to all our people. [Qaboos-10, p.81]

[152]   انه ليسعدنا في ظل هذه المناسبة العزيزة على قلوبنا جميعا ان نحيي قواتنا المسلحة الباسلة بجميع قطاعاتها وتشكيلاتها ونشيد بكفاءتها الممتازة وجديتها واخلاصها لواجبها المقدس في السهر على أمن الوطن وحماية ترابه **الطاهر**. [قابوس– 16، ص 255]

[GLOSS] we feel delighted, on this occasion that is dear to our hearts, to praise our brave armed forces with all its sectors and formations and to commend its excellent efficiency and its seriousness and honesty for its sacred task of alertness in [defending] the security of the homeland and the defence of its **tahir** soil

[OFFICIAL] On this occasion we greet our gallant Armed Forces and praise their high standard of efficiency and alertness in safeguarding Oman's security and stability. We confirm our continued care for them, and our determination to provide them with their needs in their sacred task. We praise the sincere work of all those who preserve the security of our land and people. [Qaboos-16, p.162]

In [151], كل فرد يعيش على ترابه الطاهر (literally, *every individual living in its tahir soil*) is shifted to *all our people* where the concept of country as a woman disappears. The same happens in [152] where the Sultan thanks the armed forces for حماية ترابه الطاهر (literally, *the defense of its tahir soil*). In the English translation, this concept also disappears since we get *our land and people*.

But the most interesting observation as far as how the **TAHIRAH COUNTRY** metaphor is handled in the English translation is that wherever the Arabic word طاهرة *(Tahirah)* is used in association with the country, the English translation tends to shift it to the domain of religious places: i.e., from **COUNTRY AS A WOMAN** to **COUNTRY AS A RELIGIOUS PLACE,** as in the following two examples.

[153] اننا ماضون في سياستنا ضد هذا المبدأ الهدام وفاء لديننا بدافع من وطنيتنا .. اخلاصا لعقيدتنا .. وحفاظا **على طهر ترابنا** .. حماية لمكاسب شعبنا وحرصا على استقلالية قرارنا .. وتمسكا بالانتماء الاسلامي العربي لمجتمعنا الذي لا يقبل ان تستبدل الفضيلة بالرذيلة ولا الحق بالباطل. [قابوس-5، ص 88]

[GLOSS] We are continuing our policies against this destructive principle in faithfulness to our religion with a stimulus of our patriotism, in loyalty to our belief and **to preserve the *tuhr* of our soil**, in defense of the gains of our people and to maintain the independence of our decision and to stick to the Arab Islamic belonging of our society which does not accept replacing virtue with vice, nor truth with falsehood

[OFFICIAL] We are continuing our policy against this hateful and subversive principle in gratification of our faith, motivated by our patriotism **to preserve the sanctity of our soil** and protect the gains of our people and our eagerness to maintain the independence of our decision and our adherence to Arabism and Islam. Our people do not accept that virtue be replaced by evil and righteousness by falsehood. [Qaboos-5, p.48]

[154] (78) اننا بهذه المناسبة نود ان نشيد بأفراد قواتنا المسلحة الذين ناضلوا بكل قوة وبسالة في **سبيل الدفاع عن أرضنا الطاهرة.** [قابوس-8، ص 149]

[GLOSS] we, on this occasion, want to praise the members of our armed forces who struggled with all the power and bravery **in the sake of defence of our tahirah land**

[OFFICIAL] We, on this occasion, wish to praise the members of our armed forces who struggled gallantly **for the sake of defending our sacred soil**. [Qaboos-8, p.69]

The reason for this shift from the concept of purity of women to the concept of *sacredness* in the translation could be that in English, religious places, such as churches, are seen as resembling spiritual purity.

To sum up, the two cases of the **UQOOQ** and **TAHARAH** conceptual metaphors illustrate cases in which the source language speaker uses culture-specific metaphorised concepts of political entities. Because of the culture-specificity of the concepts, the translators in both cases have not kept this metaphorised concept. The **UQOOQ** metaphor is built on a special concept of dealing with one's mother that blends social and religious beliefs that are specific to the culture of the source texts. Similarly, the **TAHARAH** metaphor blends particular historical, social, intertextual and conceptual aspects that are not found outside the Arabic culture.

6.6. Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with discussing how a number of human-life source domain conceptual metaphors were handled in English translations of Arabic political speeches. The two major questions that we asked relate to the treatment of (1) metaphors

with culture-specific phenomena as their source domains, and (2) ideological metaphors. The major observation was that some conceptual metaphors in the Arabic source texts employ folk theories about human psychology that do not appear in the English translation. The chapter also discussed two aspects of the cultural model of women in the Arab world (*obeyed mother* and *defended female*) which are used in particular conceptual metaphors in the Arabic source texts. It was seen that the English translation did not keep the manifestations of these cultural models. Unlike these culture-specific conceptual metaphors, metaphors involving trans-cultural social activities such as games appeared in the English translation.

As far as the question of ideology is concerned, we arrived at the conclusions that

(a)   Social ideologies may serve as a source for source domains in conceptual metaphors (as in the cases of the **SONS** and the **TRANSACTION** metaphors) and

(b)   As seen in an analysis of examples from the official English translation of Qaboos bin Said's speeches, there is a systematic tendency to get rid of ideological metaphors which are used systematically in the source texts. We will come back to the implications of such treatment of ideological metaphors in SECTION **8.8.** in CHAPTER EIGHT.

The next chapter will explore an area of MiT that has not been studied in the existing literature, namely the phenomenon of *intertextual metaphors*. The chapter will show the major demands that this type of metaphor makes on the translator and examine problematic cases of this type of metaphor in the FBIS translations of Saddam Hussein's speeches.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Intertextual Domains Metaphors

7.1. Introduction

The area of study that will be discussed in this chapter has received very little discussion in the MiT literature. This area will be referred to here as *intertextual conceptual metaphors*. Unlike the physical and social domains, which are to be found in people's current life, intertextual domains are found in people's preserved memory, so to speak. That is, these domains include historical events and other experiences that took place, or are believed to have taken place, in the past. The main objectives of this chapter are:

(1) To present, based on the conceptual theory of metaphor, a theoretical framework that accounts for the instances of intertextual metaphor, and

(2) To highlight the problems they pose for translation, as illustrated by examples taken from the corpus of this study.

7.2. Intertextuality and Metaphor: Implications for Translation

The term 'intertextuality' was originally coined by Kristeva in the late 60's (Hatim 1997). According to de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), intertextuality refers to "the ways in which the production of a given text depends upon the participants' knowledge of other texts" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 182). Intertextuality, they argue, is a central component of any study of textuality, and "should not be disregarded as a factor in any experimental or empirical research on texts or on the transmission of knowledge via texts" (ibid: 206, see also Mujahid 1998). Despite its significance, only few translation studies have explored the implications of intertextuality for translation. Based on de Beaugrande and Dressler's account of intertextuality, Neubert and Shreve, in their book *Translation as Text*, suggest that intertextuality "may be the most important aspect of textuality for the translator" (Neubert and Shreve 1992: 117). They argue that every translation has double intertextuality:

> The source text has intertextual relationships with other source-language texts. The translation will establish new relationships with existing L_2 texts. (ibid: 119)

Neubert and Shreve's exploration of *intertextuality*, however, deals exclusively with the level of text types, and does not capture the intertextual relations at the level of text components, which is the core of the idea of intertextual metaphors which will be developed in this chapter. Hatim and Mason (1990) also attempt to see how intertextuality, as a text parameter, is important for translators. Linking it to semiotics, they argue that it "provides an ideal testing ground for basic semiotic notions in practical pursuits such as translating and interpreting. It is 'semiotics at work'" (Hatim and Mason 1990: 121). Hatim and Mason also introduce a distinction between active and passive intertextuality. Active intertextuality exists when the intertextual reference is used to appeal to the readers' knowledge of previous texts in order to achieve the producer's goal. The other type is passive, since intertextual references are used to establish textual coherence and are thus "local solutions for local problems" (ibid: 124). Further, Hatim and Mason (1990: 132) point to Lemke (1985) who distinguishes between two types of intertextuality: the first is a relationship that exists between elements of a given text, and the second is a relationship which links distinct texts (see also Hatim 1997).

As far as the literature on metaphor in translation itself is concerned, this area has scarcely been studied. There are very few references to the relationship between intertextuality and metaphor and the effect of this relationship on translation. Dagut (1976, see SECTION 2.5.) discussed one metaphorical expression which involved knowledge of the Biblical story of Abraham's binding of Isaac in preparation for offering him as a sacrifice at God's command. His argument was that this intertextual knowledge, which was specific to the Hebrew culture, makes the metaphor untranslatable. There is no way to create the same metaphor in English because the English culture lacks the intertextual references. Fung and Kiu (1987), in a study on how metaphor was handled in English-Chinese translation, also refer to this area very briefly by saying that in Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* Hamlet uses metaphorical expressions from classical mythology (e.g. *Phoebus' cart, Neptune's salt wash* and *Tellus' orbed ground*) which need to be changed in translation by shifting those references to images derived from Chinese mythology.

Not only has the literature insufficiently treated this aspect of metaphor in translation, but some MiT scholars have even underplayed the role of intertextuality as a source domain in metaphors, which in turn was mirrored in the conclusions they arrive at about handling such cases in translation. Specifically, Stienstra (1993), counter-Dagut, argues that

Dagut's "ne'eked" example can be translated at the level of denotation, translated literally that is: "bound by my love". This is possible because *it is not the cultural connotation that makes the metaphor a metaphor.* It can well be argued that the basic meaning of this metaphor lies in the concept of the person in question being rendered powerless ("bound") by his love (Stienstra 1993: 211, italics added).

The data that we have analysed in our corpus show clearly that such comments as the above are imprecise. The insufficient attention given to intertextual metaphors, as well as the underplaying of its importance for translation by Stienstra (1993), call for a thorough theoretical exploration of this special area of conceptual metaphors. In what follows we will attempt to sketch a general framework for such a theory. This framework is mainly based on recent developments in cognitive linguistics and the conceptual theory of metaphor. This will be followed by a discussion of the different aspects of this type of metaphor that make the problems they pose for translation different from the ones posed by the other types of conceptual metaphors such as those with physical or human-life source domains.

7.3. Intertextual Conceptual Metaphors

We distinguish between two phenomena associated with intertextuality as far as metaphor is concerned: **intertextual associations** and **intertextual domains**. In the first phenomenon, the source domain of the metaphor, which can either be physical or social, is associated with a prior text. The following is an example:

[155]   تحية الى كل من حمل على الباطل بما يستحق والى كل صاحب قول صادق وكلمة شريفة ويد
نظيفة بيضاء [صدام–15 ص: 420]

> [GLOSS] a greeting to all who carry on [fight] falsehood with what it deserves and to everyone owning a sincere opinion and noble word and **a white clean hand**

As we have seen in our discussion on colour metaphors in CHAPTER FIVE, the expression *yad nadheefah baydha'* (*white clean hand*) carries a reference to a Qur'anic verse in which white hand is found (see page 173 of this thesis). This reference is not essential since the positive entailments associated with the colour *white* suffice in comprehending the expression. Intertextual associations are fundamentally different from the phenomenon of intertextual metaphors. We will largely focus this discussion on intertextual metaphors.

Following the conceptual theory of metaphor, we define an intertextual conceptual metaphor as a *mapping from one well-known and well-structured past experience that is recorded in or related to a particular text onto a new experience which is believed to be less structured or is assumed for some (e.g., pragmatic) reasons to require the mapping.*

Three aspects of this definition of intertextual conceptual metaphors can be observed. First of all, the definition satisfies the fundamental conceptual requirement for metaphors. As discussed in detail in **CHAPTER THREE**, a conceptual metaphor is a mapping of one domain of experience onto another domain of experience. The linguistic textual items are only instantiations of this conceptual process of mapping. Intertextual conceptual metaphors involve understanding contemporary experiences in terms of past experiences through mapping elements of the past experience onto the contemporary experience.

Let us take an example. Linn described "how the collective experience of the Holocaust assumes a formative role in the construction and understanding of commonly used phrases from civil and military life in times of war and threat" (Linn 1991: 63). We argue that HOLOCAUST becomes a case of an *intertextual metaphor*, since it involves mappings of symbols of and feelings associated with the past experience of the Holocaust onto contemporary experiences in Israel. Linn adds that symbols of the Holocaust "create a reality in which Israeli soldiers test and judge their moral claims when facing morally ambiguous situations" (ibid: 86). The terms *create a reality* and *ambiguous situations* are especially important. They emphasise the *constructive* role of metaphor where metaphor is used to construct and structure a particular abstract (ambiguous) target experience.

Second, our definition of intertextual metaphors, by insisting on the metaphorical nature of this phenomenon, bypasses the linguistic approach to intertextual references. Intertextual references are often seen as linguistic items which existed in a pre-text (see for example Sauer 1996: 238-241). Some scholars refer to such expressions as *cultural allusions* (e.g. Kussmaul 1995: 65-67). This approach neglects the conceptual process of mapping underlying the intertextual reference itself. When Saddam Hussein describes some Arab rulers as *a'arab* أعراب, he is actually seeing those rulers in terms of the knowledge about the particular group of *A'arab* which was found at the time of Prophet Muhammed, mapping specifically the negative associations linked with them onto those rulers.

The third point which is an essential aspect of intertextual metaphors is that they belong to one generic metaphor, **PRESENT IS PAST**. According to this conceptual metaphor, an experience which took place (or is believed to have taken place) in the past as we shall see soon in the case of the **JIHAD** metaphor, is systematically projected onto a present experience. The past becomes a looking glass through which the present is viewed.

7.4. The JIHAD: the Historical Experience and the Metaphor

As far as the **JIHAD** metaphor is concerned, Bengio (1998) discusses aspects of the use of Islamic terminology during the Gulf Crisis, but her analysis was based on a linguistic approach which depends on investigating how lexical items were used. Our analysis, although making use of the linguistic approach, is based on the conceptual mapping approach. So instead of viewing the issue of Islamic struggle terminology as a matter of word use, we argue that President Saddam Hussein adopted a conceptual metaphor in which the whole domain of early Islamic expansion struggles is mapped onto the contemporary political struggle of the Gulf war. The source domain thus includes groups and figures of early Islam wars, particular encounters, Qur'anic verses (which, according to the Islamic point of view, were sent from Allah to Prophet Muhammed), values adopted in these wars etc. The following table shows the elements mapped in this intertextual metaphor.

PAST	IS MAPPED ONTO	PRESENT
Source domain		Target domain
Group of Believers in Islam	→	Iraq and its supporters
Kuffar and Mushrikeen	→	The Western forces led by the US
Munafiqeen	→	Arab countries involved in the war against Iraq
A'Arab	→	Rulers of Arab states
God's promise of victory to the early Muslims	→	Perceived result of the Gulf War
Special textual slogans: Allahu Akbar	→	Allahu Akbar (added to the Iraqi flag during the war)
Qur'anic verses revealed during the wars in early Islam	→	Using the same verses to describe the new events

In what follows, we will first discuss the idea of Jihad in Islam and the early Islamic wars. Doing this is an essential step in order to understand their linguistic manifestations in the speeches of President Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War and to explore both the procedures adopted in the FBIS translations in dealing with this special type of metaphors and the effect of such procedures. In his book *Ethics and the Gulf War*, Vaux says

> To answer the question of *when* and *how* war is made within the culture of Islam - even in the highly secular and nationalist state of Iraq - requires delving in the history of Islam in the Arabian desert, tracing the contours of jihad in both its ancient and recent expressions, and finally relating these notions to what has transpired in the war over Kuwait (Vaux 1992: 64).

One of the basic characteristics of Islam is that it regards itself as a universal message of guidance. It is thus not limited to a particular race or rank. Several Qur'anic verses have

noted this. These verses propose to Prophet Muhammed that his message is a universal one as the following verse (21: 107) shows.

وما ارسلناك الا رحمة للعالمين

We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures (21:107, Ali's translation)

This universal nature of Islam is backed up by an Islamic belief that the *fitrah* of a person, i.e., her/his natural instinct, would lead him or her to adopt Islam and disregard other beliefs. Prophet Muhammed says, in one of his *hadiths*,

ما من مولود إلا يولد على الفطرة، فأبواه يهودانه، أو ينصرانه، أو يمجسانه .

There is none born but is created to his true nature (Islam). It is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian

But how could the universality of Islam during the time of Prophet Muhammed be achieved? Two major ways were adopted, a peaceful way and a violent way. The peaceful way of spreading Islam is called الدعوة *da'wah* (*call* or *invitation to Islam*). The nonpeaceful or violent way is *jihad* (*holy war to spread the religion of Islam*). The logic of the jihad war is built on the supposition that if people are naturally created to accept the call of Islam, then it is فرض *fardh* (*an obligation*) on the Muslim government to fight any other force that prevents the expansion of Islam. Speaking about this point, Tibi says that a jihad war

> is simply an opening (*futuhat*) of the world to Islam aimed at encompassing all of humanity, and the effort is based on the belief that the message the Prophet Muhammad received from Allah constituted the true religion for all humanity. (Tibi 1998: 54)

The first Jihad wars were carried out by Prophet Muhammed himself. People at the time of Prophet Muhammed were divided, from the point of view of early Muslims, into three groups (a) *Muminoon* or *muslimoon* (believers or Muslims), (b) *Munafiqoon*, or (c) *Mushrikoon* and *Kuffar*. The first group are those who followed the teachings of Prophet Muhammed. The second group are those Arabs who professed a belief in Islam but actually they did not believe in it. The singular *munafiq* (hypocrite) means a person who says one thing but does the opposite. The third group is non-Muslims. *Mushrikoon* are the ones who believed in God but also worshiped other idols. The word *Kuffar* includes all non-Muslims such as pagans, Christians and Jews.

Jihad and the Iraqi Political Discourse during the Gulf Crisis

Islam is not a fundamental component of the Ba'ath political worldview. As Bengio says, "the use of Islamic themes [by the Ba'ath ruling party in Iraq in recent history] was stepped

up or toned down as circumstances seemed to require" (Bengio 1998: 176). Bengio also distinguishes several phases of using Islam in the Ba'ath discourse

> From 1968 until 1977, the Ba'th regime was silent on the topic of religion; between 1977 and 1980, there were indications of impending change; the war [with Iran] years, from 1980 and well into the first postwar year 1989, constituted the phase of toeing the Islamic line; the last phase, from 1989 onward, was one of deliberate Islamic flag-waving. (*op. cit.*)

Several scholars, such as Bengio (1998) and Vaux (1992), have investigated the use of Islamic language during the Gulf Crisis. The metaphor that was the essential point around which the discourse of Saddam Hussein revolved during the Gulf Crisis draws on the experience of Jihad wars of early Islam. The situation in the Gulf Crisis was perfect both to think and talk about the struggle against the allied forces that were led by the US. According to Bengio, in the Gulf war

> all the elements of *jihad* as the Ba'th understood them were clearly present from the start. The war placed Muslim Iraq opposite the "infidel Christian" world led by the United States. (Bengio 1998: 187)

The **JIHAD** metaphor was thus strategically exploited by Iraq during the Gulf Crisis. In addition to its potential influence in maintaining national solidarity within Iraq against its opponents, expressions of Jihad "served to mobilize Islamist sentiment in a range of countries in support of Saddam Hussein" (Halliday 1994: 91-113) and massive demonstrations took place in many places of the Islamic world denouncing the West (see Huntington 1998: 247-249). Saddam Hussein was even installed "as a new Caliph for all of Islam" (see Tibi 1998: 41).

Early Islamic historical experience could be divided into two major eras which Saddam Hussein maps conceptually onto Iraq's contemporary experience of the Gulf War. The criterion for the division is the power of the Muslim side in relation to other parties.

PERIOD ONE: This era covers the first period of Prophet Muhammed's prophethood. During this era, Prophet Muhammed and the very few people from Mecca who followed him were subjected to numerous kinds of violence and terrorism from the dominant social powers in the Meccan society who did not accept the new faith. The prototypical image of this era is the socially weak Muslim who shows readiness to bear all kinds of harm from others, just to keep his faith.

In his use of the **JIHAD** metaphor, Saddam Hussein maps elements belonging to this period onto situations in the Gulf Crisis where the Iraqi side, compared to the Allied Countries, was clearly in a weak position. So, Saddam Hussein presents the situation as if the Allied Countries are the Meccans who systematically harm Iraq after a goal of forcing

it, not to withdraw from Kuwait, but to abandon its faith. We get Saddam Hussein, for example, saying on the 26th of February 1991, following Iraq's withdrawal of its forces from Kuwait, that in reality Iraq was triumphant in the war:

[156] لقد انتصرتم بالحق على الباطل ايها النشامى، وكان الله ناصركم. لقد انتصرتم يوم رفضتم باسم الايمان ارادة الشر التي اراد الاشرار فرضها عليكم **لانتزاع جذوة الايمان من صدوركم**

[صدام- 18: ص 441]

[GLOSS] you have triumphed with truth over falsehood, O brave [people]. Allah was the one who made you triumph. You have triumphed when you rejected, in the name of faith, the will of evil which the evil ones **wanted to force on you to extract the firebrand of faith from your hearts.**

This expression raises in Arabic the image of the early Muslims, like بلال بن رباح Bilal bin Rabah and عمار بن ياسر Ammar bin Yasir (see Ibn Hisham 1411 Hegira) who were subjected to such harms as being forced to remain for long periods in the very hot sands, going without food and water, and being hit with stones. Those Muslims who were subjected to these pressures were called المستضعفون *al-mustad'afoon*. Saddam Hussein uses this term in several speeches to refer to Iraq and Iraqis. An example from the Iraqi political discourse realising using events from this period in the history of Islam is found in the following excerpt from an article published in the Iraqi newspaper *Al-Jamhouriyyah* (15 August 1990) by Watban Ibrahim Al-Hasan, a half brother of Saddam Hussein:

[157] ان فعلة الصهيونية والامبريالية الاميركية بمحاصرة العراق اقتصاديا تذكرني **بحصار الكفار للمسلمين في شعب ابي طالب في صدر الاسلام** يوم قاموا بمنع البيع والشراء من والى المسلمين، ونهبوا اموالهم. فما اشبه الليلةبالبارحة (in Matar 1994: 96)

[GLOSS] the deed of Zionism and American imperialism of blockading Iraq economically **reminds me of the *kuffar's* (unbelievers') blockade of the Muslims in the area of Bani Talib (the uncle of Prophet Muhammed) in the dawn of Islam** when they prevented selling to and buying from the Muslims, and they blundered their possessions; how similar is this night to last night (an idiom meaning *the present is very similar to the past*)

Al-Hasan here likens the siege imposed on Iraq following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait to the siege of the Meccans of early Muslims in Mecca who were in a weak position because of the small numbers of Islam's followers then. This is very different from the next period.

PERIOD TWO: This era covers the period after the conquest of Mecca which is referred to in Arabic history as فتح مكة *fat'hu Makkah* (*the Opening*[39] *of Mecca*). Prophet Muhammed asked his followers to go to *Yathrib*, also known as *Al-Madinah*, where he was welcomed by its people. After the Prophet established the early Islamic state in Yathrib and the early Muslims gained relatively good military power, the Prophet decided to *open*

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[39] Referring to a conquest of a country as an *opening* follows the metaphor COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER.

Mecca. This period, which followed this pivotal event in the history of Islam, is characterised by the expansion of Islam and fighting with other powers that stood against it. This era is represented by its *futoohat* (literally: *Openings*) which refers to the historical experience of the victories of the Islamic armies in gaining new lands. So, historically, we get such experiences as *fat'hu Faris (the Opening of Persia)* and *fat'hu Misr (the Opening of Egypt)*.

Elements of the expansion of Islam get mapped in Saddam Hussein's speeches onto the contemporary war in the Gulf in 1991. The war is represented as a war to spread Islam, a *jihad*, while the Allied Countries are forces that attempt to stop this expansion. Iraq, according to this metaphorical understanding, is an early Islamic army which attempts to *open* (*yaftah* يفتح) other countries. Saddam Hussein, in the following example, asks the Iraqi soldiers to fight the Allied forces because this will establish *fat'h al-futooh* (the Opening of all Openings):

[158] قاتلوهم اذ باندحارهم ستكونون في **المدخل النهائي لفتح الفتوح** وسوف تنتهي الحرب مع كل ما يحمل الموقف من الكرامة والمجد والظفر لشعبكم ولجيشكم ولأمتكم [صدام– 17: ص 430]

> [GLOSS] fight them, because by their defeat you will be in **the final gate to fat'h al-Futooh** (the Opening of [all] Openings) and the war will end with all that the event carries of honour, dignity and victory for your people, army and nation.

In another instance, after the defeat of the Iraqi forces, Saddam Hussein, manifesting this metaphorical understanding of the Gulf war, says that:

[159] سيتذكر الجميع ان **أبواب** القسطنطينية لم **تفتح** أمام المسلمين في أول محاولة جهادية [صدام– 18: ص 441]

> [GLOSS] everyone will remember that the **gates** of Constantinople did not **open** before the Muslims in the first Jihadi attempt

This metaphorical understanding is also manifested in using names of battles that the armies of Islam went through in their wars. An example is calling the Iraqi army as the army of القادسية *al-Qadisiyyah*. Al-Qadissiyyah was a battle that ended up with the expansion of Islam in Persia.

[160] قاتلوهم ايها النشامى الصناديد ... يا رجال ام المعارك والقادسية [صدام– 17: ص 430]

> [GLOSS] fight them, O strong and brave [soldiers]... O, men of Umm Al-Ma'arik (Mother of All Battles) and Al-Qadisiyyah

The following section is intended to discuss the reasons that a particular speaker chooses to systematically use an intertextual conceptual metaphor.

7.5. Pragmatic Needs for and Functions of Intertextual Metaphors

One of the major questions that need to be asked concerning the phenomenon of intertextual metaphors and their relation to translation is why a text or speaker resorts to this type of intertextuality and to past experiences to conceptualise present day political phenomena. We explore this question here in relation to the **JIHAD** metaphor.

Intertextual metaphors, such as the **JIHAD** metaphor, are an excellent example of the pragmatic potential of political metaphors. J. Wilson (1990) argues

> that metaphors are clearly pragmatic constructs, and that they are processed for their pragmatic relevance taking account of the relative strength of the assumptions they generate as input into any processing system (Wilson 1990: 130).

Although this is true of any kind of political metaphor, it gains more weight with intertextual metaphors. Past experience carries different entailments that bypass several real life facts that are not in the interests of the speaker. In the past experience of the JIHAD metaphor that is mapped to the present situation, there are only two sides of the struggle: Muslims and non-Muslims. In support of our analysis, but without viewing Saddam Hussein's speeches from an intertextual conceptual metaphor point of view, Bengio says:

> To speak of *jihad* was useful in that it gave the conflict in question the appearance of historical depth and helped to obscure its actual causes; it deprived the opposite side of legitimacy by implying that it was heretical or infidel; it augmented the fighters' motivation; and it made it easier to win Muslim states as allies, since joining a *jihad* was acting in the defense of faith. (Bengio 1998: 186, italics in the text)

The words *appearance* and *obscure* in Bengio's quotation are significant, since they point to one of the major aspects of conceptual metaphors, highlighting and hiding. Lakoff and Johnson said that "a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor" (1980b: 10). In the case of **GULF WAR IS A JIHAD WAR**, what is highlighted is the *appearance* that the Gulf War was a war between Islam and Infidelity. What is hidden or obscured is the fact that Iraq was invading an independent country, Kuwait. Using this metaphor would entail gathering the Muslim countries and peoples in one bloc (which Saddam Hussein called حشـد المؤمنين *hashd al-mu'minin*, literally *the grouping of believers*) and the non-Muslim countries and peoples in another bloc (خندق الكفر *khandaq al-kufr*, which is literally *the trench of*

unbelief). This is a very strong premise on which support from believers in Islam can be approached and almost secured[40].

Another entailment of this intertextual metaphorical mapping is that it embarrasses the governments of the Muslim countries which stood with the West (or which the West stood with) against Iraq, by presenting them as false Muslims. Under the influence of this **JIHAD** metaphorical ideology, several countries faced internal problems caused by people's rejection of cooperating with what were seen as the infidels. Indeed the whole discourse of Islamist politicians, such as Osamah Bin Ladin of Saudi Arabia, Muhammed Al-Maqdisi of Jordan and Rifai Ahmed Taha of Egypt[41], revolves around this intertextually metaphorical understanding of the present political situation. Of course, this argument we make does not underestimate the role of religion itself as a political factor (i.e. its general commands of fighting non-Muslims in specific circumstances), but one cannot also underestimate the role of the intertextual understanding of the situation of the present by using experiences of the past, i.e. the intertextual conceptual metaphors.

Intertextual metaphors are also powerful because they have a rich internal structure which not only describes the present in terms of the past, but also has the potential to predict a hypothetical future based on the past experience. In the early Islamic wars, the Muslims were the triumphant party in almost all their wars. By activating the **JIHAD** metaphor, the Iraqi party presented itself as being sure of the result of the war because "God is with us."

7.6. Intertextual 'Jihad' Metaphor and the Demands It Places on Translators

Now that we have presented a theoretical account for the nature of intertextual conceptual metaphors and their pragmatic functions, we will turn in the rest of this chapter to the implications of this for translation. First of all, we will discuss the different demands that this type of conceptual metaphor poses for translators. After that we will discuss particular instances of the **JIHAD** intertextual metaphor in order to see the nature of problems involved in handling this metaphor. The data are derived from speeches of Saddam Hussein during the Gulf Crisis and their English translation provided by the FBIS.

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[40] For more on the persuasive effects of political metaphors, see (Bosman 1987).
[41] See interviews with these Islamist politicians in the different issues of *Nida'ul Islam* magazine (www.Islam.org.au).

Intertextual metaphors must be distinguished from non-metaphorical intertextual references. An example of a non-metaphorical intertextual reference, a text, such as a speech of Saddam Hussein, can make a particular intertextual reference to someone in Arabic culture, such as the figure of الحسين بن علي Al-Hussein bin Ali, the grandson of Prophet Muhammed. (In one instance, Saddam Hussein said that he himself is one of his descendants.) This non-metaphorical intertextual reference carries highly functional entailments since this figure is a central figure in the history of Islam; the general public respect this man and look highly and with great respect at his descendants. This type of reference has to be clearly distinguished from intertextual conceptual metaphors, which follow the general mechanism by which all conceptual domains work. That is, intertextual domains *map a domain* which people associate with a particular historical era and which is represented in a particular text *onto* a political *experience* found in a different time that is characterised by different political conditions. In the case of the **JIHAD** metaphor, Saddam Hussein of Iraq maps the whole historical intertextual domain of Prophet Muhammed's (and his following Caliphs') wars against the *unbelievers* in the early stages of the expansion of Islam onto the Allied countries against Iraq in the early 1990s. As with other types of metaphors, intertextual metaphors map the structural and functional properties of the source domain onto the target domain. So the enemies are conceptualised and talked about as nonbelievers, and the army of Iraq is the army of God which defends Islam. With these structural (participating) elements of the Jihad war, functional elements and entailments are mapped. The force of these entailments are the properties that give such intertextual metaphors great appeal for the general Muslim and Arab public. This was very clear in the case of the Gulf War (as we noted earlier).

In addition to this, intertextual metaphors necessitate an encyclopaedic knowledge of the history and major texts of the source culture. A translator who does not have an encyclopaedic knowledge of the culture of the source text would not understand several linguistic instances that are realisations of intertextual metaphors. In the case of the Jihad metaphor this knowledge includes a deep knowledge of the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's life. Many Qur'anic verses were revealed, according to the Islamic understanding, to Prophet Muhammed on particular occasions that involved wars with his enemies. Knowledge of very specific events such as the war of الخندق *Al-Khandaq*, where early Muslims led by the Prophet were besieged by the *nonbelievers*, is essential to understand, for example, how Saddam Hussein uses this occasion metaphorically to conceptualize the siege that was imposed on Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990.

Another demand on translators has to do with ways of realising intertextual metaphors. The conceptual theory of metaphor suggests that metaphor is a conceptual process of mapping between domains which is realised linguistically. The linguistic realisation is normally seen as taking the form of lexical items. An example is the word *step* in *this is only a first step*, which realises the conceptual metaphor **LIFE IS A JOURNEY**. The data which we have put under analysis have shown us that, although lexical linguistic realisations are the most apparent form of linguistic realisations, there are other forms of realisation which require highlighting.

1) *Quotation from the Qur'an*: **Direct and Indirect**

A basic piece of information about the Holy Qur'an is that the revelation period lasted for twenty years of Prophet Muhammed's period of prophethood. Some Qur'anic verses were revealed to the Prophet in response to specific events of calling to Islam and the life of early Muslims. This means that for each verse or group of verses there is what is called in Arabic *asbabu annuzool* (*Reasons for Revelation*), which basically refers to the event in which the verse was revealed.

Knowing the link between verses and their original situations is important for understanding why a particular Qur'anic verse is used in speeches of such modern politicians as Saddam Hussein. These politicians' uses of the verses are metaphorical in that they map the whole verse with its original situation onto contemporary political situations (see also Shakir's 1996 discussion of the use of Qur'anic verse in Jordanian political texts).

There are two types of quotation from the Qur'an, and to a lesser extent from saying of the Prophet: direct and indirect. In the direct quotation/metaphor-realisation, there are linguistic markers that what is being said is directly quoted from the Qur'an, such as adding the phrase *Bismillahi alrahmani alraheem* (*In the name of Allah, the merciful and the beneficent*) which is conventionally read before reading Qur'anic verses, and the phrase *Sadaqa Allahu Al-Adhim* (*Verily Allah says the truth*). These markers signal that the speaker uses a Qur'anic verse.

In our corpus, the latter phrase was used while the former was not. This means that the translator has to know where the verse starts, especially in the written version of the text, if it does not include quotation commas ("...") or if the translator translates directly from an

oral source (as in the case of the FBIS translations of Saddam Hussein's speeches, which were delivered by him on Iraq's domestic radio).

Ignorance of these linguistic markers means that the translator can confuse the Qur'anic quoted verse and the statements by the speaker himself or herself, which in turn might lead the translator to make particular decisions as a result of misreading the source text and ignorance of the intertextual metaphorical use of the verses. The following two examples illustrate this point very clearly.

<u>Case 1:</u>

[161] سبعة اشهر على بدء المنازلة على اوسع نطاق القوة الغاشمة المقابلة، وعلى اوسع نطاق قوة الايمان الامامية المجاهدة التي يمثل ركبها العظيم شعب العراق الصابر المجاهد المؤمن، "والصابرين في البأساء والضراء وحين البأس اولئك الذي صدقوا واولئك هم المتقون" صدق الله العظيم [صدام- 15: ص418]

> [GLOSS] seven months since the beginning of the confrontation at the widest extent of the unjust opposite power, and at the widest extent of the mujahid leading belief force whose great procession [is represented by] the believing mujahid patient Iraqi people **"and those who are patient in good times and bad times and in the time of panic, those who believed and those who are pious"** Great Allah says the truth

Here, Saddam Hussein speaks about the *mujahidah* power of Iraq, which enables the country to endure difficulties in the cause of God. He then quotes the Qur'anic verse:

ليس البر أن تولوا وجوهكم قبل المشرق والمغرب ولكن البر من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر والملائكة والكتاب والنبيين وآتى المال على حبه ذوي القربى واليتامى والمساكين وابن السبيل والسائلين وفي الرقاب وأقام الصلاة وآتى الزكاة والموفون بعهدهم إذا عاهدوا والصابرين في البأساء والضراء وحين البأس أولئك الذين صدقوا وأولئك هم المتقون (177)

Ali gives the following translation for the verse

> 177 - It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces towards east or west; but it is righteousness to believe in God and the last day, and the angels, and the book, and the messengers; to spend of your substance, out of love for him, for your kin, for orphans, for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves; to be steadfast in prayer, and practice regular charity; to fulfil the contracts which ye have made; **and to be firm and patient, in pain (or suffering) and adversity, and throughout all periods of panic. Such are the people of truth, the God fearing.** (italics added)

This verse speaks about the Qur'anic concept of البر *al-berr* (*righteousness*). The last characteristic the Qur'an mentions is that righteousness includes those who remain patient at times of suffering and distress. Saddam Hussein uses the same part of this verse after speaking about the patience of Iraqi people and soldiers. The highlighted part of the Qur'anic verse below indicates the part quoted by Saddam Hussein.

Here, it is plain that the translator was confused as to the beginning of the verse. The indication of where the Qur'anic verse (which instantiates the **JIHAD** metaphor) begins, i.e., the two inverted commas ["], are delayed. Part of the verse, the highlighted part of the example, is presented as if it is of Saddam Hussein's own words. The confusion is manifested specifically in the translator's addition of *The Iraqi people* to the beginning of the Qur'anic verse.

Case 2:

The same happens in the following example:

[162]   ان بوش وأعوانه والاعراب الاشد كفرا ونفاقا هزموا في كل لحظة وكل دقيقة وكل ساعة وكل
يوم بعد خط البداية   [صدام- 15: ص 419]

[GLOSS] Bush and his aids and the A'Arab, **the strongest in [their] disbelief and hypocrisy,** were defeated in every moment, every minute, every hour and every day after the line of the beginning

Here the speaker, Saddam Hussein, uses one part of the metaphor, **GULF WAR IS A JIHAD WAR**, which has to do with *A'Arab* (see **SECTION 7.7.5.**). This realisation of the metaphor takes the form of a direct quotation of the Qur'an in the highlighted part of the example. The original Qur'anic verse is the following (9: 97):

الأعراب أشد كفرا ونفاقا وأجدر ألا يعلموا حدود ما أنزل الله على رسوله والله عليم حكيم)

(97

-97- The Arabs of desert are **the worst in unbelief and hypocrisy,** and most fitted to be in ignorance of the command which Allah hath sent down to His Messenger but Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise. (Ali's translation)

Now let us look at the translation:

[FBIS] Bush and his henchmen, and those Arabs **who are more atheistic and hypocritical than he,** were defeated in every moment, every minute, every hour, every day after the starting line was crossed. [SADDAM-15: p.192]

The point to be made about this translation is the misinterpretation of the Qur'anic verse that is used as a realisation of a conceptual intertextual metaphor. The phrase الاعراب اشد

كفرا ونفاقا *the-A'Arab [are] more-powerful [in] disbelief and-hypocrisy* is general and has an elliptical unsaid continuation. That is, the unsaid predicate of اشد *ashaddu* (*more*

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powerful in) is the implied *than any other human being.* This is captured, for example, in Ali's translation of the Qur'anic verse above.

In the FBIS translation, "*and those Arabs who are more atheistic and hypocritical than he*", the implicit general assumed predicate *than any other human being* is replaced by one precise individual, namely the American President Bush.

The above two examples indicate that the translator has an insufficient knowledge of the Qur'an, which is quoted as a way of instantiating the conceptual intertextual metaphor of **JIHAD**. The Qur'anic verses which originally appeared in contexts of wars between early Muslims and their enemies are mapped onto a contemporary situation of a war between Iraq and the international coalition that aimed at forcing the Iraqi army to leave Kuwait in 1991. Because of the ignorance of the intertextual metaphoric usage of the verses, the confusion that we discussed above took place.

2) Using Archaic Qur'anic Terms that Are No Longer Used in Present Day Arabic, or Ones that Are Used with a Different Meaning

Another special way of realising the intertextual conceptual metaphor of **JIHAD** is using Qur'anic lexical items to refer to experiences which could have been referred to using lexical items from contemporary Arabic. This way of realising this type of metaphor causes special translation problems. As the following two examples illustrate, translators run into problems regarding the referent of the lexical item used.

Case 1: *Idh'har* اظهار

The following example shows a case where the source Arabic text uses a lexical item, the verb *tastadhiru* (literally, *to champion*) but which was misread, as the translation indicates, because the translator was not aware of the fact that this lexical item is itself a form of realising the **JIHAD** metaphor.

[163]   ولن تنسى فعلهم الشرير امة العرب والعراقيون يساندهم جمع الانسانية الى جانب جمع
المسلمين المؤمنين بعد ان تفيق الانسانية من نومها وتستظهر الحق كما هو [صدام- 9: ص
[149

> [GLOSS] their evil deed will not be forgotten by the nation of Arabs and the Iraqis, as well as the gathering of humanity [who stood] on the side of the believing Muslims, after humanity wakes up from its sleep and tastadh'hiru **champions (Qur'anic usage)** the truth as it is.

In this example Saddam Hussein says that when humanity awakens from its sleep, i.e. discovers the reality of things, it will *champion* truth against falsehood, i.e. Iraq against the

US. But Hussein does not use the contemporary Arabic words *nasar* or *intasar li* but a word that carries the same meaning from the Qur'anic lexicon: ظاهر *dhahara*. The Qur'an, for example, says in (9: 3-4):

وبشر الذين كفروا بعذاب أليم (3) إلا الذين عاهدتم من المشركين ثم لم ينقصوكم شيئا
ولم يظاهروا عليكم أحدا فأتموا إليهم عهدهم إلى مدتهم إن الله يحب المتقين (4)

-3- ... And proclaim a grievous penalty to those who reject Faith. -4- (But the treaties are) not dissolved with those pagans with whom ye have entered into alliance and who have not subsequently failed you in aught, nor *[yudha'hiru]* aided any one against you. So fulfil your engagements with them to the end of their term: for Allah loveth the righteous. (Ali's translation, highlight added)

The FBIS translation is the following:

The Arabic and Iraqi nation will not forget their evil deed; they will be backed by the gathering of humanity alongside the gathering of the faithful Muslims, after humanity awakens from its sleep and **reveals** justice in its true form. [Saddam-9, p.141]

But a question arises as to why the translator/s decided to use the English *reveals* rather than any other word which has to do with support and assistance. The answer lies in the fact that the Arabic infinitive verb *dhahara* has two independent semantic meanings: to *support* or *champion* and to *emerge* (or make something emerge or appear). The first meaning, as used in the Qur'an, has disappeared in modern Arabic. That is, *dhahara* only means to reveal. This means that the translator/s were not aware of the intertextual metaphorical usage of this word and chose the contemporary meaning. The same appears in the following example where Saddam Hussein uses the noun form *idhar* in its two old meanings: supporting or championing, and revealing something. The speaker here speaks about the Palestinian support of Iraq during the Gulf Crisis.

ولقد تقدم الصفوف فيكم في مبادرة الاستجابة العظيمة لمناصرة العراق، شعب الحجارة الصامد، [164]
الذي اوكل الله له واجب اظهار الحق ضد باطل الصهاينة واظهار كم هو الحق مقتدر وكم هو
الباطل ضعيف عندما ينازله الحق [صدام- 9: ص 148]

[GLOSS] and the ranks in you in the initiative of the great reaction to support Iraq [were led by] the steadfast nation of the stones whom Allah entrusted [to have] the obligation of idh'har **championing** (Qur'anic use) the truth against the falsehood of the Zionists and idh'har **revealing** (contemporary normal use) how much (the extent to which) the truth is capable and how much the falsehood is weak when (it is) confronted by the truth

The word *idh'har* is used twice. In the first it is a realisation of the intertextual metaphor where domains of early Islamic life are mapped onto the present day situation. The Palestinians were assigned by Allah the duty of *idh'har*, supporting and championing, truth against the falsehoods of the Zionist movement. In the second where *idh'har* appears, the

Palestinians are described as able, through the support of truth against falsehood, to *show* or *reveal* the strength of truth and weakness of the Zionist ideas about Palestine. Looking at the translation we get a trend similar to the former example.

> [FBIS] The steadfast stone-throwing people who were assigned by God to perform the duty of **showing** right against the wrong of the Zionists led your ranks in **showing** great solidarity for Iraq, and in **showing** how capable right is, and how weak wrong becomes when it is confronted by right. [SADDAM-9: p.138]

This translation supports our explanation that the translators were not able to understand that there is an intertextual conceptual metaphor at work here. This metaphor is realised by using Qur'anic terms to refer to phenomena that could have been described with contemporary terms. The result of this ignorance of this special type of metaphor is that the translators were unable to retrieve the meaning of the lexical item mapped from the Qur'an to describe the contemporary phenomenon, so they stick to the only meaning attached to the word in contemporary Arabic.

Case 2: *Shuhada* شهداء

Another example of misunderstanding a lexical item that is mapped from the intertextual Qur'anic domain onto the contemporary Gulf Crisis is the following, in which a Qur'anic usage of a word is confused with another distinctive meaning that the same word is used to convey. Here the misinterpreted word is شهداء *shuhada'*.

[165] وها قد جاهد المجاهدون فلا حاجب بين المكانة مع الصديقين والشهداء عند الله وبين المجاهدين العراقيين غير ما يريده الله سبحانه ولا راد لارادته العظيمة [صدام- 15: ص418]

> [GLOSS] and now that the mujahidoon performed jihad so there is no screen [or barrier] in place between the truthful ones and the **shuhada' with-Allah** and the Iraqi *mujahideen* except what Allah Almighty wants and there is no rejection to his great will

The first meaning that will come to the mind of any Arab on hearing or reading this word is that of those who die in defence of their religion, i.e., *martyrs* in English. Although Saddam Hussein speaks about martyrs in several instances in his speeches, this is not what is meant in this particular example. In this expression Saddam Hussein instantiates the JIHAD metaphor to argue that since the Iraqi soldiers have fought against the Western infidels, they deserve a promise that Allah has given to the companions of Prophet Muhammed, i.e. to be put in heaven among prophets, truthful and good-doing believers and *shuhada'* (witnesses). This is clear in the following Qur'anic verse:

ومن يطع الله والرسول فأولئك مع الذين أنعم الله عليهم من النبيين والصديقين والشهداء والصالحين وحسن أولئك رفيقًا (69)

which Ali translates as follows:

> 69 - All who obey God and the apostle are in the company of those on whom is the grace of God, of the prophets (who teach), the sincere (lovers of truth), the **witnesses** (who testify), and the righteous (who do good): ah what a beautiful fellowship (highlight added)

Another Qur'anic verse in which *shuhada'* is mentioned is the following:

والذين آمنوا بالله ورسله أولئك هم الصديقون والشهداء عند ربهم لهم أجرهم ونورهم والذين كفروا وكذبوا بآياتنا أولئك أصحاب الجحيم (الحديد 57:19)

which Ali translates as:

> 19 - And those who believe in God and His apostles they are the Sincere (Lovers of Truth), and the **Witnesses** (who testify), in the eyes of their Lord: they shall have their Reward and their Light but those who reject God and deny Our Signs, they are the Companions of Hell Fire. (highlight added)

As Ali's translation of the two verses shows, the word *shuhada'* is interpreted in the Muslim tradition as those who bear *shahadah* (witness) about the prophethood of the messengers that Allah has sent. The infinitive verbal form is the Arabic *shahada* (to witness).

If we look at the English translation we get a case that is similar to the *idh'har* example above. The translator, being unaware that this word is mapped from the Qur'anic diction following the intertextual **JIHAD** metaphor, decides to use the widespread contemporary Arabic meaning of the term, i.e. *martyrs*.

> [FBIS] Now that the strugglers have struggled, God almighty does not make a distinction between the upright and **martyrs** on the one hand and the Iraqi strugglers on the other. [SADDAM-15: p.191]

Case 3: Fat'h فتح

A third example of such cases has to do with how the concept of *fat'h* فتح is handled. As discussed before, early Islamic armies sought to *open* countries for Islam. Conceptually speaking, countries were seen as **CONTAINERS** while Islam is seen as something that forces its way into the interior of these containers. Wars, from the Islamic point of view, take place because the dominant political powers refuse to let Islam in. Victories are thus called *futoohat* (openings). The most famous of these openings is the opening of Mecca during the life of Prophet Muhammed. The Qur'an (110: 1-3) says:

إذا جاء نصر الله والفتح (1) ورأيت الناس يدخلون في دين الله أفواجا (2) فسبح بحمد ربك واستغفره إنه كان توابا (3)

Ali translates this *surah* as follows:

1- When comes the Help of Allah, and Victory [originally, *fat⁻*, *opening*],

2- And thou dost see the People enter Allah's Religion in crowds,

3- Celebrate the Praises of thy Lord, and pray for His Forgiveness: for He is Oft-Returning (in Grace and Mercy).

This metaphorical idea is mapped, according to the requirements of the more general JIHAD intertextual conceptual metaphor, onto the victory that Iraq expects from the war. The following expression also refers to the noun *fat'h* intertextually through the expression *fat'h al-futooh*.

[166]   قاتلوهم اذ باندحارهم ستكونون في المدخل النهائي لفتح الفتوح وسوف تنتهي الحرب مع كل ما يحمل الموقف من الكرامة والمجد والظفر لشعبكم ولجيشكم ولأمتكم [صدام- 17: ص430]

> [GLOSS] fight them, because by their defeat you will be in the final gate to *fat'h al-futooh* **(the Opening of all Openings)** and the war will end with all that the event carries of honour, dignity and victory for your people, army and nation.

In addition to the historical concept of *fat'h* itself, the concept of *fat'h al-futooh* (*The Opening of [all] Openings*, or *the Major Opening*) itself refers to a particular experience in the history of the expansion of Islam. Specifically, the concept is used to refer to the opening of the city of نهاوند (Nahawand) in Persia. The classical Arab historian, Ibnu Katheer in his *Al-Bidayah wa Al-Nihayah (The Beginning and the End)* says about the Nahawand Battle:

وهي وقعة عظيمة جدا لها شأن رفيع ونبأ عجيب وكان المسلمون يسمونها فتح الفتوح[42]

> It is a very great battle which has a high significance and strange details. The Muslims used to call it *fat'h al-futooh* (AOT)

Ibnu Hajar in his book الإصابة (*al-isabah*) also confirms this.

If we look at the translation, we find that the realisation of the intertextual conceptual metaphor of FAT'H is shifted to the general term *victory*:

> [FBIS] Fight them because with their defeat you will be at the last entrance of **the victory of victories.** [SADDAM-17: p.205]

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[42] Source: Ibnu Kathir's *Al-Bidayah wa An'Nihayah* (electronic version 1.01) in Al-Muhaddith Program (www.muhaddith.org).

So, here again, a Qur'anic concept, *fat'h*, which does not only refer to any victory, but to a specific victory that is essentially associated with the early Islamic expansion, is rendered using a general term.

To sum up then, the above three instances illustrate, first, that the source language speaker instantiates an intertextual metaphor through the special form of using lexical items that were used during the past experience with a different contemporary meaning. In other words, intertextuality is a major component of the metaphorical meaning since metaphor is a constructive element of the sense. The examples also show that the translators were not aware of this intertextual level, so they render it using the contemporary meaning. The major problem that is caused by such translation is that it causes propositional shifts, i.e., the translation presents an idea which does not exist in the source text itself.

7.7. Specific Structural Elements of the Jihad Metaphor in Translation

This section will analyse specific instances of structural elements of the **JIHAD** intertextual metaphors as found in the speeches of Saddam Hussein and their FBIS translation. *Structural elements* mean the elements of the **JIHAD** metaphor refer to the major parties that constituted the historical experience of the Jihad. These include *mujahidoon, kuffar, mushrikoon, munafiqoon,* and *A'Arab*.

7.7.1. JIHAD and MUJAHIDOON

The basic finding is that with very few exceptions, the Arabic expression جهاد *jihad* was kept in all the English translations. There are two major translation procedures used. The first is to keep the same Arabic word *jihad* itself. This is the most prominent procedure. The Arabic word جهاد (*jihad*) is transliterated in English as *jihad*. The adjectival جهادي (*pertaining to jihad*) is rendered as *of jihad*. The noun مجاهد (*a person doing a jihad*) is rendered as *mujahid*, and its plural form in Arabic مجاهدين is rendered as *mujahideen*.

[167]   لان الطريق الى هذا المجد هو طريق الجهاد [صدام- 15، ص 658]

> [GLOSS] the path to this glory is the path of **jihad**

> [FBIS] The most important thing is that their place with God almighty is getting firmer and more sublime, because **jihad** is the road to this glory. [SADDAM-15: p.191]

[168]   و لا يبقى ليقرر النتيجة النهائية بعد ذلك الا ايمان المؤمنين وشجاعة اصحاب الموقف الوطني الشريف **والجهادي** المؤمن [صدام- 17، ص 430]

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[GLOSS] nothing remains to decide the final result after that except the faith of the believers and the courage of owners of noble national and believing **jihadi** stance

[FBIS] and the courage of those who adhere to their noble, nationalistic, and faithful stand of **jihad**. [SADDAM-17: p.206]

[169] ايها النشامى في قوات **الجهاد** والايمان رجال ام المعارك الاماجد [صدام-18، ص 439]

[GLOSS] O brave (men) in the forces of **jihad** and faith, glorious men of Umm Al-Ma'arik (Mother of all Battles)

[FBIS] O great people, O stalwart men in the forces of **jihad** and faith, glorious men of the Mother of Battles [SADDAM-18: p.207]

[170] ايها الاخوة عندما ابتدأت المنازلة ظن من ظن انها فورة شعار رفع على عجل ويكفي لازاحة جمع المؤمنين عن الطريق وأهدافه .، ان يتجمع جمع الاشرار والفاسدين والمشركين وان يكثروا من تجميع وسائل التدمير على حدود العراق المؤمن الصابر **المجاهد** لينهزم جمع الطليعة قبل ان يبني عليه المؤمنون جمعهم، وقد خاب ظنهم وفألهم [صدام- 9، ص147]

[GLOSS] Brothers, when the confrontation began, some (of those who thought) thought that it is an outburst of a slogan that was raised in haste, and it is enough to move the gathering of the believers from the path and its aims that the evils ones, corrupt and pagans and that they accumulate the means of destruction on the borders of **mujahid** patient believer Iraq so that the gathering of the leading group be defeated before the faithful build on it their gathering. Their thinking and wish failed.

[FBIS] Brothers, when the confrontation began, some thought that it was the outcome of a slogan raised in haste, and that to dissuade the gathering of the faithful from the path and its objectives, it was enough to accumulate a gathering of villains, reprobates, and infidels, and to accumulate the means of destruction on the border of the faithful. patient, and **mujahid** Iraq. so that the vanguard gathering would be defeated before all the faithful could build upon it. Their thinking and luck has failed them. [SADDAM-9: p.137]

[171] واصبحت ثقة الوطنيين والمؤمنين **والمجاهدين** والمسلمين أكبر من السابق بكثير وأصبح الأمل يقترب أكثر فأكثر [صدام- 18، ص 441]

[GLOSS] the confidence of nationalists, faithful, **mujahidin**, Muslims became much more than before and hope became nearer and nearer

[FBIS] The confidence of the nationalists and the faithful **mujahidin** and the Muslims has grown bigger than before, and hope grew more and more. [SADDAM-18: p.211]

The above examples show then that the concept of the action of *jihad* (and its different linguistic variations such as *jihadi* and *mujahid*) that is used metaphorically in speeches by Saddam Hussein during the Gulf Crisis was *reproduced* in the translation, at least phonologically. There are few cases where the translation prefers to keep one of the functional properties attached to the experience of **JIHAD**, i.e. that it is a struggle against unbelievers. So in the following, *jihad* is rendered as *struggle*, *mujahidoon* as *strugglers* and the adjectival form *jihadi* as *struggling*.

[172] من ذلك يظهر كيف ان سجل الشعوب وتاريخها لا يكونان من غير تراكم تتوالى فيه التضحيات وتتعمق فيه الحكمة والشجاعة والصبر والمثابرة على العمل **والجهاد** الحق وفق ما يرضاه الله

[GLOSS] from that it becomes clear that the record of peoples and their history do not exist without an accumulation in which sacrifices continue and wisdom, courage, patience, and perseverance in work and true **jihad**, according to what Allah accepts, become deeper

[FBIS] From this we can see the peoples' record, and history cannot exist without the accumulation of repeated sacrifices, wisdom, bravery, patient work, and true **struggle** to God's satisfaction. [SADDAM-4: p.111]

[173] نقول لهم (الامريكان) اننا سننازل قوتكم الغاشمة سواء هددتم بها او استخدمتموها منازلة تستحق كل تضحية نقدمها ويقدمها معنا مناضلو العرب **والمجاهدون** وكل اخيار العرب [صدام-6، ص70]

[GLOSS] we say to them (the Americans) that we will confront their unjust force, whether you [only] threaten with it or use it, a confrontation that deservers every sacrifice that we present or those [sacrifices] presented by the Arab militants, **mujahidoon**, and all good Arabs

[FBIS] We say to them we will fight your criminal force, whether you threatened us with it in a way that deserves every sacrifice by the militants and **strugglers** of the Arabs and the righteous Arabs. [SADDAM-6: p.122]

[174] سبعة اشهر على بدء المنازلة على اوسع نطاق القوة الغاشمة المقابلة، وعلى اوسع نطاق قوة الايمان الامامية المجاهدة التي يمثل ركبها العظيم شعب العراق الصابر **المجاهد** المؤمن [صدام-15: ص418]

[GLOSS] seven months since the beginning of the confrontation at the widest extent of the unjust opposite power, and at the widest extent of the mujahid leading belief force whose great procession [is represented by] the believing **mujahid** patience Iraqi people

[FBIS] Seven months have passed since the confrontation began on a most extensive level between the tyrannical opposing force and the forward struggler power of faith, whose great march is represented by the patient, **struggler**, faithful Iraqi people. [SADDAM-15: p.190]

[175] وها قد جاهد **المجاهدون** فلا حاجب بين المكانة مع الصديقين والشهداء عند الله وبين المجاهدين العراقيين غير ما يريده الله سبحانه ولا راد لارادته العظيمة [صدام-15: ص418]

[GLOSS] and now that **the mujahidoon performed jihad** so there is no screen [or barrier] in place between the truthful ones and the shuhada' with-Allah and the Iraqi **mujahideen** except what Allah Almighty wants and there is no rejection to his great will

[FBIS] Now that the **strugglers have struggled**, God almighty does not make a distinction between the upright and martyrs on the one hand. and the Iraqi **strugglers** on the other. [SADDAM-15: p.191]

[176] عنوان انتصار عظيم مبين لجمع الايمان **المجاهد** ولكل المؤمنين [صدام-15: ص419]

[GLOSS] ... is a title of a great clear victory for the **mujahid** gathering of faith and for all believers

[FBIS] The light of every new moon at the beginning of a new month is a sign of a great and certain victory for the **struggling** gathering of believers, and for all believers, and is absolute proof to anyone who needs proof that God is alive, capable, and great. [SADDAM-15]

[177] وهنا فاننا لا ننسى لاننا لن ننسى تلك الروح **الجهادية** العظيمة التي اقتحم فيها رجال مؤمنون بايمان عظيم صعد وقلاع الغدر والخيانة القارونية في يوم النداء الاغر [صدام- 18: ص 440]

[GLOSS] here, we do not forget, because we will not forget that great **jihadi** spirit with which faithful men, with great belief, broke into the Qaruni high places and forts of deception and treachery in the honorable day of the call.

[FBIS] Hence, we do not forget, because we will not forget this great **struggling** spirit, by which men of great faith stormed the fortifications and the weapons of deception and the Croesus' (Kuwaiti rulers) treachery on the honorable day of the call. [SADDAM-18: p.208]

[178] سيذكر الجميع ان ابواب القسطنطينية لم تفتح امام المسلمين في أول محاولة **جهادية** [صدام- 18: ص 441]

[GLOSS] all will remember that the gates of Constantinople were not opened in front of the Muslims in the first **jihadi** attempt

[FBIS] Everyone will remember that the gates of Constantinople were not opened before the Muslims in the first **struggling** attempt ... [SADDAM-18: p.211]

The only point we would like to raise regarding using the English expression *jihad* and *mujahideen* is that it raises different entailments than those raised in the Arabic intertextual جهاد (*jihad*) and مجاهدين (*mujahideen*). English dictionaries often define *jihad* as a Muslim holy war and some associate it with the *jihad* in Afghanistan against the Soviet forces in the 1980s. This example supports the findings of Chilton (1996) who discussed the difference between the Russian *dom*, which was used by Gorbachev in suggesting a common European house, and the English *house*:

> the cognitive model of *dom* was not the same as that associated with its translation equivalents (Chilton 1996: 277)

Similarly, the cognitive model of *jihad* and *mujahideen* in Arabic is more associated with the historical and intertextual experience of early Islamic Jihad, while the English transliterations have different associations which tend to be of a more general cognitive model that is more linked to Islamic war against infidels, with no reference to the specific experience mapped in Arabic onto the experience of war in the Gulf.

7.7.2.　KUFFAR and MUSHRIKOON

If the Iraqi forces are, in the Iraqi president's discourse, *mujahideen*, then their enemies are, following the entailments of the **JIHAD** intertextual metaphors, *kuffar* and *mushrikeen* (infidels and polytheists). While the first term is used generally to refer to any non-Muslim, the second is more specific. *Mushrikeen* is used in the Qur'an to refer to the group of Arabs who used to worship different idols and who believe that there are more than one god.

We find that *kuffar* is generally translated by the FBIS as *infidels* as in the following two examples.

[179]   ان الجهاد حق وواجب وان جمع المؤمنين من المحيط الى الخليج يتكاثر، وان جمع **الكفار**
والمنافقين والغزاة يضطرب قبل المنازلة الكبرى [صدام- 8: ص 112]

[GLOSS] Jihad is a right and a duty and the gathering of the faithful from the ocean to the Gulf is increasing and the gathering of **kuffar** and the munafiqin and the invaders is trembling before the big confrontation

[FBIS] Jihad is a right and an obligation. The faithful from the (Atlantic) to the (Arabian) Gulf are growing in number. The **infidels**, the hypocrites, and the invaders are trembling in anticipation of the major battle. [SADDAM-8: p.135]

[180]   نقول لفهد بانا ولغاية هذه اللحظة لم نستخدم الجيش عليك ولكن بعد ان تستخدم جيوش
الكفار علينا سيغدو بعد ذلك كل شيء ممكنا من جانب شعبنا تجاهكم [صدام- 13: ص 378]

[GLOSS] we say to Fahad [king of Saudi Arabia] that we, until this moment, have not used the army against you, but after you use the armies of **kuffar** on us, everything will become after that possible on the part of our people against you

[FBIS] We say to Fahd through you -as you, regrettably, have become his master and the sovereign power in his kingdom and over his people - that until this moment we have not used the army against you. But after using the armies of the **infidels** against you, everything will then become possible through our people toward you. [SADDAM-13: p.]

[181]   سينهزم جمع الفساد والضلال والنفاق **والكفر** [صدام- 18: ص 440]

[GLOSS] the gathering of corruption, misguidance, hypocrisy and **kufr** will be defeated...

[FBIS] ... and the gathering of the corruption, falsehood, hypocrisy, and **infidelity** will be defeated ... [SADDAM-18: p.]

The word *infidel* (and the noun *infidelity*) is a general word. That is, it, according to the American Heritage Dictionary, means "**1.** An unbeliever with respect to a particular religion, especially Christianity or Islam. **2.** One who has no religious beliefs." While it is true that this word can be understood to be a dictionary equivalent to the word *kafir* (the singular of *kuffar*), in the above examples it realises a particular *kuffar*, that is, those who lived and fought against Prophet Muhammed and his successors in the Islam expansion wars, following the metaphor **GULF WAR IS A JIHAD WAR**. The same applies to the following two examples where the concept of *kufr* is rendered as atheism:

[182]   دخلنا هذا الشهر السابع بعد أول يوم على طريق منازلة الحق والايمان للباطل والكفر [صدام-
15: ص 418]

[GLOSS] we have entered this seventh month after the first day on the confrontation of truth and faith against falsehood and **kufr**

[FBIS] We have entered this seventh month after the first day of the path of the battle of righteousness and faith against falsehood and **atheism**. [SADDAM-15: p.189]

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[GLOSS] so how did you imagine that the threat frightens and scares them from the centre of **kufr** which you represent?

[FBIS] ... how can you imagine that threats can intimidate and frighten them when such threats come from the **atheist** position which you represent? [SADDAM-13: p.166]

Here again the historical experience that provides the source domain for the **JIHAD** conceptual metaphor is lost. In addition to that, the general meaning of *atheism* (= الجاد *ilhad* in Arabic) is quite different from that of *kufr*, since the former refers in Arabic to denial of the existence of Allah, while the latter refers to adopting any religion other than Islam. So, Christians are regarded as *kuffar* (infidels) but not *mulhideen* (atheists).

7.7.3.   MUNAFIQOON

Al-Munafiqoon (literally, *the hypocrites*) was a group that lived in the time of Prophet Muhammed. There is a whole Qur'anic *surah* called *Al-Munafiqoon*. The Qur'an provides some characteristics of them.

إذا جاءك المنافقون قالوا نشهد إنك لرسول الله والله يعلم إنك لرسوله والله يشهد إن المنافقين لكاذبون (1)
اتخذوا أيمانهم جنة فصدوا عن سبيل الله إنهم ساء ما كانوا يعملون (2) ذلك بأنهم آمنوا ثم كفروا
فطبع على قلوبهم فهم لا يفقهون (3) وإذا رأيتهم تعجبك أجسامهم وإن يقولوا تسمع لقولهم كأنهم
خشب مسندة يحسبون كل صيحة عليهم هم العدو فاحذرهم قاتلهم الله أنى يؤفكون (4)

1- When the **Hypocrites** come to thee, they say, "We bear witness that thou art indeed the Messenger of Allah." Yea, Allah knoweth that thou art indeed His Messenger, and Allah beareth witness that the Hypocrites are indeed liars.

2- They have made their oaths a screen (for their misdeeds): thus they obstruct (men) from the Path of Allah: truly evil are their deeds.

3- That is because they believed, then they rejected Faith: so a seal was set on their hearts: therefore they understand not.

4- When thou lookest at them, their exteriors please thee; and when they speak, thou listenest to their words. They are as (worthless as hollow) pieces of timber propped up, (unable to stand on their own). They think that every cry is against them. They are the enemies; so beware of them. The curse of Allah be on them! How are they deluded (away from the Truth)! (Ali's translation)

One characteristic of *Al-Munafiqoon* was thus that although they showed that they converted to Islam and that they were on the side of Prophet Muhammed against his

enemies, they are actually a *fifth column* for his enemies, so to speak. The following two Qur'anic verses (4: 138-139) show this.

بشر المنافقين بأن لهـم عذابا أليـما (138) الذين يتخذون الكـافرين أولياء من دون المؤمنين أيبتغون عندهــم العزة فأن العزة لله جميعا (139)

138- To the Hypocrites give the glad tidings that there is for them (but) a grievous penalty;

139- Yea, to those who take for friends Unbelievers rather than Believers: is it honour they seek among them? nay, all honour is with Allah. (Ali's translation)

Saddam Hussein, following the conceptual metaphor **GULF WAR IS A JIHAD WAR**, referred to *Al-Munafiqoon*. But in his discourse, *Al-Munafiqoon* is a reference to Arab rulers (of such countries as Egypt and Syria) who did not stand by Iraq and who, although they apparently held political stances against the war against Iraq, were (in his view) actually assistants of the Western plans. About the use of the word *munafiqoon*, Bengio said

> These [people whom Saddam Hussein regarded as collaborators with America], first and foremost the Saudis, were in reality no more than *munafiqun* (hypocrites). Calling them and other Arabs by that name immediately evoked the original seventh-century *munafiqun* - those inhabitants of Medina who sat on the fence regarding Muhammad's mission. Muhammad had regarded them as unbelievers destined for the fires of hell. (Bengio 1998: 187)

In the English translation, two procedures were used to deal with *Al-munafiqoon*. Those are translating it as "hypocrites" and "liars" as the following two examples show.

[184] ان الجهاد حق وواجب وان جمع المؤمنين من المحيط الى الخليج يتكاثر، وان جمع الكفار والمنافقين والغزاة يضطرب قبل المنازلة الكبرى [صدام- 8، ص 112]

[GLOSS] Jihad is a right and a duty and the gathering of the faithful from the ocean to the Gulf is increasing and the gathering of kuffar and the **munafiqeen** and the invaders is trembling before the big confrontation

[FBIS] Jihad is a right and an obligation. The faithful from the (Atlantic) to the (Arabian) Gulf are growing in number. The infidels, the **hypocrites**, and the invaders are trembling in anticipation of the major battle. [SADDAM-8: p.135]

[185] تحية تقدير ومحبة الى كل مسلم ساءه ان يرى الكفار **والمنافقين** يمعنون بأبناء العراق من اطفال ونساء وشيوخ عزل ذبحا وتقتيلا من غير ان يرفض العدوان ضد الامة التي حملت اليه القران مبشرة بمبادىء الاسلام الحنيف [صدام- 15: ص 419-420]

[GLOSS] greetings and appreciation and love to every Muslim offended to see kuffar and **munafiqeen** going too far in slaughtering and killing the sons of Iraq, including unarmed children, women, old men, without rejecting the aggression against the ummah (nation) which carried to him the Qur'an preaching the principles of straight Islam

[FBIS] Greetings of appreciation and love to every Muslim who has been pained to see the group of infidels and **liars** killing and maiming Iraqi children, women, and old men, and who has rejected this aggression against this nation that has brought

to him the Koran, which preaches the orthodox principles of Islam. [SADDAM-15: p.194]

The following diagram illustrates the problems involved in translating *munafiqoon* as *hypocrites* or *liars*.
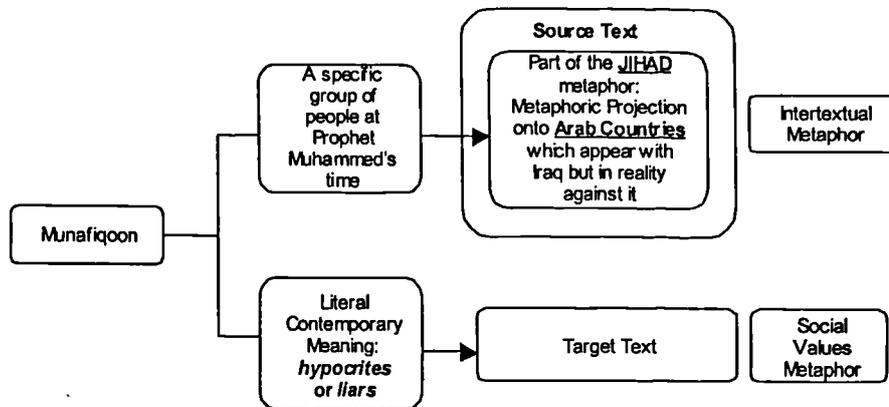
Figure 18: The MUNAFIQOON Metaphor in Translation

The figure shows that the result of this literal-dictionary (*munafiqoon* to *hypocrites* and liars) procedure of what is originally meant to be an intertextual conceptual metaphor carries the potential to be understood as a social metaphor. So while the word *munafiq* in Saddam Hussein's speeches implies the **JIHAD** metaphor, the English word *hypocrite*, which is the exact dictionary meaning for *munafiq*, refers to an attribute which realises a metaphor that already exists in the political discourse in English, namely the **COMMUNITY** metaphor, where social agents and values are mapped metaphorically to understand international politics. More particularly American external policy has been criticised as being hypocritical. Reading the English translation of Saddam Hussein' speeches, potentially, would lead the reader to assume that the original speaker is another one arguing against American hypocrisy. The politician's *hypocrisy* has been noted by, among others, politicians, journalists and writers. The American international policy has been described as *the height of hypocrisy* (Brzezinski 1998).

Translating *munafiqoon* as *liars* also shifts the expression from being a sign of intertextual metaphor to a sign of social life metaphor. That is, while *munafiqoon* refers exclusively to the present day Arab countries that are insincere in their Arabhood, just like the real *al-munafiqoon* who lived among the early Muslims, showing faith in Islam that in reality they did not hold, the word *liars* is based on the social value of being truthful in what one says. The word *liars* is general and can be seen to refer to any other country in the world and not exclusively to the Arab countries, as *Munafiqoon* implies.

7.7.4.   AL-A'ARAB

In several speeches, Saddam Hussein refers to the rulers of the Gulf using the word *Al-A'Arab*. An example is the following:

[186]   ان بوش وأعوانه والاعراب الاشد كفراً ونفاقا هزموا في كل لحظة وكل دقيقة وكل ساعة
وكل يوم بعد خط البداية [صدام- 15: ص 419]

> [GLOSS] Bush and his aids and the **A'Arab, the strongest in [their] disbelief and hypocrisy,** were defeated in every moment, every minute, every hour and every day after the line of the beginning

Al-A'Arab is a proper noun that was used in the days of Prophet Muhammed to refer to the Arabs who live in the desert. Al-A'Arab tribes include Banu Asad, Banu Ghaffar, and others Although they belong to the same race as urban Arabs, they nevertheless gained a negative reputation of being harsh and uncivilized. This negative stereotype is illustrated in the following two verses in the Holy Qur'an (9: 97-98) that speaks about this group saying

الأعراب أشد كفراً ونفاقا وأجدر ألا يعلموا حدود ما أنزل الله على رسوله والله عليم حكيم)
97) ومن الأعراب من يتخذ ما ينفق مغرماً ويتربص بكم الدوائر عليهم دائرة السوء والله سميع
عليم (98)

97 - The **Arabs of desert** are the worst in unbelief and hypocrisy, and most fitted to be in ignorance of the command which God hath sent down to his Apostle: but God is All knowing, All wise.
98- Some of the desert Arabs look upon their payments as a fine, and watch for disasters for you: on them be disaster of evil: for Allah is he that heareth and knoweth (all things). [43] (Ali's translation)

Explaining this verse, Abu Ja'far Al-Tubari says in his book *Jami' Al-Bayan an Ta'weel Ay Al-Qur'an,*

الأعراب أشد جحودا لتوحيد الله وأشد نفاقا من أهل الحضر في القرى والأمصار. وإنما وصفهم جل ثناؤه
بذلك لجفائهم وقسوة قلوبهم وقلة مشاهدتهم لأهل الخير، فهم لذلك أقسى قلوبا وأقل علما بحقوق
الله[44]

> Al-A'Arab are stronger in their denial of the unity of God and more hypocritical than the urban people in the villages and the cities. Allah described them in this manner because of their harshness and the toughness of their hearts and because they rarely see people of goodness. That is why they have harsher hearts and they are less knowledgeable of the rights of Allah. (AOT)

In addition to this stereotypical aspect of *Al-A'Arab*, they are also present in the Muslim memory for refusing to help Prophet Muhammed in different occasions when he required

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[43] The proper noun Al-A'arab is rendered as "the wandering Arabs" (Pickthall, 1930), "the Arabs of the desert" (Rodwell, 1994), and "desert Arabs" (Dawood 1997).
[44] Source: Abu Ja'far Al-Tubari's *Jami' Al-Bayan an Ta'weel Ay Al-Qur'an* (electronic version) in Al-Muhaddith Program (www.muhaddith.org).

them to do so. In addition, they are not known for being genuine believers in Allah, although they appear to be Muslims. In the Qur'an (49-14) we get the following verse:

قالت الأعراب آمنا قل لـم تؤمنوا ولكن قولوا أسلمنا ولما يدخل الإيمان في قلوبكم

The desert Arabs say, "We believe." Say, "Ye have no Faith; but ye (only) say, 'We have submitted our wills to Allah,' for not yet has Faith entered your hearts. (Ali's translation)

Saddam Hussein uses this negative stereotype about the *Al-A'arab* to metaphorically describe the rulers of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states. This metaphor works by mapping the negative associations of the *A'Arab* onto those present-day rulers. *Al-A'Arab* are also mentioned in the Qur'an associated with the characteristic of *nifaq*, hypocrisy. This is illustrated in the verse that follows the above verse.

> Some of the desert Arabs look upon their payments as a fine, and watch for disasters for you: on them be disaster of evil: for God is he that heareth and knoweth (all things). (Ali's translation)

Al-A'Arab here are a group who are not sincere in paying for the sake of Islam. This concept is also present in seeing Gulf Arab rulers as *A'Arab*. Gulf states, especially Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, were major financial supporters of Iraq during its war with Iran. Using the term *A'Arab* to refer to them carries the entailment of insincere supporters. Functionally speaking, this metaphor provides a means by which Saddam Hussein could, in speaking about a present day political group, activate the negative associations of *al-a'Arab* to suggest that the rulers of the Gulf have an ethical problem.

As far as translation is concerned, the general observation is that the translators were not aware of the metaphorical usage of the word *Al-A'Arab*. Among the translations of *Al-A'Arab*, we get *Arabs, false Arabs,* and *Arabians,* as the following examples show.

[187] ان بوش وأعوانه **والاعراب** الاشد كفرا ونفاقا هزموا في كل لحظة وكل دقيقة وكل ساعة وكل يوم بعد خط البداية [صدام– 15: ص419]

[GLOSS] Bush and his aids and the **A'Arab**, the strongest in [their] disbelief and hypocrisy, were defeated in every moment, every minute, every hour and every day after the line of the beginning

[FBIS] Bush and his henchmen, and those **Arabs** who are more atheistic and hypocritical than he, were defeated in every moment, every minute, every hour, every day after the starting line was crossed. [SADDAM-15: p.192]

[188] انها البشرى التي لا تخطيء ايها النشامى وأيتها الماجدات اللاتي استكثر عليكن **الاعراب** وصف المجد فراحوا يخططون ليدنس المجد بدنياهم الخائبة [صدام– 15: ص419]

[GLOSS] It is the promise that makes no mistake, O brave (men) and glorious women who the **A'Arab** regarded the description of glory too much for you, so they began planning to contaminate the glory with their falling lives

[FBIS] It is the unmistakable promise, O brave men and glorious women of Iraq. The **false Arabs** thought it was too much for you to be described as glorious, so they started planning to desecrate glory by their losers' life; [SADDAM-15: p.193]

[189] لقد وجد اولئك النفر من **الاعراب** وربما غيرهم من بعض الحكام حتى بعض الاجانب ان كل صفة ايجابية فيكم وفي بنائكم تفضح وبمرايا مستديمة نقصهم بل وعورتهم امام الشعب والامة [صدام–16: ص427]

[GLOSS] those group of **A'Arab**, and maybe others of the rulers, even some foreigners, that any positive feature in you and in your structure reflects, with eternal mirrors, their shortcoming, even their awrat[45] in front of the people and the ummah (nation)

[FBIS] ... that group of **Arabs**, and maybe other rulers, and even foreigners, have found that every positive feature in you and your structure reflects in a shining mirror their shortcomings and defects before the people and the nation. [SADDAM-16: p.201]

[190] وانتصار كبير مبين لهم ولكل الانسانية على الطاغوت والخيانة والعار الذي تمثله اميركا ومعها الخونة من **الاعراب** والحلفاء الظالمين الخاسئين عبيد بوش. [صدام– 15: ص419]

[GLOSS] (describing Iraq's victory) ... and an obvious big victory for them and for all humanity against tyranny, treason and shame which is represented by America and with it the **A'Arab** traitors and the unjust and lowly allies, the slaves of Bush

[FBIS] ... and remarkable victory for them and for mankind over tyranny, treason, and shame represented by the United States, the **Arabian** traitors, and the unjust and defeated allies, who are the slaves of Bush. [SADDAM-15: p.191]

The following diagram shows the problems involved in rendering *A'Arab* as *Arabs Arabians*.
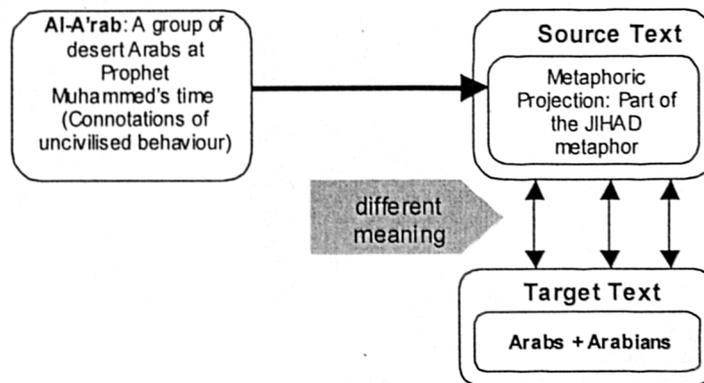
Figure 19: AL-A'RAB Metaphor in Source Text and in Translation

As the diagram shows, the FBIS translation (*Arabs, false Arabs,* and *Arabians*) loses all traces to the intertextual experience as represented by the Arabic word الاعراب *Al-A'Arab*. The different choices of the FBIS translation all miss the point that is highlighted in the source text. All the associations of the historical *A'Arab* group that are mapped onto the

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[45] See section 5.2.4. for a discussion of *awrat*.

target domain of contemporary Arab countries who stood against Iraq during the Gulf war are completely lost.

7.8. Citations from the Qur'an

As we have argued before, one of the major ways to realise the **JIHAD** conceptual metaphor is to use Qur'anic verses. According to Islamic belief, the Qur'an was revealed to Prophet Muhammed from Allah in response to different events during the Prophet's life. Several of those events were related to battles against enemies of early Islam. As far as the Iraqi president's discourse is concerned, there are two major ways of realising the metaphorical usage of Qur'anic verses: direct and indirect.

7.8.1. Direct Citations

In direct citation, the source language speaker uses a Qur'anic verse with linguistic markers that show the citation. The FBIS translation often translates these verses directly. After the Qur'anic quotation, the translation tends to add *(Koranic Verse)* as in the following example.

[191] بل ان العراقيين وانتم ايها الاخوة في كل مكان لا يليق بجدية تهيؤكم للمنازلة الا جمع كهذا او ما هو اكبر منه بكثير اذ لا يليق بجمع المؤمنين جمع بمثلهم او بزيادة طفيفة عنهم. "يا ايها النبي حرض المؤمنين على القتال ان يكن منكم عشرون صابرون يغلبوا مائتين وان يكن منكم مائة يغلبوا الفا من الذين كفروا بانهم قوم لا يفقهون" صدق الله العظيم [صدام-9: ص 149]

[GLOSS] but the Iraqis, and you brothers in everywhere, it does not fit with the seriousness of your preparedness to the confrontation but a gathering like this, or that which is much bigger than it, that is because for the gathering of believers it does not fit [that they face] a gathering like theirs or little bigger than you. **Apostle urge the believers to fight, if they were patient twenty of them, they will defeat two hundred, and if they were one hundred, they will defeat one thousand of those who are disbelievers; that is because they are a group that do not understand.**

[FBIS] 0 Iraqis, and 0 you brothers everywhere, such a group or a larger group is appropriate for the seriousness with which you have prepared for the confrontation. The believers should not confront a group similar to their own or slightly greater. **Apostle, rouse the believers to the fight. If there are 20 amongst you, patient and persevering, they will vanquish 200; if a hundred, they will vanquish a thousand of the unbelievers, for those are a people without understanding (Koranic verse).** [SADDAM-9: p.142]

In this example Saddam Hussein argues that the number of the Allied forces should not scare the Iraqi soldiers. In fact, the argument goes, the believers should expect bigger enemy forces because numbers are not important. He then quotes the Qur'anic verse (8: 65)

يا أيها النبي حرّض المؤمنين على القتال إن يكن منكم عشرون صابرون يغلبوا مئتين وإن يكن
منكم مئة يغلبوا ألفا من الذين كفروا بأنهم قوم لا يفقهون (سورة الانفال 8)

65- O Prophet! rouse the Believers to the fight. If there are twenty amongst you, patient and persevering, they will vanquish two hundred: if a hundred, they will vanquish a thousand of the Unbelievers: for these are a people without understanding. (Ali's translation)[46]

This verse was, according to the Islamic view, revealed to the Prophet in the Battle of Badr when the Muslims feared their enemy who outnumbered them. In the example above, the Iraqi president metaphorically maps this to the contemporary experience. The entailment is that the Iraqi army should behave like the early Muslims who after the revelation of this verse got stronger and did not fear the number of the soldiers of their enemy. The translation, although recognising that this is a Qur'anic verse, has one problem, namely that it does not show where the Qur'anic quotation begins. So there is not any sign telling that passage beginning with *Apostle, rouse the believers to the fight...* is actually a Qur'anic quotation.

The following examples show a similar tendency. The symbol ▶ will be used here to signal the point at which the Qur'anic verse, which is quoted intertextually, starts.

[192] انها ارادته سبحانه وليس ارادة الانسان فيها الا ارادة طائعة ومختارة في الوقت نفسه، طائعة لما يريده الله ويرضاه، ومختارة لميدان واهداف الفضيلة والعز والايمان، لدور المؤمنين في الحياة ودورهم ضد الظلم والظالمين، وضد الفساد والفاسدين، وضد طاغوت العصر، الادارة الاميركية الحمقاء، وصنيعتها الكيان الصهيوني، واولئك الملعونين ممن تحالفوا معها على الشر والرذيلة والطغيان، (ولتكن منكم امة يدعون الى الخير ويأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر واولئك هم المفلحون) صدق الله العظيم [صدام-12: ص312]

[FBIS] It is the will of God almighty; the will of man in it is merely an obedient and yet a choosing will. It is obedient to what God wants and accepts; however, it chooses the arena and objectives of virtue, dignity. and faith, and the role of Muslims in life and their role against injustice and the unjust, corruption and the corrupt, and against the devil of the age that is, the stupid U S Administration and its protege, the Zionist entity, and those cursed ones who allied themselves with it on evil and vice and tyranny. ▶ Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. They are the ones to attain felicity (Koranic verses). [SADDAM-12: p.161]

[193] انها فاصلة زمن اضافي مما يحرر النفس والنفيس ويحرر مقدسات العرب والمسلمين في مكة والمدينة وبيت المقدس، ويضع الانسان العربي المؤمن الشريف يتقدم الصف في صفوفه العراقيون أمام مستقبل وحاضر لا يستطيع ان ينقص عليه احد، او جهة حياة او يكدر لها خيار عبادة الله "وانزل فريقا من الذين ظاهروهم من اهل الكتاب من صياصيهم وقذف في قلوبهم الرعب فريقا تقتلون وتأسرون فريقا واورثكم ارضهم وديارهم واموالهم وارضا لم تطأوها وكان الله على كل شيء قديرا" صدق الله العظيم [صدام- 15: ص419]

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[46] We would like to point at the fact that the FBIS translation uses Ali's translation of the Qur'an in rendering these verses, with minor shifts, as changing *Prophet*, in the beginning of the verse, to *Apostle*.

[FBIS] It is the chapter of an additional time which will liberate the souls and all precious things. It will also liberate the holy places of the Arabs and Muslims in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. It will place the faithful Arab men and the Iraqis in the front ranks and prepare for them a future and a life that no one can disturb. ▶ And those of the people of the book who aided them God did take them from their strongholds and cast terror into their hearts, so that some ye slew, and some ye made prisoners. And He made you heirs of their lands, their houses, and their goods, and of a land which ye had not frequented before. And God has power over all things (Koranic verse). Verily, God said the truth. [SADDAM-15: p.194]

7.8.2.   Indirect Citations

In addition to the direct Qur'anic quotations, which in the translation were signaled by adding (*Koranic Verses*) as we have seen above, in the indirect quotations, the source language speaker does not present any sign of quotation. The translation procedure used to handle this type of realising the **JIHAD** metaphor is to present a literal translation, without any linguistic marker signaling the Qur'anic quotation. An example is the following.

[194] عمق العراق اليوم هو كل الخيرين المؤمنين من ابناء الامة الاسلامية وكل الخيرين في العالم،
تقف في مقدمتهم الشعوب المسحوقة بفعل ظلم المستغلين الاميركان وغيرهم وقبل كل هذا
وذاك ان الله معهم [صدام-9: ص 149]

[GLOSS] the depth of Iraq today is all the good believers of the Islamic nation and all the good people in the world, led by the peoples oppressed by the unjustness of the American and other exploiters, and before this and that **Allah is with them**

[FBIS] ... led by the oppressed people who are treated unfairly because of the injustice inflicted by the exploiting Americans and others. First and foremost, **God is with them.** [SADDAM-9: p.143]

The expression الله مع *Allah ma'a* (*Allah is with* ...), meaning that God supports someone, might not seem as a sign of any metaphor. However, we argue that a deeper look at the Arabic expression will show that it interacts systematically with the **JIHAD** metaphor which maps the experience of Jihad during the early Islamic times onto the Gulf Crisis. That is, the expression *inna Allaha ma'ahum* (Allah is with them) maps a Qur'anic verse in which the same expression appears. What is to be considered here is not the expression itself but the entailed events and connotations to which it is attached. That is, Saddam Hussein in the above example speaks about the support that Iraq has achieved among other nations which, in his view, can guarantee Iraq's triumph over the coalition against it. In the Arabic expression, the وقبل كل هذا (*before all this* or *what is more crucial than all this support*) that precedes the expression *inna Allaha ma'ahum* (*Allah is with them*) is very

significant in that it maps the entailments raised in the remainder of the Qur'anic verse which Saddam Hussein does not quote. Let us look at the Qur'anic verse (9: 40):

إلا تَصُرُوهُ فقَد نصرَهِ اللهِ إذ أخرجَهِ الذين كفروا ثاني اثنين إذ هما في الغار إذ يقول لصاحبه لا تحزن إن الله معنا فأنزل الله سكينته عليه وأيده بجنود لم تروها وجعل كلمة الذين كفروا السفلى وكلمة الله هي العليا والله عزيز حكيم

Ali translates this verse as:

> 40 - If ye help not (your Leader), (it is no matter): for God did indeed help him, when the unbelievers drove him out: he had no more than one companion: they two were in the Cave, and he said to his companion, have no fear, **for God is with us**: then God sent down his peace upon him, **and strengthened him with forces which ye saw not, and humbled to the depths the word of the unbelievers**. But the word of God is exalted to the heights: for God is exalted in might, wise

This verse addresses early Muslims, telling them that if they do not help the Prophet in his struggle against his enemies, Allah himself would help him. It narrates the story of the *al-Ghar* (the Cave) to which the Prophet and his companion Abu Bakr (who later became the Prophet's successor and the first Islamic Caliph) escaped from a plot to kill the Prophet. The verse goes on to argue that God has championed the Prophet with *junoodun lam tarawha* (*soldiers that you did not see*) which is a reference to a belief that Allah sent angels to fight with the Muslim army led by the Prophet in the Battle of Badr (for a full narration of the story, see Ibn Hisham 1411 Hegira*)*.

In his speech, Saddam Hussein, by using the expression *inna Allaha ma'hum* (*God is with them*) maps not only the idea that God will help the Iraqis, which is more important and crucial than any other moral or even material help that Iraq receives from other countries and peoples, but the belief that despite the apparent superiority of the military capabilities of the Coalition forces, God will send angels from the heavens that will fight with the Iraqi armies against the *kuffar*, just as Allah sent those angels to assist Prophet Muhammed in early Islam.

We have given this detailed analysis of this verse because we think that it shows a case where an intertextual metaphor realised in the form of a quote from the Qur'an is full of explicit and implicit entailments. The aim is to compare this with the English *literal* translation of the expression (*God is with them*) which, although it keeps the image schematic idea of **SUPPORT** in religious terms, is far from giving a real picture of the intertextual metaphorical world of the source text.

To sum up then, Qur'anic verses which are related to the war against enemies of Islam which, in the Muslim belief, were revealed to Prophet Muhammed in the early days of Islam, were used in the speeches of the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein as a realisation of the general conceptual intertextual metaphor **GULF WAR IS A JIHAD WAR**. This was achieved through both direct and the indirect quotations. In the direct quotation, translators are aware of the presence of the Qur'anic verses, as shown by adding *(Koranic verses)*. (However, they do not use any procedure to show the beginning of the quoted verses which might confuse the reader as to which are the original speaker's own words and which are quoted. A solution could have been to provide the traditional inverted commas "... ".)

In treating the indirect quotations, the translators do not seem to be aware of the Qur'anic verses since the translation follows a literal strategy which cannot tell the reader that the original speaker uses an instance of the **JIHAD** intertextual metaphor.

7.9. The Case of Qarun

Before we end this chapter, we would like to point at an interesting case of translators' handling of intertextual metaphor, namely that of *Qarun*. Saddam Hussein uses this metaphor to describe the Emir of Kuwait Jabir Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah. Qarun is a Qur'anic figure who is famous for extraordinary wealth.

This figure is mentioned four times in the Holy Qur'an. One of those is in Surat *Al-Qasas*, in verse 76.

إن قارون كان من قوم موسى فبغى عليهم وآتيناه من الكنوز ما إن مفاتحه لتنوء بالعصبة أولي القوة إذ قال له قومه لا تفرح إن الله لا يحب الفرحين (76)

76- Qarun was doubtless, of the people of Moses; but he acted insolently towards them: such were the treasures We had bestowed on him, that their very keys would have been a burden to a body of strong men. Behold, his people said to him: Exult not, for Allah loveth not those who exult (in riches). (Ali's translation)

He is also mentioned in verse 79 of the same *Surah*:

قال الذين يريدون الحياة الدنيا يا ليت لنا مثل ما أوتي قارون إنه لذو حظ عظيم (79)

Said those whose aim is the Life of this World: Oh! that we had the like of what Qarun has got! for he is truly a lord of mighty good fortune! (Ali's translation)

What is important here is not only the ontological aspects of the metaphor **PRINCE JABIR IS QARUN**, but the epistemic inferences. For Muslims, Qarun activates the connotations of a rich man who had a huge amount of money but who, alas, got over-proud of his money and rejected Allah.

In the speeches of Saddam Hussein, this metaphor was instantiated several times. In all the cases *Qarun* was translated as *Croesus* as in the following example, in which Saddam Hussein addresses the Egyptian president Husni Mubarak.

[195] ألا تعرف يا سيادة الرئيس ان الثروة الشخصية **لقارون** الكويت هي ستون مليار دولار [صدام–8 : ص 112]

[GLOSS] do not you know, Mr. President, that the personal wealth of the **Qarun** of Kuwait is $60 billion ...

[FBIS] Do you not know, Mr. President, that the personal wealth of the **Croesus** of Kuwait is $60 billion ... [SADDAM-8: p.134]

Another example is the following, where the figure of *Qarun* is shifted to be an adjective:

[196] ومن ذلك حق لنا وحق علينا ان نقول ان يوم النداء ... يوم الثاني من آب من هذا الشهر ولهذه السنة هو الوليد الشرعي ليوم الثامن من آب لعام 1988 بل هو العنوان الذي لا يليق التصرف بغيره وغير معانيه مع اولئك **القارونيين** الاراذل الخاسئين [صدام– 4: ص 64]

[GLOSS] therefore, we have the right and it is duty on us to say that the day of the call, the second of August from this month and this year is the legitimate newborn of the eighth of August 1988; in fact it is the title where it is not fit to deal with other than it and other than its meanings with those despicable lowly **Qarunis**

[FBIS] Therefore, we have the right and it is our duty to say that the day of the call, the second of this month, August, in this year, is the legitimate newborn child of 8 August 1988. In fact, this is the only way to deal with these despicable **Croesuses** who relished stealing the part to harm the whole, ... [SADDAM-4: p.112]

Croesus is clearly a different figure from the Qur'anic *Qarun*. Croesus (who reigned during the period 560-546 B.C.) was a King of Lydia, which was a country in what today is western Turkey. During his reign, Lydia achieved vast wealth through gold mining and extensive trade. To the western mind, Croesus can be used to describe any very rich person.

Using Croesus instead of Qarun in the translation might have been based on the assumption that both represent great wealth. This translation is an attempt to make the message of the source Arabic text intelligible to the English mind. Although this is a good translation attempt, one has to point at an important difference between the concept of

Qarun in Arabic and the concept Croesus in English. While both carry the quality of great, abnormal wealth, Qarun is also associated with arrogance and rejection of God. He represents a person who is not only very rich, but also fails to thank Allah for what he has. This was the message that Saddam Hussein was trying to show. The Emir of Kuwait was so rich and unthankful that the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq is in reality a punishment from God for his arrogance. All these qualities are not associated with Croesus in English[47].

7.10. Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with intertextual metaphors. We first presented a theoretical framework which highlights the special nature of this type of conceptual metaphor. Through systematic discussion of how the FBIS translators dealt with examples of intertextual metaphors, we then discussed the distinctive nature of the problems this type of metaphor poses for translators.

A major conclusion that we have arrived at is that intertextuality is not a matter of cultural connotations, as Stienstra (1993) thought in her discussion of Dagut's "ne'ekad" example (SECTION 2.5.). Rather, intertextuality, the knowledge gained from other texts, functions as a source domain which gets mapped onto a particular target domain, in the same manner as other conceptual metaphors. In other words, in certain cases like the JIHAD metaphor, intertextuality "makes the metaphor a metaphor" and cannot be regarded as merely *a connotation*, which is the equivalent of seeing it as a linguistic decoration or colour. Stienstra's suggestion that such metaphors can in translation "be solved at the level of denotation" (Sitenstra 1993: 211) is rejected straightforwardly on the grounds that the intertextual domain, as in the historical experience of early Jihad which is recorded in the Qur'an, is a constructive element in the metaphor. We said earlier that intertextual metaphors are all specific instances of a more general, deeper conceptual metaphor which we have referred to as PRESENT IS PAST. The elements of PAST are not a matter of connotation since they themselves are mapped to construct a particular concept of the target domain PRESENT.

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[47] A similar case of an intertextual conceptual metaphor was instantiated by Dr. Hassan Al-Turabi, the General Secretary of the *al-Mu'tamar Al-Sha'bi (the Public Conference) party* in Sudan when he described the Sudanese President Umar Hassan Al-Basheer and his government as هامان وجنوده *Haman wa Junooduh* (Haman and his Soldiers) (source: *Al-Khaleej* Arabic newspaper: Thursday 6 July 2000: page 15). Haman, another infamous Qur'anic figure, was mentioned in the Qur'anic Surah *Ghafir* (40). He was a vizier for one of Egypt's kings.

Intertextual conceptual metaphors like the **JIHAD** metaphor are an excellent example of the difficulty that translators face in the process of translation which results from the lack of shared knowledge. While the Qur'anic figures and experiences form a major aspect in Arabic and Muslim life, this aspect is not (expected to be) shared by the addressees of the FBIS translation, i.e. members of the intelligence services.

By highlighting the problems involved in handling intertextual metaphors, we do not aim to criticise the translators so much as to show that a real problem results as a consequence of the nature of a particular conceptual domain that is mapped metaphorically to construct a specific target concept. This problem has to do not only with the target language audience's lack of knowledge of the Qur'an and the historical experiences it records, but, more importantly, with the translators' lack of knowledge. This is evident in the different manifestations of mistranslations and also in the absence of any attempt to overcome the problem.

The problem has two major aspects. The first is different cases of mistranslation. The other is the production of propositional elements that are not intended by the speaker of the original text. This is most apparent in the rendering of the Arabic word مجاهدون as *mujahideen* and in the rendering of منافقون as *hypocrites*. It is also apparent in rendering الاعراب as *Arabs* or *Arabians*. Such translation shifts the whole proposition of the original speaker.

The solution to this problem, of course, depends on the situation in which the translation is produced. In the case of the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches during the Gulf War (which belongs to Nord's *documentary translation* category, as we have mentioned in **CHAPTER FOUR**), different procedures could have been presented. For instance, the translators could have used *conceptualisation facilitators*, i.e., specific ways that enable the target language audience to conceptualise the intertextual metaphor (see **SECTION 8.4.** below). An example would be to provide footnotes that explain the metaphorised experiences.

7.11. Summary of the Data Analysis Chapters

We have arrived at the end of the analysis of the data of this thesis. In **CHAPTER FIVE**, we saw that the concept of image schema enables us to better understand different patterns of translation behaviour in handling metaphors. We also explored the special cases of animal

and colour metaphors. In CHAPTER SIX, we explored the phenomenon of ideological metaphors. Using examples from the English translation of the speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman, we showed that translators were involved in a process of image creation through which the translation filtered out those metaphors that were based on ideological source domains such as the **FAMILY** and **TRANSACTION** metaphors. Finally, in this chapter we concentrated on intertextual metaphors and their relevance for translation.

The next chapter brings the discussion together. It will attempt to answer the major question of the thesis, i.e., that of the usefulness of the conceptual theory of metaphor for exploring metaphor in translation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Discussion of Results

8.1. Introduction

In the previous three chapters, we presented analyses of how a number of metaphorical mappings were handled in English translations of Arabic political texts. The discussion of those conceptual metaphors was, generally speaking, limited to their intrinsic properties, which arise from the nature of conceptual mapping in each metaphor, and did not tackle general issues. The aim of this chapter is to expand on some points which were discussed in the translators' treatment of individual conceptual metaphors, but which need further investigation.

This chapter attempts to answer the central question of this thesis: *What are the implications of the conceptual theory of metaphor for the analysis of how metaphor is handled in translation, as illustrated by translation of political texts from Arabic into English?* To answer this question in a systematic way, we have divided it into sub-questions which belong to two groups. The first group has to do with the existing questions in the MiT literature and what the conceptual theory of metaphor can contribute towards answering them, or at least highlighting areas that could not have been highlighted by adopting the traditional theories of metaphor. Questions in this group include:

(1) What does the conceptual theory of metaphor offer to the debate on the need for a *theory of translation of metaphor*? (SECTION 8.2.)

(2) How does the interaction between metaphor and culture influence the treatment of metaphor in translation? (SECTION 8.3.)

(3) Do the ideas of the conceptual theory of metaphor give a better picture of the different procedures employed by translators to handle metaphors? Does the conceptual theory of metaphor present a better account of cases where following a particular MiT procedure may cause a political debate? (SECTION 8.4. and SECTION 8.5.)

The other group of questions includes aspects of MiT which are not discussed in the existing literature because they arise from the ideas of the conceptual theory itself. Those questions include:

(1) Are there inherent differences between *dead* metaphors and *live* metaphors? Does that show in the treatment of translations of those metaphors? (SECTION 8.6.)

(2) If metaphor is a conceptual mapping of one domain of experience onto another domain, do different types of source domains impose specific *demands* on translators? (SECTION 8.7.)

(3) Critical discourse analysis argues that there is a strong relationship between metaphors and social ideologies. Are there signs that translators are aware of this social level? What are the procedures they use to handle ideological metaphors? (SECTION 8.8.)

(4) Is there any relationship between the function of the translation and the way metaphors are handled? (SECTION 8.9.)

Each of the following sections will then attempt to give an answer to a question belonging to one of the two groups above.

8.2. Is There A Need for A Theory of "Translation of Metaphor"?

Two contradictory views have existed as to the need, or lack of it, for a theory of *translation of metaphor*. One view, represented by Dagut (Dagut 1976; 1980) is that there are aspects of metaphor which justify calling for a theory of translation of metaphor.

Other scholars, however, have thought that there is no ground for such a quest. Mason (1982) rejected this on the grounds that metaphor is a symptom of cultural differences which in turn means that there is no need for an independent theory for metaphor in translation. Mason admits that there are metaphors "which are not at all, or not directly translatable" (Mason 1982: 149). However, Mason adds, that

> This state of affairs is brought about, not by the nature of metaphor, but by the problems of translation in general, problems which are posed by cultural differences. (op. cit.)

Mason admits that some metaphorical expressions cannot be literally translated into another language. This difficulty does not, according to Mason, stem from some property of their metaphoricity, but is a reflection of the differences between the particular source

culture and the target culture. While culture-specificity can be instantiated in a metaphor, it can also be reflected in non-metaphorical expressions.

Although Mason does not discuss any illustrating example of metaphorical expressions and how they are treated in particular translations, she nevertheless concludes that:

> Each occurrence of a metaphor for translation must therefore be treated in isolation; each of its components must be dealt with in the light of its cultural connotations before a translation of the whole work can take place, and account must be taken of the textual context in which the metaphor is used. (op. cit.)

This leads Mason to assert that there is no need for a theory of translation of metaphor, but only a theory of translation which "has to allow room for the notion of the purpose of translating each new text" (op. cit.).

Dagut (1987) responded very critically to Mason's argument against having an independent theory of "the translation of metaphor" (Dagut 1987: 82). He proposed that this theory consists of two main parts:

> (1) the establishment of the general principle that, in relation to any TL, every ST metaphor occupies a position on a gradient of translatability (ranging from completely untranslatable to literally translatable) determined by its cultural and lexical resonances and the extent to which these can be reproduced in the TL; and (2) a close investigation of these resonances and the possibility of reproducing them in every particular occasion. (op. cit.)

Criticizing Mason's insistence that metaphors should be studied individually and that it is thus difficult to arrive at general laws regarding the translation of metaphor, Dagut adds

> For how can one know that every ST metaphor needs to be treated in isolation, without some sort of a theory about the nature of metaphor and about interlingual metaphorical relations? And what is the declaration about the need for taking cultural connotations and textual context into account but a statement of (part of) a theory of the translation of metaphor? ...It is precisely the unique system-violating character of metaphor that sets it apart from other phenomena of language and therefore requires a special theory to account for its translation. (ibid)

Dagut's call for establishing a theory of translation of metaphor is based then on the concept of translatability on the one hand and the interaction theory of metaphor (SECTION 2.4.) on the other. The interaction theory of metaphor argued that literary metaphors are different from other metaphors in that they are rule-breaking and they create an aesthetic effect on their readers. Dagut's approach presupposes that the goal of translation is to create the same aesthetic effect that was felt by the source language reader on the target language reader. Success in this means the existence of translatability, and failure means untranslatability.

Several theoretical developments have taken place since Dagut's two papers (Dagut 1976; 1987). Of fundamental influence to the topic of theory are the developments in the field of

Translation Studies and the studies on conceptual metaphor. The field of Translation Studies has, generally speaking, bypassed such linguistic notions as (un)translatability and dynamic equivalence and has instead given more emphasis to the communicative and functional aspects of translation. The field, as we said in CHAPTER ONE, has moved to be an interdisciplinary field that is open to contributions from other neighbouring fields. Without the ideas developed in the fields of discourse analysis for example we would not have been able to identify several translation phenomena discussed in this thesis such as the de-masculinising of the discourse of Qaboos bin Said in the official Omani English translation (as we saw in SECTION 6.4.). As for metaphor, the whole idea of what a metaphor is has shifted, as we have seen in our analyses above, to focus on conceptual dimensions and there is a growing acceptance among scholars of metaphor that language is not all that metaphor has to be.

All those developments invite us to argue that the whole issue of a theory of "the translation of metaphor," in its current shape, needs to be readdressed. In what follows we will present some proposals regarding this issue. These are based on the findings of the conceptual theory of metaphor, some recent ideas in Translation Studies, and the analysis of data that we have presented in this thesis.

First of all, we would like to, briefly, point at the name of the field of inquiry. Traditionally, this field is referred to as *translation of metaphor*[48]. This name echoes the traditional views of translatability and equivalence in Translation Studies and the traditional approaches to metaphor which limited metaphor to the linguistic level only. The *of* might give the impression that the linguistic expression of metaphor is itself independent of the text in which it is used. Some scholars have used the phrase *metaphor and translation* (Mason 1982 and Zahri 1990). This, of course, bypasses the traps of *translation of metaphor*, but the argument against this latter way of referring to this area is that it is so general that it includes areas that have nothing to do with the common interests of MiT research, namely the different processes and phenomena that are found in how metaphors are handled in translation. For example, it can be seen as including such studies as Chesterman's (1998: 19-49) investigation into the metaphors that are used to understand translation, i.e., metaphors for translation.

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[48] This is particularly evident in the titles of several MiT studies. See, for example, Aphek and Tobin (1984), Dagut (1987), Newmark (1980), Pisarska (1989), Van Besien and Pelsmaekers (1988), Al-Harrasi (1994), and Al-Harrasi (1995).

This situation means that there is a need to standardize a term to refer to this field of inquiry. We suggest the term *metaphor in translation*, which is used in the title of this study. Thus, the studies on *Metaphor in Translation* (which we have abbreviated as 'MiT') are interested in the different aspects relating to the way metaphors are handled in translation. They include such research topics as:

- Procedures of treating metaphors in translation,
- How different rich-image domains are managed,
- How image-schematic metaphors are dealt with,
- Handling metaphors in translations of different types of texts,
- Studying translation involving metaphors from different languages, not only the European ones,
- Translation as a functional activity and handling conceptual metaphors, and
- The role translation plays in the movement of conceptual metaphors from one language/culture into another.

One aspect of the issue of theory of MiT has to do with the concept of *theory* itself. The word *theory* might suggest that there is a unitary proposition within studies belonging to it and might be linked to *theoretical* investigations only. We would suggest that the term *MiT Studies* suffices to refer to this area of research.

Two major aspects characterise MiT studies. First of all, these studies constitute a body of knowledge about different phenomena that are related in some way to the study of metaphors in translation. This in turn means that MiT Studies should not be understood as a reference tool-kit for solving practical translation problems. MiT Studies, in the framework that is proposed here, depend on descriptive methodologies. One of the methodologies that could be used is analysing comparable corpora. According to Baker (1995), a comparable corpus includes a collection of texts that are written in a specific language alongside a collection of texts that are translated into that language. Based on this, MiT scholars could establish their own MiT comparable corpora in which the units compared are not the whole texts but the conceptual metaphors and their linguistic realisations. In establishing such corpora, researchers could make use of ideas on corpus-based research into metaphor (see for example Deignan 1999 and Steen 1999).

An MiT Arabic corpus would, thus, include metaphors (concepts and their expressions) derived from texts written originally in Arabic and others derived from texts translated into Arabic from one or more languages. Two examples of metaphor-oriented comparable

corpora could be animal metaphors corpora and colour metaphors corpora. Such corpora would yield a clearer picture of those metaphors that exist exclusively (or with a relevant frequency) in translated texts in a specific language as opposed to metaphors found in texts originally written in that language. If the comparison between the metaphors from the two (or more) sets of texts (the originally produced and the translated) shows that a particular type of conceptual metaphor or a specific method of realising metaphor is found only in the translated texts and not in the texts originally written in that language, and when this aspect is confirmed by analyses of comparable corpora involving other languages, then the aspect of the metaphors or the way they are realised could be regarded as an MiT-specific type of translation universals[49] (or an *MiT universal*). Such comparable corpus-based investigations would result in generalisations about the phenomenon of handling metaphor in translation that are more powerful than the generalisations that exist now in the literature (including both the normative statements of how metaphor has to be translated correctly, and the generalisations arrived at through comparison of metaphors in source texts with those in target texts such as the ones that this study presents).

In addition to the descriptive nature, this body of knowledge on the topic of metaphor in translation is interdisciplinary. The interdisciplinary nature of this area of inquiry is based, on the one hand, on the interdisciplinary nature of the whole field of Translation Studies itself and on the interdisciplinary nature of metaphor itself on the other hand (see van Barbant 1986). Findings of different fields are contributing to the growing knowledge about the nature of metaphor and its different conceptual and linguistic dimensions in literary, social, political and other spheres of human life.

A potential objection against the call for MiT Studies is to say, as Mason (1982) said, that metaphor is an example of more general categories like language or culture, which in turn means that it does not have its own problems and questions. But this objection is similar to the objection raised against the whole field of Translation Studies. Some scholars such as Gutt (1991) have argued that translation is one type of communication, and studying verbal communication in general is sufficient and that there is no need thus for a separate theory of translation. For Gutt, the principles, rules and guidelines that translation scholars have presented are no more than "applications of the principle of relevance" (Gutt 1991: 188).

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[49] Universals of translation are features that typically exit in translated texts in a particular language only (rather than texts originally written in that language) and are independent of the specific language pairs involved in the translation process (Baker 1993: 243).

The answer to this objection was that although it is true that translation is a form of communication, the field of Translation Studies is not interested in this, but in the aspects that make translation a *distinctive* type of communication (i.e., which involves different languages and cultures).

The same line of argument can be used to answer similar objections to be raised against MiT Studies. Metaphor is not an extraordinary phenomenon, i.e., it reflects aspects of human cognition, culture and language. Those are also reflected in other phenomena than metaphor, but MiT Studies are to be interested in what makes metaphor different from other human cognitive, cultural and linguistic phenomena. The difference is that metaphor is a fundamentally conceptual process of domains correspondence or mapping. The aspect of mapping is a property of metaphor and is not shared by other phenomena. MiT Studies are interested in what makes metaphorical mappings a relevant issue in translation as in the above list of possible areas of study.

8.3. Metaphor, Culture and Translation

A major question that has occupied much of the MiT literature is whether metaphor is universal or culture-specific. As we have seen in CHAPTER TWO, several attempts to answer this question have been put forward. Dagut, for example, holds that culture-specific elements in some metaphors could render them virtually impossible to translate (Dagut 1976, 32-33). Others, like Newmark (1980), thought that although the cultural factor can influence the treatment of metaphor in the process of translation, there is nevertheless a *universal* factor. Other scholars, like Snell-Hornby (1988/1995: 61), thought that this issue could be solved by seeing problems involved with translation of metaphor as having two end points of (Kloepfer's) complete translatability and (Dagut's) utter untranslatability.

Based on the conceptual theory of metaphor itself and on its application in analysing data which we carried out in the preceding chapters, it could be argued that such a question, in its current formulation, needs to be rejected in the first place, or at least modified, for more than one reason. First, the argument is built on a prior assumption that metaphor is a linguistic *item* that can be separated from other expressions/items. This assumption is, however, not a literal truth but is itself based on a conceptual metaphor, A TEXT IS A CONTAINER (OF EXPRESSIONS) which in turn gives us the sub-metaphor, A LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT (CONTAINED IN THE TEXT). Since we know from our physical experience that a thing can be separated from

other things and it, according to the folk theory, has an essence or a substance of its own, a linguistic expression can also be separated from the other linguistic expressions. Based on this, scholars who work(ed) along the translatability/untranslatability paradigm thought that a particular metaphorical expression can or cannot be translated.

Approaching the issue from the point of view of the conceptual theory of metaphor would yield different results. The fact that metaphor is a cognitive process means that its *borders* cannot be easily defined. In addition, our data have shown us that the process of metaphor involves several aspects which complicate this issue, such as the fundamental role of metaphor in constructing meaning, the role of image schema, the role of intertextuality etc.

Second, the whole argument of whether a metaphorical expression **A** belongs to culture **B** or culture **C** is based on a prior conceptual metaphor **CULTURES ARE CONTAINERS**. On this basis, it was thought that if an element exists in one culture, which is a container, it cannot by definition exist in another culture. This is because our physical experience tells us that a thing cannot be in two containers at the same time, except of course if the container in which the thing exists is itself found in another bigger container. This means that presenting this issue as a matter of *real literal facts* ignores the fact that it is based on a conceptual metaphor. The fact that such folk assumptions are metaphorical in nature and do not correspond to real, literal aspects of the real world invites us to argue that the question of the relationship between metaphor and culture requires deeper thinking (more *responsible* thinking in the words of Lakoff and Johnson 1999) which takes into consideration the empirical findings presented by real data analyses. Deductive theorising that is based on folk metaphorical theories of metaphor and culture does not correspond to facts.

Our data analysis requires us to approach the question from a different point of view. First of all, we reject the *fixedness* entailed from the **CONTAINER** image schema which is mapped metaphorically to construct the concepts of text and culture. Instead, our data show us that the issue is better approached from a hierarchical, interactive point of view.

Cultures are not **CONTAINERS**. Cultures are complex ways of living and involve different aspects of life of human beings. As far as metaphor is concerned, it is difficult to define cultural borders. The basic two levels of metaphor, conceptual mapping and linguistic realisation, are themselves influenced by cultural factors of different sorts. The fact that a particular factor originates from a particular culture does not mean that it

necessarily does not exist in other cultures. Newmark (1980), as we said in SECTION 2.3., spoke of the *universal factor* which influences translating metaphors. However one could ask about the methodological aspects implied by the concept of *universality*. Has any researcher surveyed *all* cultures of the world to arrive at a conclusion that a particular concept exists in all languages and cultures, which justifies deeming it *universal*? Most studies investigate two or three languages and use the term *universal* to describe an item that is found in more than one language. But for MiT studies to be objective, they need to be cautious when using such terms. Other terms can be more accurate, such as *inter-* or *trans-cultural*.

Second, we argue that this question can better be approached in relation to two issues: (a) the relationship between a conceptual system and conceptualisation ability in a particular culture and (b) a hierarchy of metaphors. The first point has to do with the difference between a particular conceptual system and the capacity to conceptualise. Lakoff (1987c) discussed this issue in details that are worth mentioning in this context since the data analysis of this thesis supports his ideas. Lakoff holds that a theory that does not recognise a distinction between the capacity of people to conceptualise and their actual conceptual system can end with claims about translation and understanding that are problematic. (We need to highlight the fact that Lakoff's concept of translation is similar to the concept of cultural translation, which refers to the type of translation that is close to the original and which functions as a tool for cross-cultural or anthropological research (see Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 35).

Example of such claims are the following:

- Translation from one language to another is impossible if two languages have radically different conceptual systems,

- If translation is impossible, then speakers of one language cannot understand the other language,

- If languages have different conceptual systems, then a speaker of one language cannot understand the other language, and

- Since people can learn radically different languages, those languages could not have different conceptual systems.

So, according to Lakoff, such claims can make sense only if one recognises conceptual systems and not conceptualising capacities. But "the picture is different if one assumes that people share a general conceptualising capacity regardless of what differences they may

have in conceptual systems" (Lakoff 1987c: 311). But if such differences in conceptual systems do make translation impossible, "it does not follow from the impossibility of *translation* that *understanding* is impossible" (ibid, italics original). Despite the differences of conceptual systems between languages, a speaker of a particular language, Lakoff adds, can learn another language with a different conceptual system than that of her/his original language because this speaker/learner "has the same conceptualizing capacity and the same basic experiences" (ibid). Lakoff adds

> He may be able to *understand* the other language even if he cannot *translate* it into his own. Accurate *translation* requires close correspondence across conceptual systems; *understanding* only requires correspondences in well-structured experiences and a common conceptualizing capacity. (Lakoff 1987c: 312)

Despite the possibility that particular concepts arise from particular experiences specific to a particular culture, many basic experiences can be found in more than one language/culture. Among these are physical objects and experiences such as moving and some image schemas such as **BALANCE, UP-DOWN** and the **CONTAINER** image schema. But difficulties, Lakoff says, begin when one goes outside these as when one uses culturally defined aspects that are not shared by other cultures to construct metaphorically defined concepts (as we have seen in the examples of intertextual metaphors in CHAPTER SEVEN).

Related to this, some scholars have noted that some cultures are more receptive of foreign metaphorical expressions than other cultures. As far back as 1964, Nida commented that languages differ in "the readiness with which they admit new figures of speech" (Nida 1964: 94). The same observation is also made by Beekman and Callow, who advised Bible translators to bear in mind the extent to which different languages and cultures welcome new metaphorical expressions (Beekman and Callow 1972: 143). Fung and Kiu (1987) observed that "the Chinese audience are comparatively more familiar with and receptive to Western culture than the average English reader is to Chinese culture" (Fung and Kiu 1987: 101). Similarly, Menacere (1992) noted that "Arabic is a more receptive and flexible language and is not hostile to foreign imagery and concepts" (Menacere 1992: 569). A possible explanation for this could be the power relations between cultures; the less powerful cultures may be more accepting of foreign conceptual mappings than the more powerful. This is no more than a hypothesis however, and we believe that this area needs more comprehensive study.

Here we would like to add an important point. By stressing Lakoff's distinction between the nature of a culture system and the ability to conceptualise, we do not mean to put forward any normative point of view. The existence of a particular conceptual mapping, like the concept of **COUNTRY IS A WOMAN**, in two cultures, for example, does not necessarily entail that the metaphorical concept *has to* appear in both the source and the target text. All that is argued here is that awareness of conceptual mappings enables the translator to know better the nature of the issue of metaphorical conceptualisation which, in turn, gives her/him a better theoretical ground on which s/he can base her/his translation decision. Toury (1995) says,

> drawing conclusions is up to the *practitioners*, not the scholars. It is they who must bear the consequences anyway, and they might just as well be ready to take full responsibility rather than blame the 'theory' for their own blunders in the 'practice', as is all too often the case. (17)

The hierarchical nature of metaphor also contributes towards highlighting some aspects of the relationship between culture and metaphor. In general terms, seeing metaphor as involving a hierarchy of image schemas and rich images means that despite the fact that a particular concept may exist in more than one culture, it can still be 'localised' in a particular culture through concretising the image schematic structure. Concretising assumes that a particular source-domain concept or image schema such as **CONTAINER** or **PATH** can be accepted as trans-cultural, but it nevertheless gets realised through using middle-stage, rich-image domains. Rich image domains can be culture-specific because they are reflections of elements of life that exist in a particular culture and interact with the way people live in that culture.

The cultural concretisation of conceptual metaphors is thus an important middle stage between utter trans-culturality and very strict culture-specificity. This can be shown in the following diagram.
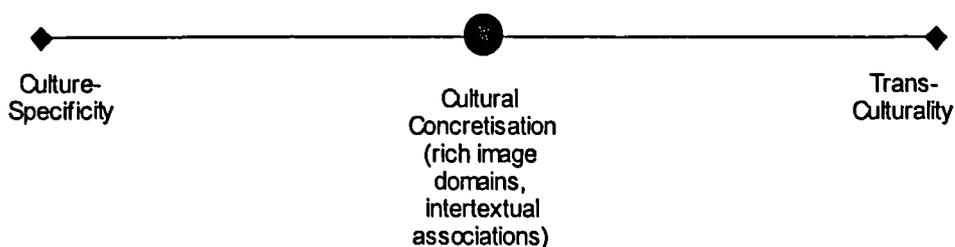

Figure 20: Cultural concretisation as a middle stage between culture-specificity and universality

In addition to this, we want to argue that assuming that a metaphorical concept (i.e., a mapping of a source domain onto a target domain, like **LIFE IS A JOURNEY**) is completely autonomous is as misleading as assuming that *metaphor* consists of merely an independent metaphorical expression. It is misleading because it assumes that one can isolate a metaphorical mapping from the cultural experience. This isolation takes place when we limit the metaphorical mapping to refer to independent domains of experience such as the domain of the colour **BLACK** and the domain of the social value of being **BAD** (creating the conceptual metaphor **BAD IS BLACK**). We would like to argue that a metaphor cannot be isolated in this way. Domains of experience are not static but exist in an interactive relationship with each other. Those domains of experience are influenced to a large extent by the cultural properties in which they are found. A metaphor carries, in addition to the mapping between the two domains, a long tail of manifestations of the social, cultural, or religious experience of a particular society. For example, it would have been impossible to get the full scope of several of the metaphorical mappings discussed in this thesis without highlighting the intertextual influence of the Qur'an on them.

8.4. The Issue of MiT Procedures Revisited

Based on findings of the conceptual theory of metaphor, our analysis has shown that the existing sets of procedures echo the traditional linguistic approaches to metaphor, and by definition carry with them the limitations that were criticised by the conceptual theory of metaphor. We have also seen that applying some propositions of the conceptual theory clarifies some aspects of the treatment of metaphor in translation and describes in a more precise way several phenomena not hitherto discussed in the literature on metaphor in translation.

The existing sets are reminiscent of the objectivist theories of metaphor. That is, as we have seen in CHAPTER TWO, the objectivist view would argue that where metaphor exists there is an underlying deep level which can be uncovered by separating the literal from the metaphorical (*cf.* Leech's method described in chapter Two). As we have seen in CHAPTER TWO, the objectivist approaches to metaphor dealt with metaphor as a decoration and substitution for literal meaning.

However, cognitive linguistics has shown that this is not correct. That is, from the conceptual theory point of view, metaphor is not a decoration, but rather an essential component of our conceptualisation of the abstract concept of life and of time. Life is seen

as a **DISTANCE** which one crosses. One's birthday is her/his starting point and one's old age represents the approaching of death, which is metaphorically the end point of the movement of life. The concept of life is related to the concept of time which is also structured, by the concept of physical movement.

This tells us that the metaphorical image of *evening* is actually a rich image manifestation of the deeper level image schema of **MOVEMENT**. Looking for a nonmetaphorical, literal part in this concept is impossible. As we have pointed elsewhere, this poses a highly significant question to traditional MiT studies which they, given their assumptions about the nature of language and metaphor, cannot answer. For if sense is metaphorical, then such procedures as Newmark's *shift the metaphor into sense* would become self-contradictory and misleading. Metaphor is a constructive mechanism of political concepts. Concepts such as **BALANCE** and **GENEROUS COUNTRY** are fundamentally metaphorical. That is, they exist only through the mapping of such physical phenomena of being balanced and movement from a place to a place to structure the political concept. Indeed attempting to isolate the pre-metaphor structure of the political concept will give us only a *skeletal structure*. So for example, in the concept of **BALANCE** we will only have the following structure: two entities and equality.

These basic assumptions of the conceptual theory have several implications for investigating the procedures employed by translators in dealing with metaphorical concepts as realized in their linguistic expressions.

Before we go through the procedures used in handling expressions of conceptual metaphors which we have arrived at in our empirical analysis, we need to give a brief discussion of the idea of translation strategy.[50] Chesterman (1997) provided a chapter for *Translation Strategies*. Chesterman's proposals regarding the nature of strategy, its function and its typology are very useful to consider as a contrast to the strategies we suggest.

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[50] Some translation scholars (e.g. Chesterman 1997) use the term *strategy* as a synonym for *procedures*. Strategy, in this case, refers to the actual textual action taken by the translator in producing the target text. Others, however, think that strategy is more general and is more related to higher levels of translation process. An example of this is Venuti's *domestication* and *foreignization* strategies. Such overall strategies are achieved by adopting lower-level procedures such as literal translation. We keep this distinction between the two levels of translation action. For example, we regard the tendency of not reproducing instantiations of the SONS OF OMAN metaphor as a strategy which is achieved through using specific procedures such as changing *abna'* (sons) to *people, Omanis* or *countrymen*.

A *strategy* is defined as a process of textual manipulation which is goal-oriented, problem-centred, potentially conscious, and intersubjective (cf. Wilss 1983, and Jääskeläinen 1993). Further, Chesterman distinguishes between comprehension and production strategies. The first is limited to analysing the source text, while the latter deals with how the linguistic material is used to produce the target text. From this point of view, MiT procedures belong to the latter type since they involve ways of manipulating the linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors in the production of the target text.

Chesterman further distinguishes between three types of strategies: syntactic strategies, semantic strategies and pragmatic strategies. The first type has to do with the manipulation of syntactic structures, such as literal translation, phrase, clause or sentence structure change or cohesion change. This class of strategies is not relevant in our discussion of how conceptual metaphors are handled.

The semantic changes have to do with lexical semantics and aspects of clause meaning. Here, Chesterman classifies "trope change" (Chesterman 1997: 105) as a form of semantic strategies. Chesterman distinguishes three main subclasses of strategies for dealing with trope in translation as the following table shows.

Strategy	Definition
(a) ST trope X ➔ TT trope X	Same trope (same tenor and vehicle)
	Same trope but not semantically identical
	Same type of trope but different lexical item
(b) ST trope X ➔ TT trope Y	Change of image
(c) ST trope X ➔ TT trope Ø	Deletion
(d) ST trope Ø ➔ TT trope X	Addition of a trope

Figure 21: Chesterman's Set of Strategies of Handling Tropes in Translation

Chesterman's list of strategies of dealing with tropes is again based on the linguistic traditional approaches which see metaphor as an expression. As we shall see, this list, which illustrates the different procedures put forward by several MiT scholars like Newmark and Crofts, although it might be successful when describing shifts at the level of rich images, fails when we accept the role of image schemata as source domains for several mappings.

Chesterman's third type of strategies, namely the pragmatic strategies, has more relation to conceptual metaphor. Among those pragmatic strategies is *cultural filtering*. This strategy describes "the way in which source text items, particularly culture-specific items, are

translated as TL cultural or functional equivalents, so that they conform to TL norms" (Chesterman 1997: 108, see also the discussion of the *cultural filter* in House 1997: 115-117). We can group under this heading such strategies as those used to handle the ideological metaphors of **PEOPLE AS SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY** and **COUNTRY AS A PURE WOMAN** that are found in the speeches of Qaboos bin Said but disappear in the English translation.

In what follows, we shall discuss the nature of procedures adopted by translators when handling conceptual metaphors which we have come across in our empirical analysis in this thesis. In presenting these procedures, we will especially concentrate on the influence of the notion of *image schema*, a topic that has not received any discussion in the existing MiT literature. The accompanying diagrams will illustrate the procedures. For the purpose of consistency and coherence in highlighting the role of image schema, the diagrams shall be based on the **CORE** image schema and two rich images that realize it: heart and centre (as in *right between the eye*).

1. The Default Procedure: Instantiating the Same Conceptual Metaphor

We hold that instantiating the same conceptual metaphor is the default procedure in handling conceptual metaphors in translation. The reason for this belief is that, in the empirical analysis of this study, it was very clear that in most cases translators tend to instantiate the same conceptual metaphor. There is, however, more than one form for this procedure, as follows:

1.1. Same Image Schematic Representation

The following figure represents this procedure.
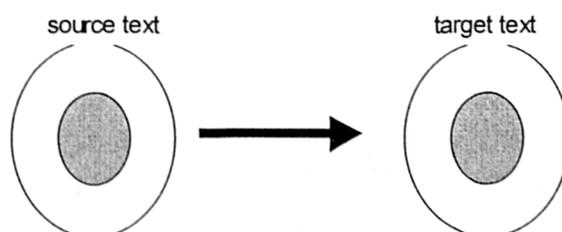
Figure 22: Using the Same Image Schema

In this case, the source text uses an image schematic metaphor and realises it linguistically by using a lexical item which describes an aspect of the image schema and is not exclusively limited to a particular rich image domain, but is instead part of the gestalt of

the image schema. The translation keeps the same image schematic metaphor and realises it in a similar way in the target language. An example is the following:

[197] استمرت السياسة الكونية على اساس وجود قطبين **متوازنين في القوة**، هما **القوتان** العظميان اميركا والاتحاد السوفياتي، وفجأة تغيرت الاحوال، وبطرق دراماتيكية بعض الشيء احيانا وانكفأ الاتحاد السوفياتي يعالج مشاكله الداخلية، بعد ان تخلى عن عملية الصراع المستمر وشعاراته، **وتزحزح عن الموقع المتكافيء** مع اميركا من الناحية العملية، وان لم يسلم بهذا حتى الان من الناحية الرسمية [صدام- 1، ص467]

[GLOSS] the international politics continued on the basis of the existence of two poles that are **balanced** in **power;** those are the two great **powers** America and the USSR. Suddenly, conditions changed, sometimes in dramatic ways somehow. The USSR retreated to treat its internal problems, after it abandoned the process of continuous conflict and its slogans, and it **moved from the position** [that is] **equal [balanced]** with America in practice, although it has not acknowledged this officially.

[FBIS] The global policy continued on the basis of the existence of two poles that were **balanced** in terms of **force.** They are the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR. And suddenly, the situation changed in a dramatic way. The USSR **turned to** tackle its domestic problems after relinquishing the process of continuous conflict and its slogans. The USSR **shifted from the balanced position** with the United States in a practical manner, although it has not acknowledged this officially so far. [SADDAM-1: p.41]

Here, Saddam Hussein activates the image schematic metaphors of **FORCE**, **MOVEMENT, BALANCE** and the translation realises the same metaphors in such words as *force, shifted from, balanced position.*

This procedure has not been considered in the existing MiT literature, which is based on the traditional theories of metaphor which saw literal meaning as the norm and metaphor as an exceptional language usage. Those studies dealt with such concepts as *political force* as literal concepts. They thus believed that political *forces* are real and objective. Having the conceptual theory of metaphor as a theoretical starting point allowed this thesis to observe the metaphoricity of such political concepts as *force, balance* and *movement.* Such concepts are actually mapped from our daily bodily experience onto politics. There is no literal political *force* for example. Force is a physical experience we face in bodily experience. Using the idea of force in politics is thus metaphorical. Based on this, Saddam Hussein's description of the USSR and the US as قطبين متوازنين في القوة (literally: *two poles that are balanced in power*) is actually metaphorical, since the two countries are literally political entities while *poles* and *power* are experiences we face in our interaction with phenomena involving force, such as magnetic forces. On the basis of this, keeping the same (metaphorical) sense is a major translation procedure which deserves the attention of MiT studies. Ignoring the level of image schemata, which structure many abstract concepts,

especially in political discourse, does not do justice to this highly metaphorical area of human cognition and language.

1.2. Concretising an Image Schematic Metaphor

source text   target text
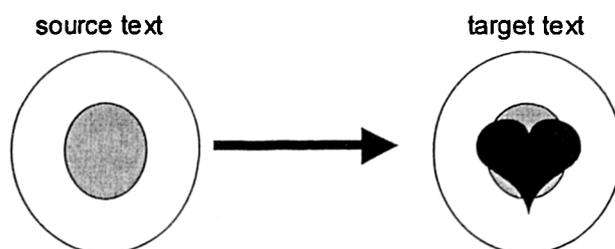
Figure 23: Image Schema to Rich Image

As the diagram shows, in this case, the source text uses an image schematic metaphor without recourse to concretising it by using a rich image domain. The translator, however, opts for concretising the image schematic metaphor using an image from a rich image domain that is structured by the same image schema. An example is the following.

[198]   والمصب والاصل الكل الى (الكويت) والفرع الجزء بإعادة الصحيح نصابها في الامور لوضع ...
صميم في العراق اصاب قد كان الذي والحيف الغبن والغاء الدهر عليه جار ما لتصحيح (العراق)
[70 ص :6 –صدام] ... النداء يوم قبل كيانه

> [GLOSS] (speaking about the reason to invade Kuwait) to put things in their correct place by bringing back the part and the branch (Kuwait) to the whole and origin and the [main] river (Iraq) to correct the wrong of time and to cancel the injustice and unfairness which had hit Iraq **in the core of** its entity before the day of call [i.e. the day of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait]

> [FBIS] ... in order to place issues in their proper perspective by bringing the part and branch, Kuwait, to the whole, origin, and source, Iraq; and to rectify what time had wronged and to cancel the injustice and unfairness that had hit Iraq **in the heart** of its entity before the day of the call; ... [SADDAM-6: p.122]

The Arabic source text in the above example says that Iraq was hit in the centre of its entity. **CENTRE** is an image schema which controls our perception of several rich images. The translation realizes the same metaphor but using a rich image domain, i.e., *heart*. Heart is conceptualised as the centre of human life. One of the definitions of the word *heart* in English according to the American Heritage Dictionary is the "vital center and source of one's being, emotions, and sensibilities."

So the translator has opted to concretise the image schematic metaphor. One possible explanation for the resort to rich images is that the image schema used in the source text is deemed by the translator as too abstract to be understood by the target language reader so the translator turns to the target language and culture themselves for an image that realises the same image schema. (It has to be noted, for example, that the idiomatic expression *the*

heart of is conventionally used in English to realise the image schematic **CORE** or **CENTRE**. So we get such expressions as *the heart of the matter*. It is also not surprising to find such synonyms of the word heart that are related to the image schematic **CORE**, such as *essence, essential part, middle, focus, insides, interiority, centre*.)

The Arabic expression صميم في (literally: *in the core*, or *essence, of* [*something*]) is of course an idiomatic expression. In the traditional MiT studies, idioms are viewed according to the traditional approach, which sees them as expressions whose real meaning cannot be arrived at from the meaning of the words from which they are made. At best, they are regarded as expressions which were once metaphorical but which have lost this aspect by repetitive usage. However, a look at the example above tells us that this view is very far from being true. The word *sameem*, which was once used to refer to the bone of the skull, no longer has this semantic meaning. However, the expression *fi sameem* is still motivated by the **CORE** metaphor. The fact that the translator above shifted it to *in the heart of* means that the translator is aware of this image schema of **CORE** (cf. Baker 1992: 63-78).

1.3. Instantiating in the TT only a Functional Aspect of the Image Schema

This is a recurrent procedure we have encountered in the data analysis of this study. According to this procedure, the ST uses a conceptual metaphor where the source domain is an image schema, but the translation keeps only a functional aspect of that image schema. The following two examples show this. In both examples, the image schema **CORE** is the source domain of the metaphor. The translators in the two cases do not keep any structural aspect of **CORE**, but do keep two of its functional aspects.

[199] وعند ذلك، وعندما نتوكل على الله، ونحن متوكلون عليه ان شاء الله، ونعتمد على حوار معمق
وأخوي يجري في أجواء تفاعل صميمي [صدام- 3، ص 516]

> [GLOSS] and then, when we depend on Allah, and we depend on him if Allah wills, and depend on a deepened and brotherly dialogue that takes place in atmospheres [of] **essential interaction**

> [FBIS] When we rely on God - and we do rely on God - and depend on deep fraternal dialogue conducted in an atmosphere of **strong interaction** ... [SADDAM-3: p.91]

Here, Saddam Hussein advocates a تفاعل صميمي *tafa'ul sameemi* (literally: *essential interaction*) among Arab countries. The English does not keep the structural element of *sameemi*, but opts for keeping a functional aspect of it in the word *strong*. As we have seen in **CHAPTER FIVE**, an aspect of the folk theory of **CORES** and **ESSENCES** is that they

are the strongest part of the entity they are in. A similar thing happens in the following example, where the translation realises another functional aspect of **CORE**.

[200] لقد كان انشاء المجلس الاستشاري للدولة تجربة متميزة نابعة **من صميم** واقعنا العماني أتاحت للمواطن قدرا كبيرا من المشاركة في جهود التنمية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية التي تقوم بها الحكومة. [قابوس–20، ص 335]

> [GLOSS] the establishment of the State Consultative Council was a distinctive experience that arose from the **essence** of our Omani reality, which gave the citizen a big amount of participation in the efforts of economic and social development which is undertaken by the government.

> [OFFICIAL] The information (*sic.*: Al-Harrasi) of the State Consultative Council has been a distinguished experience, which sprang from our **distinctive Omani traditions**. It enabled our citizens to participate more in the Government's economic and social development efforts. [Qaboos-20, p.227]

Here, the translator does not keep the functional aspect of *strong*, but another aspect, *distinctiveness*. The source text talks generally about صميم واقعنا العماني (*the core of our Oman reality*), but the translation shifts to our *distinctive Omani traditions*. This is based on the folk theory that the **CORE** of a thing is the property that distinguishes it from other things. It should be noted that this procedure has not received any consideration in the existing MiT literature and could not have been highlighted given the traditional linguistic approaches to metaphor.

1.4.   Same Image Schema and Rich Image Domains

In this case, the source language text uses a particular image schematic metaphor *coated* or concretised by a particular rich image domain, and the translation does the same. This is equal to the procedure discussed by traditional scholars under "keep the same metaphor."
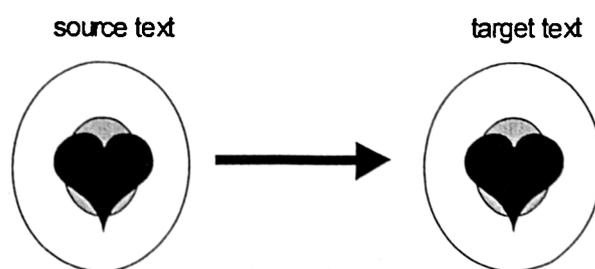
Figure 24: Using the Same Rich Image in the Target Text

An example of keeping the same rich images is found in the following example from a speech by Qaboos bin Said and the official English translation.

[201] ان التطرف مهما كانت مسمياته، والتعصب مهما كانت اشكاله، والتحزب مهما كانت دوافعه ومنطلقاته، نباتات كريهة سامة ترفضها التربة العمانية الطيبة التي لا تنبت الا طيبا، ولا تقبل ابدا ان تلقى فيها بذور الفرقة والشتات. [قابوس–24، ص 395]

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Here, Qaboos bin Said reacts to the discovery of an illegal Omani Islamist political organization. In the above statement, he uses the metaphor **OMAN IS A SOIL**. According to this metaphor, political activities are seen as planting seeds. Results of political actions are, thus, the type of plants that these seeds bring. Accordingly, there are good plants and bad or poisonous plants (see SECTION 3.2.4.). The Sultan argues that the Omani soil shall not accept seeds that would bring in poisonous plants.

Here, the translation keeps the same images of *poisonous plants* and *soil* although the image of *seeds* does not appear in the translation.

1.5. Same Rich Image Metaphor but Alerting the Reader to the Mapping

In this case, both the rich image as well as the image schematic levels of the metaphors are kept in the target text. The translator, however, explicitly alerts the reader that what s/he reads is not to be taken literally but metaphorically. The following example shows this point.

[202] لان مواقف الجماعة ان تأسست على اقل او اضعف اقتدار بيننا فمعنى هذا ان خطوات الجمع ستبنى على خطأ، وسيتأخر الوصول، ان لم نقل ان **الوحوش الكاسرة ستأكل من في** الجمع، الواحد بعد الاخر، قبل ان ينجز الجمع طريق الوصول وهدف الوصول [صدام- 3: ص516]

Here Saddam Hussein realises the metaphor **ENEMIES ARE ANIMALS OF PREY**. The translator keeps the same image in *deadly monsters* but adds the comment *so to speak*. The function of this phrase is to facilitate the conceptualisation of the image on the part of the target language readers. We suggest the term *conceptualising facilitators* to refer to these

procedures. Such facilitators are not limited to translation but are found in our normal language use. For example, the expression *so to speak* is also used in different types of discourse such as the literary and political discourse. Mark Twain, in the following example, uses this expression.

> When he got out the new judge said he was going to make a man of him. So he took him to his own house, and dressed him up clean and nice, and had him to breakfast and dinner and supper with the family, and was just old pie to him, *so to speak*. (Twain 1966: 72)

So to speak is also used in political discourse in the English language. The following is an extract from Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address in 1861

> Again, if the United States be not a Government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it- *break it, so to speak*, but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? (in Basler 1946: 582, highlight and italics added)

In a study on Greek political metaphors, Kyratzis (1997) came across some Greek examples of novel metaphors in which speakers use θα μπορούσα να πω, which is equivalent to the English *so to speak*. Kyratzis suggests that such comments can be considered as instances of the discursive phenomenon of *metadiscourse*, which according to Fairclough "implies that the speaker is situated above or outside her own discourse, and is in a position to control or manipulate it" (Fairclough 1992: 122). While most conceptual metaphors function at the unconscious level, novel metaphors, Kyratzis adds, are thus instances of "conscious metaphoric behaviour" (Kyratzis 1997: 133). He summarises his argument about such comments as follows: .

> By accompanying the introduction of the metaphor with a comment, the speaker (a) clearly signals that what follows or what has been said is a new metaphor, (b) shows that he or she is aware of this, and (c) seeks acceptance of the new mapping, in other words to establish a cognitive relevance (op. cit.).

Kyratzis' attempt to explain the introduction of such comments as *so to speak* is, however, limited to discourse within a particular language. The translator's introduction of *so to speak* as in the above example needs a different explanation which takes into consideration the interlingual nature of translation. If we return to example [203], we can hypothesise that the translator's decision was based on a problem-solution procedure which went the following systematic way:

- the rich image of monsters is not a conventional way of talking about enemies in the target language. That is, it is not used in a conventional metaphorisation.

- However, the TL audience know that enemies in a struggle aim at destroying their opponents. They also know that big animals kill.

- Making this mapping conscious by introducing the conceptualising facilitator *so to speak* can make it easy for the TL audience to understand the elements mapped.

The issue of conceptualising facilitators is an important issue that needs further study. One area of inquiry could be comparing the usage of such phrases as *so to speak* to see whether there are differences in resorting to this procedure between translators and normal speakers.

1.6. Using a Different Rich Image that Realises the Same Image Schema Realised by the Rich Image in the Source Text

In this case, the source language text and target language text agree on the image schema but diverge at the level of rich image coating.

source text   **target text**
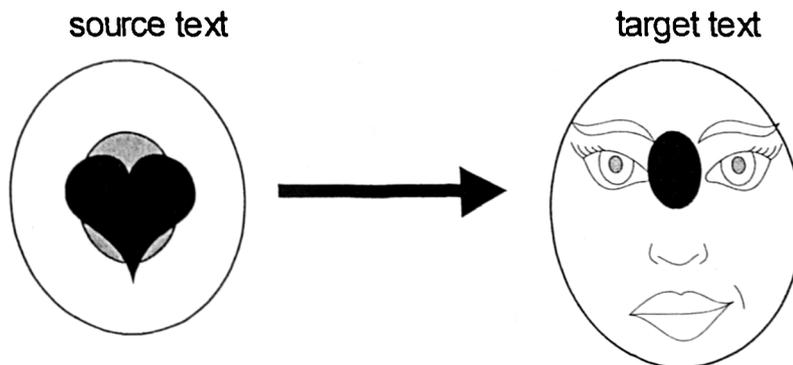
Figure 25: Same Image Schema but Different Rich Image

The following example shows how this procedure functions:

[203]   وستفقد امیرکا من قوتها بقدر ما تتراجع فیه **قوة الشـد** المصطرعة على القمة بین العملاقیین
واتباعهما [صدام-1: ص 467]

[GLOSS] and America will lose of its power as much as the **power of pulling** that is fiercely taking place for the summit between the two giants and their followers

The speaker here realises the image schematic **COUNTER-FORCES** metaphorical conceptualisation of the struggle between the world superpowers, the US and the USSR, as a game of tug-of-war. Each super power and its allies are pulling a rope from its two ends. The immediate aim is to show the weakness of the other group by pulling them to one's side. The result of this is that one of the two groups will be deemed the most powerful. The translator has kept the same image schematic metaphor of **COUNTER-FORCES**, but with a different rich image domain.

Here, the rich image domain is no longer the tug-of-war but rather a contest of hand-wrestling.

1.7. From the Rich Image Metaphor to Image Schematic Representation

This was a frequent procedure in the corpus of this study. Here, the source text uses a particular image schematic metaphor realised in a particular rich image. In contrast, the target text keeps the same image schematic concept but not the same rich image.
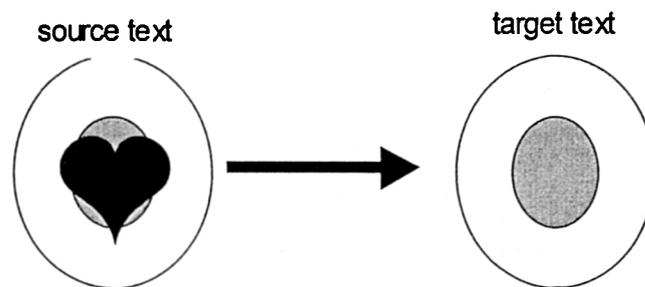
Figure 26: Using the Same Image Schema but not the Rich Image of the ST

An example of adopting this procedure is the translators' shift of the expression كاد يطمرها غباره *kad yatmuruha ghubaruh [al-zaman]* (literally, *it was about to be buried under the dust of time*) to the image schematic *stagnation*.

[204]   [391 ص ،24—قابوس] غباره يطمرها كاد الدهر من حين المدينة هذه على مر قد كان واذا

[GLOSS] if in the past passed on this city period of time **whose dust was about to bury it,** ...

[OFFICIAL] Notwithstanding the **era of stagnation** in the past, ... [Qaboos-24, p.281]

The speaker here talks about the city of Nizwa, which was a major historical city in Oman. The Sultan says that in the recent past, the city did not experience development. The city is represented, in the Arabic expression, as having been so stagnant and unmoving that the dust of time (time as a dust wind) was about to bury it. This interacts with the geography of Arabia, where dunes of desert sand can cover wide areas. Movement becomes essential to avoid being buried under sand. The translation keeps the idea of motionlessness through the word *stagnation* which does not capture the geographical image of being buried under sand as the original does, but realises an image schematic picture of lack of mobility. Procedures like this one, i.e., where the translation opts for an image schematic

representation rather than a rich image one, confirm results arrived at in cognitive science, as indicated in the following argument by Turner (1996)

> Cultural meanings peculiar to a society often fail to migrate intact across anthropological or historical boundaries, but the basic mental processes that make these meanings possible are universal. (Turner 1996: 11)

We would like to point that this procedure is referred to in the existing literature as *shifting the metaphor to sense*. This is based on the assumption that sense is literal and not metaphorical. But, as the conceptual theory has argued, making sense of abstract concepts is fundamentally metaphorical. This in turn means that referring to this as a *deletion of the metaphor* or *shifting the metaphor to its sense* is not precise. The sense of lack of movement in the above example is itself metaphorical and not literal. Cities, like the Omani city of Nizwa in the example, do not literally move. Movement is a metaphor at the level of image schema. The conventional image of being *buried under the dust* is a rich image entailment of this image schematic **MOVEMENT** metaphor.

1.8. Same Mapping but a Different Perspective

Here the source text and the target text realise the same conceptual metaphor, but with a different perspective, as the following example shows:

[205] قررنا انشاء جامعة قابوس في نزوى **يتلقى فيها** ابناؤنا ثمار العلم والمعرفة على اعلى المستويات العالمية [قابوس–10، ص 168]

> [GLOSS] we have decided to establish Qaboos University in Nizwa [where] our sons **receive** the fruits of science and knowledge at the highest international levels.

> [OFFICIAL] To this end, Qaboos University is to be built at Nizwa which **will provide** courses in these subjects up to the highest international standard [Qaboos-10, p.83]

In this example, we get Qaboos bin Said arguing that the university will be opened so that Omani students will get the *thimar alilm (fruits of science)*. The idea of education as information given, which is incidentally a realization of the **GENEROSITY** metaphor, is not kept in the English translation using the word *provide*. So, while the source text emphasizes the reception of the educational material by the students, the translation shifts the perspective to that of the universities.

2. Adding a New Instantiation in the Target Text

Here the translator adds a new instantiation of a particular conceptual metaphor that is realised linguistically in the source text but not at that particular location. An example is the following:

[206] ان شعبنا اذ يحتفل اليوم بهذه الذكرى الوطنية العزيزة في جميع أنحاء البلاد، من اقصى الشمال الى اقصى الجنوب وفي الداخل وفي السهول وفي المدن والريف [قابوس–7، ص 133]

[GLOSS] our people, while celebrating today this dear national anniversary in all corners of our country, from the furthest north to the furthest south, and in the interior and in the plains, cities and countryside, remember with pride and glory the dignified victories ...

[OFFICIAL] Throughout our beloved country our people are celebrating this National Anniversary **as one united family** from the far north to the far south, in the interior and on the coastal plains, in the towns and in the rural areas, ... [Qaboos-7, p.59]

As we have seen in **CHAPTER SIX**, the family metaphor is frequently used in the Omani political discourse to conceptualise the political concept of people. Despite this, at this particular extract, the family metaphor was not realised in the source text, but the translation introduces a new expression of the metaphor.

3. Using a Different Conceptual Metaphor

In this case the producer of the source text instantiates an image schematic metaphor, but the translator uses a different image schematic metaphor. The following example shows a shift from a metaphor of which the source domain is the image schema of **CENTRE**, to a translation that uses the image schema of **POSITION**.

فكيف تصورت ان التهديد يخيفهم ويرعبهم من **مركز الكفر** الذي تمثله؟ [صدام- 13: ص 377]

[GLOSS] so how did you imagine that the threat frightens and scares them from the **centre of kufr** which you represent?

As we argued in **SECTION 5.2.3.**, Saddam Hussein argues that **AMERICA IS THE CORE OF DISBELIEF**. The translation, however, does not keep the same image schematic metaphor, but opts for another image schema, **POSITION**.

[FBIS] ... how can you imagine that threats can intimidate and frighten them when such threats come from the atheist **position** which you represent? [SADDAM-13: p.166]

When translators use this procedure, it implies a shift in the whole proposition. In the above example, the absence of the image schema of **CENTRE** means also the absence of all the entailments that are associated with it. *Kufr*, or disbelief, is conceptualised as one thing, in which America functions as the core. The implication, in Arabic, is that if America represents the **CORE** of disbelief, Iraq implicitly represents the **CORE** of Islam. The major implication of this is that the Gulf War is not a minor war in history, but is a struggle between the **CORES** of belief and disbelief. The **POSITION** image schema lacks all those entailments. All it entails is the difference in geographical location of the two sides.

4. Deletion of the Expression of the Metaphor

We have already said that a translator can delete a particular rich image metaphor but at the same time keep the image schematic metaphor. Traditional MiT studies have regarded this as a case of deletion of metaphor. However, we found cases of translators deleting references to a particular conceptual metaphor as we have seen in the case of the metaphor **PEOPLE ARE SONS OF THEIR COUNTRY**. Shifting among rich images which could be attributed to local textual and stylistic reasons (languages develop their own culture-specific, idiomatic, lexicalised instantiations of conceptual metaphors such as *between the eyes* which realises the image schema of **CENTRE**); in contrast, deletion of whole conceptual metaphors is better seen as a manifestation of higher pragmatic strategies of translation. As example of such a strategy is filtering out ideological metaphors which might be viewed negatively by the target language audience, such as the **SONS** and **GENEROSITY** metaphors in the speeches of Qaboos bin Said of Oman.

A New Look at MiT Procedures

Having presented the major procedures used in handling metaphors from a conceptual point of view, with special weight given to the concept of image schema, we can now revisit the existing sets of procedures in the MiT literature. The aim of this revisiting is to see which of the procedures we have discussed above are mere 'renaming' of procedures that are already discussed in the literature and which are new, in the sense that they could not have been arrived at using the traditional linguistic theories of metaphor. The following table compares our procedures with those already discussed. Since, as we have seen in CHAPTER THREE, different scholars propose more or less the same procedures, we will take Newmark's (1980) list of procedures and those suggested by Toury (1995) and Chesterman (1997) as representatives of the traditional approaches.

Procedures proposed in this study by applying the conceptual theory of metaphor, with emphasis on the concept of *image schema*	Newmark (1980)	Toury (1995)	Chesterman (1997)
1. Using the same image schema that is used in the ST (which is not concretised using a rich image)	---	---	---
2. Introducing a functional aspect of an image schema in the TT	---	---	---

Procedures proposed in this study by applying the conceptual theory of metaphor, with emphasis on the concept of *image schema*	Newmark (1980)	Toury (1995)	Chesterman (1997)
3. Using in the TT the same image schema and rich image that were used in the ST	Reproducing the ST image in the TT translating metaphor (or simile) by simile plus sense (or occasionally a metaphor plus sense)	Metaphor *into* 'same' metaphor	ST trope X → TT trope X
4. Using a rich image that realises the same image schema that is realised by the rich image in the ST	Replace the SL image with a standard TL image Converting the metaphor into a simile	Metaphor *into* 'different' metaphor Metaphor *into* non-metaphor	ST trope X → TT trope Y
5. Concretising the image schema that was used in the ST	----	Non-metaphor *into* metaphor 0 *into* Metaphor (?!!)	---
6. Not using the ST rich image but using the same image schema realised by the rich image (Image schematizing)	Converting metaphor into sense	Metaphor into 'non-metaphor	---
7. Using the same image schema and rich image but with a conceptualization facilitator, such as *so to speak*	---	---	---
8. Introducing a new instantiation of a conceptual metaphor that is used in the ST	---	0 *into* metaphor	ST trope Ø → TT trope X
9. Deleting one instantiation of the conceptual metaphor (but not all the expressions of the metaphor)	Deleting the metaphor	metaphor *into* 0	ST trope X → TT trope Ø
10. Deleting the conceptual metaphor entirely			

Figure 27: Procedures of Handling Metaphor

The table shows, first of all, that starting with the notion of conceptual metaphor, which is realised linguistically, rather with individual rich image expressions, captures some recurrent patterns which cannot be seen if we see metaphor from the traditional linguistic approach only. Specifically, the idea that the sense itself can be metaphorical, as in the concepts of political *balance* or *force*, positions us to see two major procedures. The first is (re-)instantiating the same image schematic metaphor that was used in the ST. The second is introducing in the TT a functional property of an image schematic metaphor that was used in the ST.

The table also shows us that the conceptual theory of metaphor enables us to present a more precise understanding of some procedures that have been discussed in the MiT

literature. For example, the literature talked about 'shifting metaphor to sense' or 'shifting a sense into metaphor.' Now, with the idea that sense itself can, as we have seen in political concepts as **BALANCE** and **FORCE**, be fundamentally metaphorical, we can see that such shifts are actually shifts within the same image schema. That is, 'shifting metaphor to sense' can simply be getting rid of the rich image and keeping the image schematic metaphorical sense. 'Shifting a sense into metaphor' can be introducing a rich image which is structured by the image schema that is used in the source text, as we have seen in the examples above.

8.5. Effects of MiT Procedures: Interactive Cases

The effect of a particular way of handling a metaphor in translation on its audiences has been a focus of intensive investigation by studies of translation in international political contexts (e.g. Schäffner 1996b) and of metaphor in political discourse (e.g., Chilton and Ilyn 1993, and Chilton 1996). Chilton (1996: 277) discusses the metaphorical Russian concept of *dom*, which was translated into English as *house* or *home*. Chilton argues that the Russian's model of *dom* is very different from the model that the English words imply, which could arguably be a possible factor behind the rejection of this idea by the Western countries. The same also applies to the metaphorical concept of *fester Kern* (*hard core*) which was suggested by Germany. *Hard core* has different associations in English, which led to negative comments about the idea (Schäffner 1996b, see SECTION 3.5. in CHAPTER THREE). The basic idea that Chilton and Ilyn's and Schäffner's studies offer is that the choice of a particular translation procedure of handling metaphor can turn into a political issue itself.

Due to the limitations of this thesis, we have not attempted to trace effects of the MiT procedures used by the translators of Saddam Hussein and Qaboos bin Said. This topic indeed requires a separate study which takes into consideration all aspects of the interaction between a translated text and the target culture which receives the text and different methodologies of research, which are the focus of Descriptive Translation Studies and Cultural Studies within Translation Studies (for more on translation effects see Chesterman 1998). However, we have come across three interactive cases where the translator's choice of handling a political metaphor comes to the foreground and causes a debate. We believe these cases shed some light onto the topic of effect of MiT procedures which are related to some topics discussed already in this thesis such as the role of intertextuality. Besides, cases which involve a specific phenomenon as metaphor are very

rare, but these rare cases still offer very valuable information about the effect of using MiT procedures. Those three cases are: *mustad'af*, *qazm*, and *as'subhu*. The last two are original data which have not been discussed before. The first one was discussed in a previous translation study (Baker 1997), but we will approach it from the conceptual dimension.

8.5.1. *Mustad'af* Revisited

In a paper on non-cognitive constraints on interpreting political interviews, Baker (1997) discussed several examples derived from an English interpretation of an interview by Saddam Hussein with Trevor McDonald, a well-known presenter on the British television channel ITN. The interview and interpretation took place on 11 November 1990. One of the examples Baker analysed is the case of the word *mustad'af*. Approaching this example from the point of view of the conceptual theory of metaphor would complement Baker's discussion of the topic, which concentrated on the non-cognitive constraints affecting the performance of interpreters.

Answering one of McDonald's questions, Saddam Hussein describes Iraq as المواطن المستضعف في الشرق الاوسط (literally, *the mustad'af citizen in the Middle East*). The interpreter puts it as follows:

> I ... I am the *helpless* citizen of the Middle East (italics added)

Then he stops suddenly and asks Saddam Hussein,

> Mustad'af? Sir?

Saddam Hussein pauses, and then he and the two interpreters discuss the meaning of the word in Arabic:

> **Saddam:** [to Main Interpreter]: *mustad'af* – don't you know what *mustad'af* means in English?
> **Main Interpreter:** *mustad'af* means ... not ... I mean ...
> **2nd Interpreter:** Sir, has no power and no strength, meaning *helpless*.
> **Saddam:** Yes, exactly, he has no power... [reconsidering] he has strength ... meaning that God is with him. Meaning that our strength lies in God's strength. So we are not weak, but others may see us as weak. (in Baker 1997: 117)

> أقصد بالمستضعف الذي له حول وله قوة، اي بمعنى ان الله معه، وان قوتنا في قوة الله سبحانه وتعالى ولذلك لسنا ضعفاء وانما ينظر لنا من قبل الاخرين نظرة استضعاف (in Matar 1994: 232)

The main interpreter then turns to McDonald and says in English:

> I must sanction to ... the word ... a word which we need to be very specific about. I used *helpless* to describe it but I wasn't really very certain about it. What he meant is that we are people who are not weak in ourselves, because we have the strength of God behind us, but

who may be looked by others to be weak... we sort of looked or viewed to be weak by others. (in Baker 1997: 118)

According to Baker, the literal meaning of the word *mustad'af* is "taken to be/ assumed to be weak or helpless." Hatim (1997), however, gives another literal meaning for the same word: *taken advantage of by someone more powerful* (Hatim 1997: 31). These two meanings are correct, but they highlight one part of the meaning. The full potential of the meaning of this word cannot, however, be arrived at without knowing that it is a manifestation of an intertextual metaphor which maps the experiences of Qur'anic figures of early Islam onto contemporary ones. Particularly, Saddam Hussein, through the intertextual metaphor, maps onto the contemporary experience the experience of the early Muslims who were oppressed by non-Muslims in Mecca in the early days of the call for Islam. After the establishment of the first Islamic state following the Islamic triumph in Medina, the following Qur'anic verse (8: 26) reminds the Muslims of their early days of oppression:

واذكروا إذ أنتم قليل مستضعفون في الأرض تخافون أن يتخطفكم الناس فآواكم وأيدكم بنصره ورزقكم من الطيبات

Ali translates this verse as follows:

> Call to mind when ye were a small (band), despised through the land, and afraid that men might despoil and kidnap you; but he provided a safe asylum for you, strengthened you with his aid, and gave you good things for sustenance: that ye might be grateful. (8: 26, highlight added)

The Qur'an also uses the same word to describe people who are oppressed because of their religious beliefs by more powerful groups مستكبر *mustakbir*. If we look at the rendition provided by the interpreter from a conceptual perspective, it could well be argued that the word *helpless* that was used by the translator instantiates a purely social-domain realisation of the image schematic absence of **ENABLEMENT** that results from lack of FORCE of the Iraqi side. The American Heritage Dictionary defines *helpless* as "Lacking power or strength; impotent."

Saddam Hussein, however, rejects this pure image schematic rendition, opting for the religious explanation which underlies the intertextual experience. Through instantiating the intertextual metaphor **GULF WAR IS A JIHAD WAR**, Saddam Hussein implies that Iraq's triumph is inevitable and guaranteed because Allah will be on its side. This is clearly manifested in Hussein's explanation of the meaning of the word *mustad'af*, "meaning that God is with him. Meaning that our strength lies in God's strength."

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This example illustrates how the ignorance of the translator of the intertextual mapping can result in problematic translation situations. This is intensified when the translation/interpretation situation is of a sensitive nature and is constrained by such factors as time. That is, here the interview being interpreted is of international significance since it is part of the international issue of the Gulf crisis which was a time "of political tension and controversy" (Baker 1997: 114). Any misinterpreting contributes to the political situation. In addition, in this case, knowledge of the intertextual domains is necessary, as the translation situation requires an immediate solution. That is, the interpreter here was not in a position to go and consult dictionaries or experts about this word. Another point is that the source text producer seems to be aware of the cultural background of the expression, while both the interpreters are not. He interferes to tell the interpreter the religious background of the word, without of course showing the Qur'anic verses in which it was used.

8.5.2.   No Ill-Intentions or Ill-Meanings in Rendering قزم *qazm*

The next case we will discuss also shows the effect of a particular translation procedure to handle metaphor in a political setting. On the 16th of February 1991, Mr. Al-Anbari, the Iraqi representative in the United Nations Security Council, described the representatives of some of Allies states as أقزام *aqzam*. He referred to Muhammed Abu Al-Hasan the representative of Kuwait then as القزم ... الذي حاول اثارتي بكلماته السادية which is literally *the-qazm who tried to agitate me with his sadist words* (in Al-Barazi 1995: 757-8). He also described a closed session of the Security Council on 14 February 1991 as جلسة للكاذبين والأقزام والمنافقين, literally, *a session of liars, aqzam (plural of qazm) and hypocrites* (ibid).

This word *qazm* (and its plural form *aqzam*) are linguistic expressions that describe abnormally small, short people. Metaphorically it is a rich-image realization of an image-schematic metaphor **GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN** where the taller height is mapped onto goodness, while short height is mapped onto negative values. This echoes a widespread respect for tall people in the Arab world. the height of a man is in fact related to such highly esteemed values as glory and honour such as in the Arab proverb الطول عز (literally: *tallness is glory*). Any Arabic-English dictionary would give only two words as equivalents for *qazm: pygmy* and *dwarf*. The first of the two words was chosen in the simultaneous interpretation into English of the Iraqi representative's speech, which caused

a debate. In 24, February, 1991, Mr. Babbeni Adeito Nzengeya, the representative of Zaire, objected to the use of the word *pygmy*:

> But my brief statement- or, rather, my comment- relates to the statement made a few days ago by the representative of a Member State when he referred to the pygmies in pejorative terms.
>
> As the representative of Zaire, whose population is nearly 36 million, including approximately 400,000 pygmies enjoying all rights in the country, I should like to say that pygmies are fully fledged human beings and cannot be treated in a discriminatory fashion because of their size, since the size of a human being has never been a criterion for any scale of value. (interpretation from French, in Weller 1993: 86)

The representative of Zaire was doing two things simultaneously. First of all, he rejected the particular choice of translation. Through this rejection, he rejected the whole conceptual metaphor that maps short height onto negative qualities. This is intensified when the source domain used is not a general word referring to short people, but actually a proper noun that refers to anthropological group. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, a *pygmy* is

> A member of any of various peoples, especially of equatorial Africa and parts of southeast Asia, having an average height less than 5 feet (127 centimeters).

Second, the Zairian representative also objected to the use of the English word *pygmy*, *which* refers to a group of the people of his country. The representative of Iraq responded to this objection by explaining what he really meant. His statement (in English) deserves a full quotation.

> I shall speak in English so as to avoid misunderstanding of the kind our colleague from Zaire has just complained about.
>
> As members know, the other day I spoke in Arabic and I used the word "gizim"[51], which is the equivalent of the English word "dwarf". When I noted the inaccurate translation, I immediately brought the Secretariat's attention to the meaning of the Arab word I used, and the Secretariat has corrected the record accordingly. So I assure my friend from Zaire that we have full respect for the human dignity of pygmies and other human beings, whether in or outside of Zaire. My intention was solely in the word "*gizim*", which means nothing but "dwarf". So I hope that his fears are now laid to rest. (in Weller 1993: 86)

The representative of Iraq was then aware of the politically incorrect translation that used the word *pygmy*. In other words, since pygmies refers to particular groups, it refers to political entities who can be defended by representatives of countries in which they are found. He does not mind using the word *dwarf* which is general and includes all people with abnormally small bodies, and is not limited to the anthropological groups *pygmies*. Under the term قزم *qazm*, *Al-Mu'jam Al-Waseet* gives both meanings: the general one which describes shortness and smallness of a body (equivalent to *dwarf*) and the specific

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[51] The word *gizim* is a variation of the Arabic word قزم (*qazm*). In some dialects of Iraq, the Arabic phoneme ق (*Qaf*) is pronounced using the allophone ج (*Geem*).

anthropological one which refers to the particular group of short people (equivalent to *pygmy*).

After this explanation, Mr. Al-Anbari added, in English, the following.

> However, with all due respect to my friend from Zaire, I have to say that I am afraid that there seems to be some attempts on the part of some members attending this meeting to convert it from a serious in-depth discussion of a very critical situation now prevailing in the Gulf to deal with side issues and, I would say, irrelevant issues, for I assume that by now he must have read the correction and be assured that there was no ill-intention or ill-meaning on my part because I was speaking in Arabic, and we have no word actually for pygmies except pygmies, and I did use the word for dwarf. (*ibid.*)

The Iraq representative then defends his position by assuming that the misunderstanding is caused by the interpreter's choice of *pygmy*. Al-Anbari thought that the word *dwarf* is the real equivalent for the meaning he intended. Despite this view of both the Iraqi and the Zairian representatives, the word *pygmy* has indeed been used for a long time in English according to the same metaphor **BAD IS DOWN** (or **SHORT**). This metaphor is usually instantiated when the speaker highlights the differences between two parties, where one is seen as **GIANT** and the other is **PYGMY**. This is clear for example in the following paragraph from London's *Iron Heel*:

> The ownership of the world, along with the machines, lies between the trusts and labor. That is the battle alignment. Neither side wants the destruction of the machines. But each side wants to possess the machines. In this battle the middle class has no place. *The middle class is a pygmy between two giants.* Don't you see, you poor perishing middle class, you are caught between the upper and nether millstones, and even now has the grinding begun. (italics and highlight added)

The word *dwarf* has also been used in English to instantiate the same metaphor. In *American Crisis*, Thomas Paine wrote,

> But the expression, if true, is the greatest confession of disgrace that could be made, and furnishes America with the highest notions of sovereign independent importance. Mr. Wedderburne, about the year 1776, made use of an idea of much the same kind, - Relinquish America! Says he - *What is it but to desire a giant to shrink spontaneously into a dwarf.* (italics and highlight added)
> Alas! are those people who call themselves Englishmen, of so little internal consequence, that when America is gone, or shuts her eyes upon them, their sun is set, they can shine no more, but grope about in obscurity, and contract into insignificant animals? *Was America, then, the giant of the empire, and England only her dwarf in waiting!* (italics and highlight added)

In addition to the fact that *pygmy* is instantiated in similar contexts as those of *dwarf*, the word *pygmy* is a normal word to refer to opponents in a political context. The British journalist Ian Aitken, in a recent article in *The Guardian* entitled, *The pygmies who proved me wrong*, talks about some members of the Labour government who "alas, are the same *pygmies* they were when they went into office" (Aitken 2000: 18). The expression *political*

pygmy is also recurrent in the political discourse in English. The following paragraph, which is excerpted from an article from an Australian newspaper, shows a writer who refers to some politicians as *political pygmies*.

> In amongst the deluge of drivel which emanates from Walworth Road allegedly telling us how we will win the next election, it's a real pleasure to read a genuine discussion document. Castle and Townsend ought to be given the task of teaching the *political pygmies*, who seem to run our affairs, a few lessons on how to present material for discussion. No fancy photos, facts presented in a readable order so that at the end of it we have the answer to that much asked question "What are you going to do about it?" (http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/The_Citizen/Citrtc06.htm, italics and highlight added)

The expression *political pygmy* is also used to highlight the limitedness of the international political influence of particular political entities as in the following example which speaks about Japan.

> Like much else about Japan, its role in international affairs is ambiguous and contradictory. Japan is routinely portrayed as something of *an international political pygmy*, incapable of exerting an influence to match its economic might. (Beeson 1997, italics and highlight added)

All the above quotations show clearly that in the English language, there is not a significant difference in the meaning of *pygmy* and *dwarf*, despite the fact that the term *pygmy* is associated with a particular anthropological group. This in turn tell us that the objection against using *pygmy* in translating *dwarf* which is presented by the representative of Zaire is not very justified, given the fact that *pygmy* and *dwarf* are used interchangeably in English. The following case shows another objection against a particular translation of a political text involving a metaphorical concept.

8.5.3.   Only a "*Poetic Reference*"

Another case of how a particular translation of a political metaphor has the potential to create a problematic political condition happened in the context of the explosion of the TWA plane in 17 July 1996, in which 228 people died. Seven hours prior to the time of the explosion, the Arabic *Al-Hayat* newspaper, which publishes in London, received a statement in Arabic from an organization called حركة التغيير الاسلامية- الجناح الجهادي في الجزيرة العربية *Harakat at'taghyeer al-islamiyyah – al-janahul Jihadiyyu fi al-Jazeerah al-Arabiyyah* (*The Islamic Movement for Change – The Jihadi Wing in the Arabian Peninsula*). The statement did not carry a direct threat to explode the plane, but had general threats. It said

[207]   وسوف يكون للمجاهدين الرد الاقسى على تهديدات الرئيس الامريكي الاحمق، وسيفاجأ
الجميع بحجم الرد وتحديد المكان والزمان بيد المجاهدين، وعلى الغزاة الاستعداد للرحيل احياء
او امواتا وان موعدهم الصبح أليس الصبح بقريب؟(6 :20-7-1996 *Al-Hayat* from)

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A gloss rendition would be as follows:

> The mujahideen will have the severe response against the threats of the idiot American president. All will be surprised by the size of the response, and the specification of the place and time is in the hand of the mujahideen. The invaders should prepare for leaving, alive or dead. **Their time is morning, is not morning close?**

The translation of the statement caused a lot of controversy. The source of this controversy is the ambiguity resulting from the inability to determine whether *subhu* (morning) referred to the time period after the sunrise or whether it was metaphorical. The English translation by the American ABC News Agency, using the procedure [same rich image], caused a political debate since this was presented as a base for a theory for explaining the explosion. An AFP report in 19 July 1996 said that the State Department treated that report with scepticism. Spokesman Nicholas Burns said it appeared ABC may have either "mistranslated or misinterpreted" the Arabic message. "Our impression is this is a general political tract with no specific threat pertaining to the crash," Burn said (in *Oman Daily Observer*, 20-7-1996: 1). Specifically, Burns added, the letter warned that "dawn is their departure time," which ABC apparently interpreted as meaning Thursday morning in the Middle East, which is when the explosion and crash took place. But Burns said "dawn" was merely a "poetic reference" (*ibid.*) that referred to the future.

What both the translators and Burns were not aware of is that the phrase was a direct quotation from the Qur'an.

قالوا يا لوط إنا رسل ربك لن يصلوا إليك فأسر بأهلك بقطع من الليل ولا يلتفت منكم أحد إلا امرأتك إنه
مصيبها ما أصابهم إن موعدهم الصبح أليس الصبح بقريب {81}

81- (The Messengers) said: "O Lut! we are Messengers from thy Lord! By no means shall they reach thee! Now travel with thy family while yet a part of the night remains, and let not any of you look back: but thy wife (will remain behind): to her will happen what happens to the people. *Morning is their time appointed: is not the morning nigh?*" (Ali's translation, highlight and italics added)

This incident tells us several things. First, a particular technique of handling a metaphorical expression in translation can be chosen in a way that suits a specific political group. That is, the fact that one American stereotype of the Arabs is that they are terrorists influenced this translation, which shifted the metaphor into a real fact. The metaphorical *as'subhu* became a real morning, thus justifying the theory that the political organisation which produced the political statement was responsible for the explosion of the aeroplane.

Burns' insistence that *as'subhu* is a "poetic reference" is interesting in that it reflects how genre requirements can limit the interpretation of a metaphor. That is, Burns assumes that in the genre of political statements, it is not acceptable to refer to the future using the rich image of *dawn* because such images are *poetic.*

To sum up this discussion on interactive cases, as far as effects of MiT procedures are concerned, the above discussion, along with the analysis of data provided before, have demonstrated that there are different relationships between translation procedures and effects. Some shifts arising from adopting a particular MiT procedure are only of a local level, such as image schematising a rich image metaphor or vice versa. (While Arabs are used to realise the **CORE** metaphor using the expression *fi as-Sameem* (literally, *in the core of*), in English there are lexicalised idiomatic expressions, such as *right between the eyes* and *in the heart of*.) Other shifts are done for pragmatic purposes, such as to create an image (or to prevent an existing image from appearing) in the target language as manifested in deleting the conceptual metaphors of **SONS** and **GENEROUS COUNTRY** in the English translation of speeches of Qaboos bin Said. Particular procedures can lead to political debates, as we have in the above three cases. The interactive cases show very clearly that the translation *event* (see Toury 1995: 249 and Toury 1999: 18) never ends with the production of the target text. A particular MiT procedure can cause a political debate which could in turn result in an interference from a particular politician (the producer of the source text himself or herself) leading to a change in the translation (as in the case of Saddam's sanctioning of the first rendering of *mustad'afoon* as *helpless* and in translating *aqzam* as *pygmies*) or to a public rejection of a particular translation on the grounds that it does not capture the real message of the source text (as in the case of *dawn is their departure time*, which was deemed by the US State Department spokesman as an Arabic *poetic reference*).

Theoretical Questions Arising from Adopting the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor

We have seen in the last discussion that the application of the ideas of the conceptual theory of metaphor leads to a better understanding of enduring questions in the MiT literature which is based on traditional non-cognitive theories of metaphor. As we have already argued, because the conceptual theory presents a fundamentally different account

of the phenomenon of metaphor, new implications for the area of MiT also arise from its theoretical assumptions. In what follows we will discuss some of those areas.

8.6. Translation and Manifestations of Conceptual Metaphors

The empirical analysis of this study has shown us that the conceptual level of metaphor is an essential level in any study of metaphor in translation. Indeed, we can now see that several traditional MiT studies have faced instances where their toolkit of metaphor as linguistic expression failed to explain the active conceptual level of the expressions they studied. We can illustrate this with three examples by Dagut, Mason and Newmark.

> [1] *Rot eats (away) foundations* in Eng. [English] as in Heb. [Hebrew]; and *house* = "organised social structure" is part of a common Judaeo-Christian tradition (cf. The parable of a house built on sand). (Dagut 1976: 29, italics in the text)

> [2] I want to suggest that our time and space talk constitutes a case of permanently original metaphor, in so far as we cannot, it seems, avoid using metaphors to discuss time. It is possible for us to move through space; we do not move through time, but we speak as if we did, and as if we could measure time in the same way that we measure distance... Time is more problematic [than space], but just as necessary, so we use space-talk to talk about time. Time-talk is thus a case of permanent metaphor. (Mason 1982: 148)

> [3] It is possible that no metaphors are universal. One would expect 'birth' to be 'awakening', 'sickness' to be moral as well as physical, 'sleep' to be 'rest' or 'death.' (Newmark 1988b: 87)

A deeper look at the above quotations reveals that the three of them refer to underlying conceptual metaphors. In the first quotation, Dagut assumes that there is an underlying correspondence between the concept of *house* and the concept of *society*. Without saying it, Dagut alludes to the conceptual metaphor **SOCIETIES ARE STRUCTURES**. Mason points at the conceptual metaphor **TIME IS SPACE**. Newmark's quotation is clearer in assuming a deep level of conceptual correspondences underlying linguistic expressions. He actually refers to the conceptual metaphors **AWAKENING IS BIRTH** and **MORAL PROBLEMS ARE DISEASES**. It is unfortunate that the awareness of the conceptual level of metaphor has not been developed in MiT studies.

Ignoring this conceptual, inter-expression level can lead to problematic situations. As far as MiT research is concerned, ignoring this level of metaphor and concentrating on individual expression level carries the potential of ignoring or neglecting relevant conceptual mappings such as **THE GENEROUS COUNTRY** metaphor in the speeches of Qaboos bin Said and some properties of the intertextual metaphor **GULF WAR CONFRONTATION IS JIHAD** in the speeches of Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

The idea of an image schematic metaphor has also shown us that most of the shifts which other scholars have pointed out and which we have encountered in our analysis in the two case studies are not actually from one metaphor to another. The concept of the hierarchical nature of metaphor helps to explain the mechanisms adopted in such intra-metaphor shifts.

The Arabic expression الصميم في (*in the core of*) was translated as both *in the heart of* and *right between the eyes*. Previous scholars would argue here that the non-metaphorical sense of the source text expression is shifted into metaphorical.[52] Following our analysis in our two case studies, we are now in a position to argue that this is not true. The real mechanism here is not a shift from a non-metaphor to metaphor, but a special mechanism within the hierarchy of the image schematic metaphor. In other words, the source text image schematic metaphor is shifted into a special rich image domain metaphor (eyes, heart) which belong to our perceptual world. Without such consideration of the intra-metaphor hierarchical relations, this kind of shifts (between image schemata and rich image domains) would not have been noticed.

Manifestations of metaphors

According to some scholars, metaphor translation can be problematic when translation takes place from a language which uses metaphorical expressions to a language in which metaphors are rarely used, if ever. There are two versions of this idea: extreme and moderate. The moderate view assumes that some languages do have dead metaphors but do not have the capacity to create new metaphors. Translation to such languages becomes problematic when the translator attempts to reproduce an original metaphorical expression (Beekman and Callow 1974 argued that some languages resist new metaphors.) Newmark also represents this view when he says that "it appears that English has more abundant metaphorical as well as lexical/grammatical/phonological resources than other languages" (Newmark 1998: 111).

The extreme view assumes that as far as metaphor is concerned there are two types of languages. The first type includes languages which use metaphors. The second type of languages either rarely uses metaphors or does not use them at all. As we have seen in CHAPTER TWO, Crofts (1988) argues that in 1000 pages of texts in the Brazilian language Munduruku she found "NO metaphor" (51, uppercase letters in the text). Crofts deduces

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[52] Nida argues that such shifts are accepted as "gains".

that because of their non-metaphorical character, such languages make the translation of metaphor impossible.

Both the proposals of the conceptual theory of metaphor and our empirical analysis of the corpus of this study invite us to argue very strongly against this view. Crofts does not provide us with enough information about the nature of the 1000 pages that she analysed. It could be assumed, however, that unless those texts are constituted of expressions referring to very conventional (especially, physical) experiences of the life of the speakers of Munduruku (i.e. a pure description of physical world phenomena as forests and trees), it is impossible that such texts do not realise some sort of metaphorical ontological correspondence.

Dead Metaphors

Our analyses of several conceptual metaphors and the different procedures used to handle them in translation show that dead metaphors are not as dead as it was assumed. MiT scholars who adopted traditional metaphor theories have given dead metaphors a marginal position. Newmark, as an example, argues that "dead metaphors are no part of translation theory, which is concerned with choices and decisions" (Newmark 1988b: 86). Contrary to this, as we have seen in **CHAPTER THREE**, the conceptual theory of metaphor looks seriously at cases of dead metaphor. That is, a large number of such expressions in our data turned out to be linguistic instantiations of very active, albeit unconscious, conceptual metaphors. The word *step* in *finishing my study is an important step in my life* reflects an underlying conceptual metaphor, **LIFE IS A JOURNEY**, and can by no means be regarded as an irrelevant dead metaphor.

As far as translation is concerned, our analysis has made it evident that several aspects of the translatorial actions require an awareness of this unconscious nature of such conventionalised expressions. Such expressions should be part of any theoretical investigation into how metaphor is handled in translation, not excluded from translation theory as Newmark argued when he said that "dead metaphors are no part of translation theory" (Newmark 1988b: 86).

This tells us that dead 'metaphors' are actually a special case of realising active, unconscious conceptual metaphors. This argument contradicts Black's assumption that accepting dead metaphors as metaphors is similar to treating a corpse as a special case of a

person (Black 1993: 25). The whole idea of the 'death' of such expressions is itself metaphorical, and so is Black's analogy.

8.7. Source Domains and their "Demands"

Several MiT scholars have, based on such theories as the comparison or the substitution theories of metaphor, classified metaphorical expressions according to the level of awareness of the metaphor on the part of its users, or in the word of Dagut (1973):

> There is thus a continuous gradation, or "cline", stretching from fully "alive" metaphor to completely "dead" (or "lexical") idiom, with various intermediate degrees of demetaphorization – cum – idiomaticization (Dagut 1973: 168).

Some MiT scholars have argued that this classification is relevant in translation. We have seen in CHAPTER TWO that Newmark, for example, distinguishes between dead, cliché, stock, recent and original types of metaphors and argues that each type poses its own problem in translation and thus requires different translation procedures. However, such views, which result from adopting linguistic theories of metaphor, do not help us to identify problems that are caused by the conceptual nature of metaphor.

Based on the conceptual theory, we distinguished between three major types of source domains in metaphors: physical domains, human-life domains and intertextual domains. This distinction has shown us that metaphors with one type of source domain can pose fundamentally different problems from problems posed by metaphors with another type of source domains.

Hatim and Mason (1997: 181) relate the notion of text type to the actual process of translation and argue, after Gülich and Raible (1975), that different types of texts seem to place different *demands* on the translator. It could be argued that the concept of *demand* could precisely describe the relevance of the difference between source domains of metaphors to translation: *different source domains of metaphors seem to place different demands on the translator.* In this context the notion of demand could be understood as referring to both the problems that each of the types pose and the procedures available for translators to deal with them. The following table highlights the relationship between the source domains that are used in conceptual metaphors and the demands these place on the translators. The information provided under the headings 'Type of Source Domain' and 'Nature of Requirements' are based on the information we have arrived at from the empirical analysis of this thesis (CHAPTERS FIVE, SIX and SEVEN). Some of the details in

the 'Potential Procedures' column are based on the procedures we have encountered in our data analysis; other ideas in the column are hypothetical (based on general aspects of documentary and instrumental translations). We have distinguished between two types of potential procedures according to the two functional tendencies in translation that Nord (1997a) suggested: documentary translation and instrumental translation.

Type of Source Domain		Knowledge Requirements for Translators	Potential Procedures	
			Documentary Translation	Instrumental Translation
Physical Source Domains	Image Schematic Metaphors	Knowledge of interaction between an image schema and rich image domains	Using the same image schema and the same rich images or literal reproduction of the idiomatic expressions used	Using the same image schema but *concretizing* using TL conventional rich images, or idiomatic expressions
	Animal Metaphors	Knowledge of culture-specific associations	Keeping the same animal rich image and (possibly) providing information about the metaphorisation	Keeping the same animal rich image, or image-schematising the metaphor (e.g. from *animal of prey* to the image schematic *force*)
	Colour metaphors	Knowledge of specific associations, especially intertextuality	Keeping the associations (by using other procedures such as providing a footnote)	Keeping the colour if it has the same associations or deleting it
Human-life Domains	Human Psychology	Knowledge of folk theories about psychological states	Keeping the same cultural models of psychological states (e.g. by providing a footnote)	Generalising: getting rid of the traces of the folk theory
	Social Practices and Values	Knowledge of culture-specific values (e.g. *uqooq*)	Keeping the same culture-specific values	Getting rid of the culture specific values and/or using similar values in the target culture
	Social Ideologies	Knowledge of culture-specific social ideologies	Keeping the same ideological metaphor	Pragmatic strategy: e.g. deletion or demetaphorisation
Intertextual Domains		Knowledge of the history and major texts in Source Culture	Giving information about the metaphor	Getting rid of the intertextual metaphors

Figure 28: Source Domains of Conceptual Metaphors and the Demands They Place on Translators

The table shows, for example, that the demands presented by the metaphors with source domains involving physical phenomena such are image schemata and rich images are very different from those presented by metaphors whose source domains are social values or ideologies, or intertextual domains with experiences from the past used to metaphorically structure a contemporary experience. As far as the strategy is concerned, the translator who aims at producing a documentary translation is expected to keep the same source domains. S/he could also resort to procedures that enable the target language readers to arrive at the same metaphorical conceptualisation as that of the source language readers, e.g., by

providing footnotes explaining the potential difficulty of conceptualising the source domain of the metaphor. The translator of an instrumental translation is expected to make the necessary shifts that s/he feels necessary, such as using images from the target culture in place of source culture images used in the original text.

We have seen in analysing some metaphors that problems raised by image schematic metaphors, which involve individual concepts such as **BALANCE** and **ESSENCE**, are often handled within the same metaphor, i.e., by making a shift within the same image schema, such as by using a different rich image domain than the one used in the metaphor in the source text. This type of problem and its solution are inherently different from those of other types. Intertextual metaphors, for example, function at a more general level, i.e., at the level of a large-scale political experience, where a previous intertextual experience is mapped onto a contemporary experience, projecting the structure of the former onto the latter. So, we get projection not only of figures and parties of the old experience onto the new experience, but also such items as Qur'anic verses which, according to the Islamic tradition, were revealed as divine responses to particular events of the intertextual experience. These metaphors pose problems which have to do with the translator's knowledge of the old experience and the nature of its mapping onto the new experience. The procedures used to handle these metaphors cannot be found at the levels of image schemas or rich images. The latter are of physical nature, while the intertextual experience is of a cultural-mental type.

8.8. Ideology and Handling Metaphor in Translation

As we have indicated in CHAPTER SIX, ideology is becoming increasingly significant in understanding translation. Our data analysis has shown us some new aspects of the ideological role of translators. To show this, we will discuss here how the conceptual metaphor **OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF OMAN** has been dealt with in the official Omani translation of the speeches of Qaboos bin Said. The following diagram is a schematic reproduction of the ideological dimension of the translation process that was adopted to deal with the conceptual metaphor **OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF OMAN**.
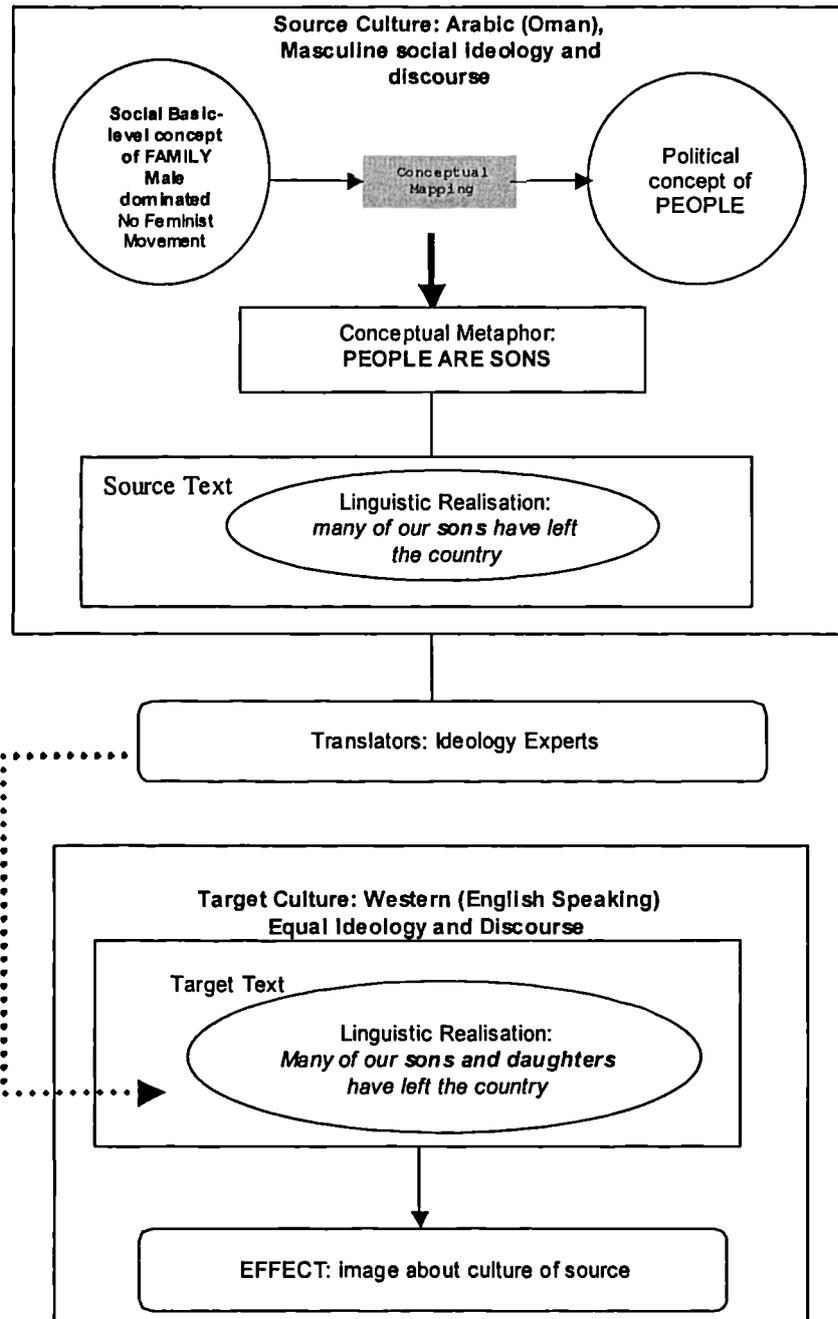
Figure 29: A Schematic Representation of the Aspects of Ideological Metaphors (the Case of OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF OMAN)

Through this discussion we will consider the concept of translating as an independent action, power relationship between the source and the target cultures, the translator as an ideological expert, and the process of image creation in translation.

Translation as an Action Independent of the Source Text

Our data of conceptual metaphors has confirmed the argument of several translation scholars who see translation, not as a transportation of the meaning of a source text written in a specific language into a target text, but as an action which is not dependent on the

action of the production of the source text itself. The translators' decision to de-masculise the conceptual metaphor **OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF OMAN** and not keeping it as it is (e.g., by using such expressions as *sons of Oman*) means that the translators were not concerned with keeping the same meaning elements both at the semantic level (i.e., the meaning of the Arabic lexical item *abna'u*) and at the ideological level (i.e., the masculine social ideology). They rather had the choice of (1) keeping the same semantic and ideological load of the metaphor, or (2) simply doing another thing. The fact that the translators made the second choice means that they were aware, either consciously or unconsciously, of the fact that translation is more than carrying meaning to the foreign language. Our data, especially as represented in how the ideological conceptual metaphors of **SONS** and **GENEROUS COUNTRY** are concerned, show that translation is an *action* which is different from the production of the source text.

Power Relationship between Source Culture and Target Culture

Before we discuss the effect of ideology on the translators' decisions, we need to stress the importance of the power relationship between the source culture and the target culture. The Arabic culture (represented by the masculine metaphor **PEOPLE ARE SONS**) is not able to force its values and dominant ideologies onto the Western culture, because the latter is more powerful internationally. Of course this includes all spheres of life, such as the scientific, political, military, and intellectual. This difference in power might not be involved directly in the translator's handling of the **SONS** metaphor, but it serves as a relevant background for translation decisions.

The translator as an inter-ideological expert

We said above that the choice of eliminating the **SONS** metaphor shows that the translators are aware of the ideological dimension. But what does the word "aware" mean? One could look at awareness from different points of view, such as the mental or psychological. The following discussion is limited to social meaning of awareness, that is, the social implications of the translation action, as far as metaphor is concerned. In this sense, awareness means that translators know how to treat ideological matters. To refer to this description of translators I will use the term *inter-ideological experts*. We will discuss one case of how an expression of the metaphor **OMANI PEOPLE ARE SONS OF OMAN** is handled in the English translation.

كان كثير من ابناءنا ذوي المواهب قد تركوا البلاد بعد ان يأسوا من الاوضاع التي كانت سائدة [208]
حينذاك [قابوس-10، 165]

[GLOSS] many of our talented *abna'*(أبناء) **sons** had left the country after they lost hope regarding the conditions that were widespread [in the country] then

[OFFICIAL] many of our gifted **sons and daughters** had left in despair to make a life for themselves in other lands [Qaboos-10, p.81]

Shifting abna'ana (our sons) into sons and daughters means that the translators knew about the issue of the gender struggle, expressed by the feminist movement in the West. This movement, which, generally speaking, calls for a more equal relationship between men and women, does not exist in an effective way in Oman, so the Sultan's usage of the masculine metaphor conforms to the Omani social situation.

Our data plainly show that the translator's decision is not motivated by the semantic and conceptual load of the source text, but by the skopos of translation. Skopos theory stresses that the notion of function enables the translator to embed the product of translatorial action in a situation of human needs (Schäffner 1998a: 4). The human needs in the case of handling the conceptual ideological metaphors (especially by de-masculinising the metaphorical conceptualisation of the concept of **PEOPLE**) are thus political, namely to create an image of the speaker of the source text.

Translation's Role in Image Creation

This case of handling the **SONS** metaphor shows that translators are very strongly involved in an image creation of the political system in Oman. The target readers do not have access to the original which is written in Arabic for Omani readers who share the same masculine ideology represented by this conceptual metaphor. The target readers see only the translation which gives them a text that conforms to a large extent to their own ideological orientations, or at least a text that conforms to the dominant ideology in their culture. The image of the Omani Arabic culture that is presented to and, potentially, received, in the target culture is very different from the reality (where reality means the actual ideological structure in Oman, as regarding the gender relationships, see Barakat 2000 for a detailed analysis of a description of the prevailing social ideologies and values in modern Arab society).

8.9. Skopos and Handling Metaphor in Translation

In our analyses of how particular metaphors were handled in translation, we have suggested that some translation procedures can be explained as functionally motivated. Seeing translation as a purposeful activity (the view of the skopos theory of translation) is

more convincing than the view that a target language equivalence (in the sense that the target text uses the same metaphors used in the source text) is possible or desirable. The *skopos* theory holds that translational intention is not necessarily similar "to the intention guiding the original sender or text producer in the production of the source text" (Nord 1997b: 19).

The general proposals of the skopos theory fit very well with our findings. We say *the general proposals* because we do not have sufficient information about particular functional phenomena such as translation brief and the background of the translators etc. If we take the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein as an example, we can find that there is a semi-systematic tendency towards adding metaphorical entailments that do not exist in the source text and that in the long run have the potential to create or contribute to creating a negative stereotypical view of Saddam Hussein in the minds of the intended readers who are the interested members of the intelligence community.

Of course we are not in a position to say that the FBIS translators intend such an introduction of negative entailments. We only say that these instances of translation could serve such a function, which is in keeping with the anti-Saddam Hussein atmosphere that was omnipresent in the American media and in the political statements by the American officials during the war. Examples of this type of pattern are discussed below.

1) Psychology of Saddam Hussein

Several cases of the handling of metaphor in the FBIS translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches interact with the negative stereotypical view of Saddam Hussein as a psychologically unbalanced dictator. We have seen this in the case of shifting *za'lan* (which in Arabic refers to the psychological state of displeasure of an action by a family member or friend) to *angry*.

Other shifts of particular metaphors that are understandable in Arabic made the translation · very strange in English. An example is shifting *dabbour* (hornet) into *drone*. Using *drone* makes Saddam Hussein appear very strange, since the context shows that he speaks about a stingy insect that it threatens to cut into pieces, while *drones* are known in English to be inactive and do not sting at all. An expected reaction would hypothetically be "What is this man saying? He is so weird. Drones do not sting".

2) Iraq-Arab Relationships

There are instances in the FBIS translation that cumulatively present Saddam Hussein as an Arab ruler who does not respect Arab people and Arab countries. The intertextual metaphor of **AL-A'ARAB** is rendered either as *false Arabs*, *Arabians* or *Arabs*. These terms are far from the meaning intended by Saddam Hussein in the original Arabic texts. By using the **AL-A'ARAB,** metaphor which maps particular negative connotations associated with the Arabs who lived in the deserts around Mecca and Medina during the days of the Prophet Mohammed onto particular rulers of the Arab Gulf, such as King Fahad of Saudi Arabia and Shaikh Jabir of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein means that those rulers also carry the same *uncivilized* connotations. By rendering this metaphor (which, at the propositional level, refers to a particular group of Arabs) with such words as *Arabs* and *Arabians*, Saddam Hussein appears to be presenting a negative description of all Arabs.

Another example which simply presents Saddam Hussein who is against the Arabs is the handling of the **UQOOQ** metaphor in the FBIS translation. While the Arabic *uqooq* realizes the metaphor **ARABS ARE A FAMILY,** where some members of the family show no respect to the authority of the parents, the English word used, *disobedience,* appear to be a manifestation of an inner psychology of Saddam Hussein, who expects Arab countries and their rulers to obey him.

If we turn to the official governmental translation of the speeches of Qaboos bin Said of Oman during 29 years, the general observation is that the English translation tends to *eliminate* any thing that might *sound strange* to the English reader. This is manifest in the almost total disappearance of the **GENEROUS COUNTRY** metaphor and the **PEOPLE ARE SONS** metaphor. These are only general observations about a few cases. Focusing on the function of a translation and how that is manifested in the way metaphors were handled is a topic which requires a separate study.

8.10. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter was a continuation of the three chapters which preceded it, in that while those chapters discussed handling individual conceptual metaphors, this chapter discussed general issues that have to do with the contribution that the conceptual theory of metaphor makes to translation.

As far as a theory of metaphor in translation is concerned, it was suggested that there is a real need for a body of knowledge about the different dimensions of the treatment of metaphor in translation, under the title *MiT Studies*. This body of knowledge is to be both descriptive, in the sense that it depends on descriptive methodologies, such as comparable corpora, rather than prescriptive ones, and interdisciplinary, based on the interdisciplinary nature of both metaphor studies and Translation Studies.

As far as the question of culture is concerned, the chapter proposed new horizons for the discussion of the relationship between metaphor and culture and the implications of this relationship for translation. The chapter highlighted the role of the hierarchical nature of conceptual metaphorising, suggesting that cultural concretisation of trans-cultural concepts can be seen as a middle ground between total culture-specificity and trans-culturality. Knowledge of such levels of conceptualisation can be of significant use to translators in their decision making during the translation process.

The chapter then revisited the issue of MiT procedures, concentrating on the significant cognitive phenomenon of image schemata. It was suggested that image schemata are very important in understanding how translators handle conceptual metaphors. This was followed by an analysis of three cases of English translation of Arabic political texts where a choice of a particular MiT procedure has caused political results. We saw that adopting a particular translation procedure when dealing with metaphor can lead to serious political debates.

The chapter then attempted to explore some areas arising from the adoption of the conceptual theory of metaphor to describe translation. It firstly showed that the differences between what is traditionally referred to as *dead* metaphor and *live* ones is not helpful in accounting for the deeper level of conceptual metaphors. The concept of MiT 'demand' was also introduced. Based on the analysis we presented in the data analysis chapter, it was suggested that different source domains of metaphor place different demands on translators. The chapter also discussed the important issue of the relationship between ideology and the treatment of metaphor in translation and suggested that handling metaphor in translation can involve decisions that are influenced by the ideological nature of the metaphor and, in that, translators are actually ideology experts. Finally, the chapter suggested that some translation decisions as far as metaphor is concerned can best be explained with reference to the overall function of the translation or skopos.

In short then, the discussion of the various topics in this chapter leaves us on new ground as far as MiT is concerned. While traditionally translation scholars approached metaphor more or less only as a linguistic problem in the translation process, this chapter has (1) presented a theoretical framework for MiT Studies, suggesting aims and potential scopes of such studies within the field of Translation Studies, and (2) highlighted new dimensions for the topic of MiT, especially concerning the role of image schemata as reflected in the different MiT procedures, demands on translators resulting from the nature of source domains of metaphors, and the topic of ideology and intertextuality.

The final chapter of the thesis will summarise all our results and trace some implications of the conceptual theory of metaphor for translation practice, training and further research projects.

CHAPTER NINE

Major Conclusions and Implications

9.1. Introduction

CHAPTER EIGHT presented a discussion of the implications of applying the conceptual theory of metaphor for different topics associated with the issue of metaphor in translation. That chapter demonstrated that looking at metaphor as a conceptual process yields more helpful results than seeing it as a deviant linguistic expression. This chapter is a theoretical extension of the preceding chapter in that it situates the discussion in the data analysis chapters and the last chapter in the wider field of Translation Studies and translator training. Particularly, this chapter will note some of the implications of our results for translation in general and translation of political texts in particular. Also we will explore how those results can contribute to the realm of translator training. Finally, the chapter will point out some of the topics that deserve further research.

9.2. Major conclusions of the study

The major findings of the study are summed up as follows:

- The study corroborates that metaphor is essentially a conceptual process of mapping of one domain onto another domain of experience.

- Different forms of human experience give rise to different domains which are mapped conceptually to construct abstract concepts. Particularly, we explored metaphors whose source domains belong to physical experiences, human-life experiences and intertextual cultural experiences. Each one of those types poses its specific "demands" on the translator.

- Different metaphorical mappings in Arabic are highly influenced by the phenomenon of intertextuality. Some have intertextual connotations. Others gain their metaphoricity from intertextual domains, which serve as source domains which are mapped to structure new experiences. Several translation problems were noted resulting from the ignorance of metaphoricity at this level.

- Concepts derived from cognitive linguistics and the conceptual theory of metaphor have proven to be relevant to translation. The concept of image schema is especially significant. Many translation shifts are not between different metaphors as was previously accepted, but rather are between rich images which are structured by those image schemas.

- Handling metaphor is not a neutral activity. It is rather a matter which involves functional and ideological considerations. The translator's role as a cultural and ideology expert is reflected in how metaphor is handled.

9.3. Implications for Translation Practice

Holmes observed that translation scholars are constantly being confronted by translators with the questions: "What's the use of what's being done? What does it do to help me?" (Holmes 1988/1994: 97). This thesis has demonstrated that the conceptual theory of metaphor provides an invaluable framework for theoretical investigation of the treatment of metaphor in translation of political discourse. We believe that the results we have arrived at can be extended in a way that reflects the usefulness of translation research for translating as a practice. Without readdressing issues addressed before, the following areas are specifically important for practicing translators.

The conceptual theory of metaphor places on the translators demands that are different from those placed by the traditional theories of metaphor. While the traditional theories of metaphor tell translators that metaphor is only a linguistic expression which, in one way or another, colours or replaces another more basic expression or idea, our analysis has confirmed that metaphor is a fundamental tool of conceptualising abstract concepts and of talking about such concepts. *Metaphor does not replace a more basic literal sense but is an integral part of thinking and talking*. Translators in general, and of sensitive text types as political texts in particular, would be in a better position to perform their job successfully if they are conscious of these levels. It should be reiterated that translators are not told here to 'reproduce' the metaphorical mappings of the source text. This issue is the business of the translators themselves. What they decide has to do with their own functional priorities and their own evaluation of the communicative situation of the translation. The way to treat a metaphor needs to be decided on the basis of the function of translation, the communicative aspects of the translation and other factors such as the

expected audience of the translation. We simply want to say that translators should not ignore this level of metaphors and concentrate only on linguistic expressions. Neglect of such levels can have serious results for which translators themselves can be responsible. In this context it is worth quoting a statement by Wallerstein:

> If an individual reader misreads, he suffers the consequences individually. If a translator misreads, he leads innumerable others astray, all of whom pay the consequences as well (Wallerstein 1991: 15, quoted in Schäffner 1997: 130).

If this is true about translation in general, *misreading* and *mistranslating* political discourse can have very serious results. A translator, especially that of political discourse, needs to be aware that a particular method of treating a metaphor can result in a political problem. Schäffner has shown that an unnecessary political misunderstanding between the German and British governments was heightened by a particular choice of translating the concept of *fest kern*. Similarly, we have also seen that translating the Arabic word *aqzam* as *pygmies* rather than *dwarfs* resulted in a hot political debate between the representatives of Zaire and Iraq.

Translators also need to be aware of the fact that they can be (ab)used by particular parties in a political or social arena for an intentional misunderstanding. The case of the Arabic statement which was broadcast prior to the explosion of the TWA shows clearly that a particular player, in this case the ABC news agency, attempted to manipulate a particular translation of an Arabic metaphor for ends which perhaps heightened an already problematic relationship between the Western countries and groups of political Islam. An alternative procedure of translation (e.g. adding a footnote), could have clarified the situation.

Although it is not always the translator who decides whether s/he is willing to be manipulated for political reasons, s/he however needs to recognise the implications and consequences that may arise of his/her decision. In particular, the translator of political discourse needs to know that translation is not an activity that is separated from the external (political) world; a particular way of dealing with a metaphor can have political repercussions. A particular MiT procedure can also raise several results, either intentionally or unintentionally, in a political arena where interests of political groups and different, sometimes conflicting, ideologies interact and where the potential of misunderstanding remains high. In the case of the translation of *qazm* as *pygmy*, it could be argued that the Zairian politician raised the translation issue for the reason for sidetracking the discussions of Iraq in the Council. Translators usually cannot control such use of their

texts once the texts are produced. A translation can become involved in the political situation. Despite this, translators should be aware of this fact and take, according to their judgement, effective precautions that prevent them from being harmed as a consequence of an issue that is outside the translation situation itself but is part of the political world, and they should be ready to justify their adoption of particular procedures.

One last point to be added here has to do with the significance of the *loyalty* of translators. The conceptual theory of metaphor gives more weight to the relevance of this concept for the practice of translation. Nord says

> In normal intercultural communication, neither the initiator nor the recipient of the translated text are to be able to control whether the translation really corresponds to their expectations. Therefore the translator has a *moral* obligation to take into consideration the conventional concept of translation and the expectations the readers derive from this concept. ... Loyalty is a moral principle indispensable in the relationships between human beings, who are partners in a communication process, whereas the traditional concept of "faithfulness" or "fidelity" is a rather technical relationship between the two texts. (Nord 1992: 95, italics added)

This concept gains more weight as far as conceptual metaphor is concerned. Since the conceptual theory of metaphor holds that metaphor is not a decorative linguistic ornament but is a fundamental mechanism in the creation of abstract concepts such as the political concepts, the adoption of the appropriate translation strategy on the part of the translator (especially of the documentary translation) becomes an essential requirement. Translators have to be loyal by fulfilling what is expected from them.

We analysed examples of conceptual metaphors and how they are handled in two types of translation: one is documentary (the FBIS's translation of Saddam Hussein's speeches), and the other tends to be more instrumental (the official Omani translation of the speeches of Qaboos of Oman). In the case of the latter, it can be seen that the translators kept their loyalty both to the translated text's initiator and to the addressees. Translations tended to produce a (positive) image of the Sultan that suites the western reader. The FBIS's translations, however, do not keep the level of loyalty that is expected from them from both the translation initiators and the recipients. Since they are documentary translations and since they are consumed in intelligence settings which are characterised by the precision in gaining information, the FBIS translators are not expected, by their initiators and addressees, to produce such mistranslations as the ones we encountered in the discussion on intertextual metaphors. These, however, are general observations. Our study does not aim at a quality assessment of how conceptual metaphors are handled. This

deserves a separate study. We only aim to highlight the moral role of the translator in handling conceptual metaphors.

9.4. Implications for Translator Training

In addition to its implications for translation practice, our analysis and the results that we have arrived at invite us to note how the area of conceptual metaphor in translation would be a useful addition to curricula in translator-training institutions and in teaching of translation in general. That is, traditionally metaphor was regarded as a direct problem of reproducing a metaphoric image that appeared in a source language into the target language. Prescriptive translation scholars, such as Newmark and others, have suggested solutions to problems of metaphor in the form of a set of procedures which, if followed, can help overcome such problems.

Several points can be said in this regard. First, potential translators need to have a comprehensive view of the source text in order to arrive at an acceptable translation within the contextual aspects in the translation situation. As far as metaphor is concerned, metaphor, and particularly metaphor in political discourse, is an integral part of both the conceptual and the pragmatic load of the source text. A useful task in translation training institutions would be to teach students to detect the metaphorical mappings in the source text, assess the ways of treating them according to the functional properties of the translation, and understand that various outcomes could occur as a consequence of using a particular procedure.

Potential translators need to be taught how the different types of conceptual metaphorical mappings arise from different source domains. Different source domains in metaphorical mappings call for different translation treatment. For example, our analysis has revealed that physical, social and intertextual domains function differently and thus necessitate different ways of handling them. While natural domains include somewhat trans-cultural structural and functional properties (as in **JOURNEY**), intertextual metaphors require familiarity with particular historical incidents, ideologies and texts which are in most cases entrenched in a particular culture and are consequences of historical developments involving culture-specific experiences, as in the case of the **JIHAD** metaphor used by Saddam Hussein in the Gulf Crisis.

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Second, it would be useful for a potential translator to know about the sensitive nature of translation, particularly of political discourse. Given the fundamental role of metaphor in political thinking and language and its interaction with the strategic political goals of texts and their producers, a potential translator has to be aware of the political situation in which the translated text which s/he has produced will be used. General knowledge of politics and particular knowledge of the political situation in which the translation takes place and the translated text will be used, would throw light on several areas. Without such knowledge the translator potentially runs the risk of making unintended mistakes resulting from an ignorance of a particular metaphorical mapping that is conventional in a particular social and political setting. Such unintended mistakes can, as we said before, bring sanctions on the translator. Unintended mistakes could also cause a failure in intercultural communication (which the translation is supposed to serve) and could end up creating a political struggle. A useful topic in translation training programmes would be to acquaint translation-trainees of the potential risk arising from unintended ignorance.

9.4.1. Conceptual and Metaphoric Competences

According to Neubert, translation involves variable tasks that make specific demands on the cognitive system of the translator; what enables translators to cope with these tasks is their *translational competence* (Neubert 1994: 412). Neubert (2000) suggested five parameters of translational competence: language competence, textual competence, subject competence, cultural competence and transfer competence. The last type of competence is, according to Neubert, the one that distinguishes translators from other communicators (who are expected to possess the first four types of competence). The five types together create translation competence.

If one accepts the idea that metaphor is a conceptual process of mapping that is indispensable in making sense of abstract concepts and experiences, the five types of competence are insufficient. This justifies proposing a *conceptual competence*. This type of competence cannot be put under the umbrella of linguistic or cultural competences. The first has to do with the knowledge of the linguistic aspects while the latter has to do with the knowledge of cultural experiences. Conceptual competence is the cognitive background which enables a person to adapt to and participate in a particular conceptual system.

Conceptual competence is especially important for translators since they are inter-cultural communicators, which in turn means that their job necessitates an acquaintance with at least two conceptual systems, that is, that of the source language and culture and that of the target language and culture. We limit this recommendation to metaphor and say that a special sub-branch of conceptual competence is metaphoric competence. Metaphoric competence has to do with acquiring knowledge of the different ways members of a particular society make (metaphoric) sense of their abstract experiences. It requires both cultural competence and linguistic competence, but is distinctive from them in that it deals with the conceptual mapping aspect of metaphor.

So when can we say that a translator is metaphorically incompetent? We can point to two major instances which manifest metaphorical incompetence. The first is when the translator, as can be traced in the translation itself, does not understand the metaphorical mappings behind the linguistic surface of the source text (as manifested in the **AL-A'ARAB** example). Another case is when the translator fails to understand the difference between the metaphorical system in the source language and target language and keeps, for no apparent reason, an expression which realizes a metaphor in the source text that is likely to be taken literally by the target language audience.

Part of metaphoric competence is to know the *history of metaphor*, as it were. That is, some metaphorical expressions cannot be understood without understanding their usage in the past experience of the speaker which uses them. An example is the following:

[209]   ونعد أنفسنا من جند التوحيد وخدام الشريعة، نبذل دعوتنا لكل المسلمين وندور مع الكتاب

والسنة حيث دار[53]

> [GLOSS] we regard ourselves of the soldiers of Tawheed (Allah's Unity) and servants of Shari'a. We provide our *da'wah* (call for true Islam) to all Muslims and we **revolve (go round) with the book (The Qur'an) and the Sunnah (the Prophet's teachings) wherever they revolve.**

The expression دار حيث والسنة الكتاب مع ندور (literally, *to revolve with the Book and the Sunnah*), is a linguistic manifestation of an underlying conceptual metaphor, **BELIEF IS A HAND MILL**. According to this metaphor, the hand mill of religion goes in circles, and people should go in the same circles as religion. The prophet says in a *hadith*

"ان رحى الإيمان دائرة فدوروا مع رحى القرآن حيث دار"

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53 Source: *Nida'ul Islam* magazine (www.islam.org.au).

(literally: *the hand mill of belief is moving around, so move around with the hand mill of the Qur'an where ever it goes round*).

The Qur'an is represented here as the axis of the hand mill. When the axis rotates the whole hand mill is expected to rotate with it. The entailment is that the Qur'an should control the lives of Muslim people.

The idea that is emphasised here is that part of metaphorical competence is to know the history of a metaphorical concept used and the relevance of the history to the contemporary speaker who is realising it linguistically. (In the case of the above example, the speaker was a religious Islamist politician, and his choice of realising this particular metaphor was itself a political linguistic act, that is, it is a way of showing religious adherence even to the conceptual mappings that were dominant at the time of Prophet Muhammed but that are not used often in contemporary time.) This knowledge of the history of a metaphor is essential to understanding it. A translator who does not know the *hadith* of the Prophet in the above example would not understand the real meaning of the expression (*we revolve with the Book and the Sunnah*).

9.4.2. Conceptual Metaphors and Curriculum Design

Before we close this section on the implications of our findings for translation training we find it necessary to note, on a basic level, how curriculum designers for translation training can benefit from the general implications of the conceptual theory of metaphor.

A course in translation can highlight for translation trainees several points regarding the nature of metaphor and the aspects of handling metaphorical concepts and expressions in translation. The following points are presented as examples of some significant aspects of metaphor:

- A clear explanation of the fundamental role of metaphor in human cognition and human language
- Conceptual metaphors and text production: examples from political discourse
- Explanation of procedures used to deal with metaphor (those arrived at in empirical, descriptive studies)
- Exercises dealing with culture- or ideology-specific texts (depending on metaphor)

Course designers could include exercises which attempt to show (a) the trainee's awareness of the metaphorical mappings underlying a particular textual material, and (b) the trainee's ability to adopt a translation procedure which suits the functional properties. The following exercises are suggested as examples.

Exercise One: *Translate into English the following excerpt from a long speech by Qaboos bin Said in an open meeting with senior members of the Omani people. The Sultan is responding here to some calls for enlarging a seaport in the city of Salalah. Notice how the Sultan uses the metaphor* **DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY** *(part of* **STATE IS A PERSON***) and how the Omani idiom* يمد رجله أطول من لحافه *yamidu rijlahu atwal min lihafuh (to extend one's leg beyond his quilt) interacts with this conceptual metaphor. The expected audience of translation is foreign diplomats in the Sultanate who do not speak Arabic.*

[210] يجب ان يعرف الجميع ان توسعة أي ميناء ليست بالأمر البسيط طالما ان الجدوى الاقتصادية في الوقت الحاضر لا تستوفي شرط التوسعة. والقضية ليست المطالبة بالتوسعة ولكن القضية هي الضرورة الاقتصادية لهذه التوسعة، هل تتوفر في الوقت الحاضر ام لا. والمسألة ليست مباهاة وتفاخرا. ولكنها يجب ان تخضع للجدوى الاقتصادية، وللأسف هناك نماذج لدول بعضها عربية تعاني الآن من تنفيذ خطوات لم تستوف الشرط الاقتصادي، فهناك دول بدأت بالصناعة الثقيلة وقطعت اشواطا أبعد مما يجب **ومدت رجولها لمسافة أطول من لحافها** وبالتالي عادت لتقاسي وتعاني. 54

[GLOSS: there are countries which began with heavy industry and made advances further than necessary and have **extended their legs beyond their quilt**, and, in return, came back to suffer]

Exercise Two: *Compare the following two translations of a Qur'anic Sura and comment on the difference between Translation 1 and Translation 2 in handling the metaphor* **RELIGION IS A CONTAINER** *(to believe is to be inside the container, and not to believe is to be outside it).*

[211] إذا جاء نصر الله والفتح {1} ورأيت الناس **يدخلون** في دين الله أفواجا {2} فسبح بحمد ربك واستغفره إنه كان توابا {3}

Translation 1: (Abdulla Yusuf Ali's translation)

1- When comes the Help of Allah, and Victory,

2- And thou dost see the People **enter** Allah's Religion in crowds,

3- Celebrate the Praises of thy Lord, and pray for His Forgiveness: for He is Oft-Returning (in Grace and Mercy).

Translation 2: (Dawood's translation)

When God's help and victory come, and you see men **embrace** God's faith in multitudes, give glory to your Lord and seek His pardon. He is ever disposed to mercy. (Dawood 1997)

Exercise Three: *Below are two linguistic expressions of the metaphorical concept* **THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT IS A MASOCHIST.** *The translation is done by*

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54 Source: Ministry of Information (1995a: 414)

translators of the magazine "Nida'ul Islam" (Call for Islam). Identify them and explain how the translators dealt with them and why.

[1]

[212]   استمرأ النظام الاستسلام الكامل امام مباضع الهيئات الدولية⁵⁵

> [GLOSS] the regime **enjoys (feels pleasure)** complete surrender in front of the (dissecting) knives of the international bodies ...

> [published translation in the magazine] the regime has completely **surrendered** to the international bodies such as the World Bank.

[2]

[213]   ولا عجب فإن الذي عادى شعبه وأذله وجرعه الهوان غصصا، ومارس على وطنه أبشع أساليب المستعمر القديم، لا يبعد عليه ان يعادي الأشقاء، أمتثالا لأوامر البيت الأبيض واستمراء لسياسات الانبطاح التي باتت خصلة له وعلامة عليه

> [published translation in the magazine] This is not so strange as the person who has alienated, degraded, and humiliated his own people, and practised against his nation the ugliest of the tortures of the old colonialists. It is not strange to see him becoming enemies with the brothers, in obedience to the orders of the White House, and the **acceptance** [originally, *enjoying, feeling pleasure from*] of the policy of being **subjugated** [originally, *lying down*], which has become a habit for him, and a trade mark of his....

Exercise Four: *Discuss the problems confronting the translator of the following text which result from the nature of the source domains of the metaphorical mappings used. The text is an excerpt from the Fatwa by some Islamist politicians, including Osama bin Ladin, to kill American soldiers and civilians:*

[214]   ان حكم قتل الامريكان وحلفاءهم مدنيين وعسكريين **فرض عين** على كل مسلم أمكنه ذلك في كل بلد تيسر فيه، وذلك حتى **يتحرر** المسجد الأقصى والمسجد الحرام **من قبضتهم**، وحتى **تخرج جيوشهم عن** كل أرض الاسلام **مثلولة الحد كسيرة الجناح عاجزة عن** تهديد أي مسلم ... اننا بإذن الله ندعو كل مسلم يؤمن بالله ويرغب في **ثواب** الى امتثال امر الله بقتل الامريكان ونهب اموالهم في اي مكان وجدهم فيه، وفي كل وقت أمكنه ذلك، كما ندعو علماء المسلمين وقادتهم وشبابهم وجنودهم الى شن الغارة على **جنود ابليس** الامريكان، ومن تحالف معهم من **اعوان الشيطان**، وان يشردوا بهم من خلفهم لعلهم يذكرون.

> [GLOSS] the ruling on killing the Americans and their allies, civilians and military, is that it is a **fardhu ayn** (religious individual duty) on every Muslim that is able to do that in any country where that is possible; that is until the Furthest Mosque (in Al-Quds, Jerusalem) and the Haram Mosque (in Mecca) get free from their grip, and until their armies go out from the land of Islam, **mathlulatal' haddi kaseeratal janahi** and unable to threaten any Muslim. We, with the permission of Allah, call on every Muslim believing in Allah and wanting his reward to obey (submit to) Allah's command to kill the Americans and plunder their belongings in everywhere they are found in, and every time in which that is possible; we also call on Muslim scholars, leaders, youth and soldiers to make raids against the American **soldiers of Iblis** (the devil), and who allies with them of **the assistants of shaytan**, Satan, and to frighten away, with them, those who are behind them, so that they may remember

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Summing up then, a translation curriculum could include some sections on metaphor, explaining its essential role in human conceptualisation and the problems it raises for translators. Further, a curriculum could acquaint translation-trainees with different types of metaphors by giving them exercises such as those above. This, we believe, would enhance the trainees' metaphoric competence, enrich their awareness of the relevance of the conceptual nature of metaphor to translation, and, in return, put them in a better position to make their decisions according to their own judgement.

9.5. Implications for Researching Metaphor in the Context of Translation Studies

Both translation and metaphors are very broad fields of inquiry. The status of metaphor in translation is a topic which brings the two fields together. This study has highlighted several areas which, we believe, have not been given their due attention in the MiT literature. However, we believe that all that has been done in this thesis no more than skims the surface of a big "container" of perceived research potential. We, thus, believe that the following areas need further studies:

- The interaction between image schemata and rich images, and the way they influence the translators' decisions, with different text types and genres and with different language pairs and cultures.

- The interaction between grammar and metaphor: we have come across one example [17] which highlights this area. We believe that an intensive study of this area would shed light on new MiT areas which have been neglected in the existing MiT literature.

- Metaphor as a tool that reflects and, at the same time, participates in ideological situations, and the way translators handle conceptual ideological metaphors, with data from different types of ideologies from different languages,

- Urgent investigation of intertextual metaphors, especially where the translation involves languages that represent different cultural and historical backgrounds, such as the western culture, the Asian cultures (e.g. China, Japan, Thailand etc.), the Islamic and Arabic culture(s), the South American cultures, and the African cultures.

9.6. Implications for Metaphor Studies

A study belonging to a particular field of enquiry can hold implications which surpass the limits of that field and reflect the interdisciplinary nature of human knowledge. As far as Translation Studies is concerned, Lambert argues that

> the prestige of Translation Studies is not at stake within Translation Studies itself; research on translation will really be taken seriously only once other disciplines in the Humanities accept that they need to study translational phenomena for a better understanding of their own object of study. (Lambert 1994: 25)

With this understanding in mind, we find it obligatory to point out a couple of aspects of metaphor which were highlighted in our study but which, we believe, are not given the attention that they deserve in metaphor studies.

Several examples above have made it clear that it is theoretically and practically naive for translators to proceed with only a simple understanding of conceptual mapping. By *simple understanding* of such mappings is meant the tendency to deal with such constructions as **LIFE IS A JOURNEY**, where the metaphor consists only of the mapping from the domain of **MOVEMENT** to the domain of **LIFE**.

Recently, some scholars have expressed some disapproval of the absolute mental understanding of metaphor. Gibbs (1999a), in a stimulating article entitled *Taking Metaphor Out of Our Heads and Putting It into the Cultural World*, tackled this issue of the absence of culture in cognitive linguistics. Linking metaphors to culture is, Gibbs argues,

> not typical of research in cognitive psychology, especially given the bias of cognitive science toward viewing what is cognitive as mental constructs in the heads of individuals. Nonetheless, certain aspects of what is cognitive about metaphor, and other things, may be inextricably linked to social/cultural experience. (Gibbs 1999a: 161)

Our comparative methodology has shown us that Gibbs' call for giving more emphasis to cultural aspects of metaphor is completely valid and should be supported. Reduction of metaphor into two domains of experience only cannot explain the interaction between the mapping involved and other cultural phenomena such as religion. The influence of religion is so strong in the Arabic culture that it has become a form of basic experiences which in turn enables these expressions to become source domains for metaphors.

Another point that needs highlighting is the hierarchical nature of metaphor, especially the interaction between image schemas and rich images. We recommend that metaphor studies give more attention to this area, since we have found only a few references to this interaction in the existing literature on metaphor.

Finally, we recommend that metaphor studies give special attention to what we have referred to as intertextual metaphors. We have said that intertextual metaphors are a special type of a more generic metaphor, **PRESENT IS PAST**. We are aware that text-embodied past experience is only a subset of past (historical) experience. Past experiences can exist in other forms (such as the oral tradition of people as in *oral history*) and still follow the generic metaphor **PRESENT IS PAST**. Our emphasis on the textual aspects that are mapped was based on the fact that the Holy Qur'an is constantly being used to produce intertextual metaphors in Arabic, as we have seen in the speeches of Saddam Hussein. We are aware that our account of this topic is limited and is open to justified criticism. However, given that this thesis belongs to the discipline of Translation Studies, and not metaphor studies or cognitive linguistics, our analysis attempted to highlight the special problems this type of conceptual metaphors creates for translators. We thus recommend that further extensive studies be carried out in this area, with data from different languages and cultures.

9.7. Last Word

The area of MiT is a very rich, extensive and complex area for research. It is derived from its mother-fields as it were, namely metaphor studies and Translation Studies, as well as from the questions that arise from the handling of metaphor in translation as a distinctive area. Through an analysis of actual data, this thesis has attempted to concentrate on some conceptual MiT aspects which other studies have overlooked. However, it is beyond imagination that one single study can account for all the aspects of this area. What is needed at this stage of the development of MiT studies is small-scale, modest empirical analyses, which, cumulatively, could shed light on areas that are still under-theorised and insufficiently researched.

At the conclusion of this study, we can only confirm that the deeper one gets into this area, the more one senses is at a hand's reach: a series of continuous questions and potential paths to answers.

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APPENDIX

A. Speeches of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq during the Gulf Crisis and Their FBIS Translation

Arabic Source Texts:

Source: Matar, Fouad (1994) *Gulf War Panorama. A Factual Documented Account.* London: Fouad Matar Consultancy for Media, Documentation & Research.

الرمز	النص	التاريخ	الصفحات
[صدام 1]	الوثيقة رقم 178: كلمة الرئيس صدام في القمة الرابعة لمجلس التعاون العربي	25 فبراير 1990	465-470
[صدام 2]	الوثيقة رقم 180: حديث الرئيس صدام الذي وجه فيه الانذار الى اسرائيل	1 إبريل 1990	475-479
[صدام 3]	الوثيقة رقم 190: كلمة الرئيس صدام حسين في الجلسة الافتتاحية لقمة بغداد	28 مايو 1990	514-518
[صدام 4]	الوثيقة رقم 26: رسالة صدام حسين في 7 آب (اغسطس) الى العراقيين والعرب	7 أغسطس 1990	64-65
[صدام 5]	الوثيقة رقم 34: حديث للرئيس صدام حول الوحدة الاندماجية	7 أغسطس 1990	71-72
[صدام 6]	الوثيقة رقم 32: بيان مجلس قيادة الثورة في العراق حول الوحدة الاندماجية	8 أغسطس 1990	69-70
[صدام 7]	الوثيقة رقم 39: الرئيس صدام يطلق مبادرة 12 آب (اغسطس) 1990	12 أغسطس 1990	78-79
[صدام 8]	الوثيقة رقم 60: رد من صدام حسين على نداء الرئيس مبارك	23 أغسطس 1990	109-112
[صدام 9]	الوثيقة رقم 74: رسالة صدام الى العراقيين والعرب والمسلمين	5 سبتمبر 1990	147-149
[صدام 10]	الوثيقة رقم 78: رسالة مفتوحة من صدام الى بوش وغورباتشوف	8 سبتمبر 1990	155-157
[صدام 11]	الوثيقة رقم 81: مبادرة نفطية من الرئيس صدام حسين الى العالم الثالث	10 سبتمبر 1990	165-166
[صدام 12]	الوثيقة رقم 133: خطاب الرئيس صدام لمناسبة العيد السبعين للجيش	6 يناير 1991	310-313
[صدام 13]	الوثيقة رقم 145: رد من الرئيس صدام على الرئيس بوش	17 يناير 1991	376-378
[صدام 14]	الوثيقة رقم 149: رد الرئيس صدام على الرئيس غورباتشوف	21 يناير 1991	381-382
[صدام 15]	الوثيقة رقم 156: كلمة للرئيس صدام عن استعداده "لإنهاء امبراطورية امريكا"	10 فبراير 1991	418-420
[صدام 16]	الوثيقة رقم 160: كلمة للرئيس صدام	21 فبراير 1991	425-428
[صدام 17]	الوثيقة رقم 162: كلمة للرئيس صدام حسين يوم الهجوم الشامل على العراق	24 فبراير 1991	430
[صدام 18]	الوثيقة رقم 167: خطاب الرئيس صدام فجر 26 شباط (فبراير) 1991	26 فبراير 1991	439-441

English Target Texts:

Source: Bengio, O. (1992) *Saddam Speaks on the Gulf Crisis: A Collection of Documents.* Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East and African Studies.

Symbol	Text	Date	Page Numbers
[SADDAM-1]	Saddam Husayn's Speech at the ACC Summit	24 February 1990	37-49
[SADDAM-2]	President Warns Israel, Criticizes US	1 April 1990	50-61
[SADDAM-3]	Saddam Husayn Addresses Arab Summit	28 May 1990	84-98
[SADDAM-4]	Saddam Husayn Issues "Victory Day" Message	7 August 1990	110-116
[SADDAM-5]	Saddam Husayn Addresses National Assembly	7 August 1990	116-118
[SADDAM-6]	RCC Approves "Merger" Decision with Kuwait	8 August 1990	119-124
[SADDAM-7]	Saddam Husayn's Speech on "Linkage"	c.12 August 1990	124-126
[SADDAM-8]	Saddam Husayn Responds to Mubarak in "Open Letter"	c. 23 August 1990	127-135
[SADDAM-9]	Saddam Husayn Repeats Call for Jihad	5 September 1990	136-143
[SADDAM-10]	Saddam Husayn Addresses Message to Bush and Gorbachev	8 September 1990	144-150
[SADDAM-11]	Saddam Husayn's Initiative Offers Free Oil to Third World	10 September 1990	150-152
[SADDAM-12]	Saddam Husayn Speaks on Army Day	6 January 1991	156-164
[SADDAM-13]	Saddam Husayn's Message to President Bush	16 January 1991	164-171
[SADDAM-14]	Text of Saddam Husayn's Reply to Soviet Leader	20 January 1991	172-174
[SADDAM-15]	Saddam Husayn Delivers Message to Iraqis, Arabs, and Muslims	10 February 1991	189-194
[SADDAM-16]	Saddam Husayn Addresses Nation on His Initiative	21 February 1991	195-204
[SADDAM-17]	Saddam Husayn Speaks on Allies' Ground Attack	28 February 1991	204-206
[SADDAM-18]	Saddam Husayn Speaks on Withdrawal From Kuwait	26 February 1991	207-212

B. National Day Speeches of Sultan Qaboos bin Said of Oman

Arabic Source Texts:

Source: Ministry of Information (1995a) *An'Nutqu As'Sami* (The Royal Speech). Muscat: Ministry of Information.

الصفحات	التاريخ	العيد الوطني	الرمز
29-30	23 يوليو 1971	الأول	[1 قابوس]
41-52	18 نوفمبر 1972	الثاني	[2 قابوس]
59-63	18 نوفمبر 1973	الثالث	[3 قابوس]
71-79	18 نوفمبر 1974	الرابع	[4 قابوس]
87-93	18 نوفمبر 1975	الخامس	[5 قابوس]
119-125	18 نوفمبر 1976	السادس	[6 قابوس]
133-140	18 نوفمبر 1977	السابع	[7 قابوس]
149-154	18 نوفمبر 1978	الثامن	[8 قابوس]
157-162	18 نوفمبر 1979	التاسع	[9 قابوس]
165-170	18 نوفمبر 1980	العاشر	[10 قابوس]
187-190	18 نوفمبر 1981	الحادي عشر	[11 قابوس]
193-197	18 نوفمبر 1982	الثاني عشر	[12 قابوس]
205-206	18 نوفمبر 1983	الثالث عشر	[13 قابوس]
209-212	18 نوفمبر 1984	الرابع عشر	[14 قابوس]
231-236	18 نوفمبر 1985	الخامس عشر	[15 قابوس]
251-256	18 نوفمبر 1986	السادس عشر	[16 قابوس]
259-263	18 نوفمبر 1987	السابع عشر	[17 قابوس]
275-282	18 نوفمبر 1988	الثامن عشر	[18 قابوس]
295-300	18 نوفمبر 1989	التاسع عشر	[19 قابوس]
333-339	18 نوفمبر 1990	العشرين	[20 قابوس]
347-352	18 نوفمبر 1991	الحادي والعشرين	[21 قابوس]
365-372	18 نوفمبر 1992	الثاني والعشرين	[22 قابوس]
379-383	18 نوفمبر 1993	الثالث والعشرين	[23 قابوس]
391-398	18 نوفمبر 1994	الرابع والعشرين	[24 قابوس]

English Target Texts:

Source: Ministry of Information (1995b) *The Royal Speeches of H. M. Sultan Qaboos bin Said 1970-1995*. Muscat: Ministry of Information.

Symbol	National Day	Date	Pages
[QABOOS-1]	1st	23 July 1971	19-20
[QABOOS-2]	2nd	18 November 1972	23-26
[QABOOS-3]	3rd	18 November 1973	29-31
[QABOOS-4]	4th	18 November 1974	35-43
[QABOOS-5]	5th	18 November 1975	47-52
[QABOOS-6]	6th	18 November 1976	55-56
[QABOOS-7]	7th	18 November 1977	59-65
[QABOOS-8]	8th	18 November 1978	69-72
[QABOOS-9]	9th	18 November 1979	75-78
[QABOOS-10]	10th	18 November 1980	81-85
[QABOOS-11]	11th	18 November 1981	97-99
[QABOOS-12]	12th	18 November 1982	103-106
[QABOOS-13]	13th	18 November 1983	115-116
[QABOOS-14]	14th	18 November 1984	119-121
[QABOOS-15]	15th	18 November 1985	141-146
[QABOOS-16]	16th	18 November 1986	159-162
[QABOOS-17]	17th	18 November 1987	165-168
[QABOOS-18]	18th	18 November 1988	177-182
[QABOOS-19]	19th	18 November 1989	189-192
[QABOOS-20]	20th	18 November 1990	225-231
[QABOOS-21]	21st	18 November 1991	239-243
[QABOOS-22]	22nd	18 November 1992	257-263
[QABOOS-23]	23rd	18 November 1993	271-274
[QABOOS-24]	24th	18 November 1994	281-286