

Two Models for Metaphor Translation¹

0. Abstract

This paper establishes both full and simplified models for the textual analysis of metaphor in a translation context (Section 1). I present the comparison theory of metaphor (Section 2), show how this can be integrated with the notions of lexicalization and non-lexicalization (Section 3) and consider the semantic purposes of metaphor (Section 4).

The remainder of the paper focuses on the translation of metaphor, starting with more abstract *langue*-oriented notions. I offer a critique and revision of Newmark's (1988) metaphor typology (Section 5), and demonstrate how the revised typology can be integrated with the notions of lexicalization and non-lexicalization (Section 6). I then consider Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) model of metaphorical 'schemata', and propose ways in which this can also be integrated into an overall model (Section 7). I discuss the practical application of this model to Arabic>English translation (Section 8).

In addition to *langue*-oriented notions, I suggest that a full account of metaphor for translation needs to take into account the more *parole*-oriented notion of the interaction of metaphors in texts. I consider the notions of metaphorical congruence (Section 9), and metaphorical exuberance and density. Illustrating my arguments with Arabic>English translation data, I

¹This paper is partly based on Chapter Eleven of *Thinking Arabic Translation* (Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 147-161). I would like to thank Randal Holme, Stephen Thomas, Ian Higgins and two anonymous *Target* reviewers for reading and commenting on draft versions. Ian Higgins, in particular, made extremely detailed comments which led to a number of significant changes to the paper. Comments by the anonymous reviewers resulted in further improvements. All mistakes and shortcomings are my own responsibility.

suggest that in given registers, different languages may tolerate more or less metaphorical density and exuberance as well as different degrees of metaphorical mixing (Section 10). The paper concludes with a consideration of the kind of ‘Full Model’ one might build up for a detailed academic study of metaphor translation (Section 11).

1. Aims of this paper: the full and simplified models

This paper has two general aims. The first is to identify key features of metaphor which are either specific to metaphor (or to figurative language more generally) or essential for an understanding of how metaphor works (though they have more general overall application), and to show how these can be combined into a composite model to provide at least a partial textual analysis of metaphor, and consequently, provide insights into metaphor translation. I shall refer to this overall composite model in subsequent discussion as the *Full Model*.

The second aim of the paper is to show how the features of metaphor which are identified by the Full Model can be combined into a more accessible *Simplified Model*, which is intended to be particularly of use in the context of translation teaching. The Simplified Model necessarily involves some distortion of the Full Model, and therefore some loss of overall adequacy of analysis. In drawing up the Simplified Model, I have attempted to achieve a reasonable balance between distortion and practical applicability.

1.1 A basic definition of metaphor

‘Metaphor’ is defined in this paper, fairly traditionally, as a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is used in a non-basic sense, this non-basic sense suggesting a likeness or analogy (whether real or not: cf. Section 3) with another more basic sense of the same word or phrase.² An example is provided by the first two senses of ‘rat’ given in *Collins English Dictionary*. (i) ‘any of numerous long-tailed murine rodents, esp. of the genus *Rattus*, that are

similar to but larger than mice and are now distributed all over the world', and (ii) 'a person who deserts his friends or associates, esp. in times of trouble'.³ Each sense may call to mind the other – a phenomenon sometimes known as reflected meaning (cf. Leech 1981: 19; Hervey and Higgins 1992: 105; Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 72-3, 240). However, in line with the general principle that physical objects are perceived as more basic than non-physical attributes, sense (i) is psychologically basic and sense (ii) non-basic. Accordingly, sense (i) would, in most contexts, only weakly call to mind sense (ii). The combination of suggested likeness between 'rat' in sense (i) and 'rat' in sense (ii) together with the psychologically more basic denotation of sense (i) gives rise to the perception of 'rat' in sense (ii) as metaphorical.

²The term 'metaphor' is sometimes used in a much wider sense than it is defined here, for instance to include any figure of speech 'allegory, [or] a complete imaginative text' (Newmark 1988: 104). Although these larger textual entities share many features of metaphor in the more strictly linguistic sense, there are, I believe, significant differences, making it sensible to exclude them from consideration of metaphor proper. They do not fall therefore within the scope of this paper, although some of the ideas proposed here may be applicable to other figures of speech, as well as more global textual phenomena, such as allegories.

³ Ian Higgins has pointed out that for him a 'rat' in this metaphorical sense also suggests someone whose company is degrading and contaminating. This, he notes, may be partly a reflected meaning (Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 72) stemming from the common collocation 'dirty rat', but he believes it comes largely from the knowledge that rats live in sewers and are bearers of disease. There are very serious difficulties in producing definitions particularly for common animal metaphors such as 'rat' and 'pig'. A detailed consideration of these, however, would involve a reconsideration of the entire notion of semantic definition – something which falls well outside the scope of this paper. In this paper, therefore, I have in the main adopted traditional dictionary-type definitions, which I hope will command at least a degree of intersubjective acceptance.

1.2 The importance of metaphor in translation

According to Newmark, ‘Whilst the central problem of translation is the overall choice of a translation method for a text, the most important particular problem is the translation of metaphor’ (Newmark 1988: 104).

Part of the reason why metaphor is important is that it is a pervasive feature of language. This is well illustrated by the following extract from the short novel *عرس الزين* ‘The Wedding of Zein’ by the Sudanese author الطيب صالح ‘Tayeb Salih’ (n.d.: 11) followed by a literal and then an idiomatic English TT. Zein, the hero of the book, is a kind of wise fool, whose character has religious overtones. This extract, from near the beginning of the book, constitutes an independent ‘mini-chapter’.

Metaphors and associated phenomena in both the ST and the TTs are noted by curly brackets and a following superscript number:

ST with Arabic metaphors and associated phenomena marked

⁴ يولد الأطفال فـ{يستقبلون¹} الحياة بالصريخ، هذا هو المعروف
ولكن يروى ان الزين، والعهد على امه والنساء اللاتي حضرن ولادتها،
اول ما {مس الارض²}، {انفجر³} ضاحكاً . وظل هكذا طول حياته . كبر
وليس في فمه غير سنين، واحدة في فكه الاعلى والاخرى في فكه
الاسفل. وامه تقول ان فمه كان مليئاً بأسنان بيضاء {كالؤلؤ⁴}. ولما

⁴ I have used curly brackets (also known as braces), i.e. { and }, throughout in this paper to indicate points of focal interest in both STs and TTs, rather than the more usual underlining. The latter interferes with printed Arabic script, and can make it illegible.

كان في السادسة ذهبته يوماً لزيارة قريبات لها، فمرا عند مغيب الشمس على خرابة يشاع أنها {مسكونة⁵}. وفجأة {تسمر⁶} الزين مكانه وأخذ يرتجف كمن به حمى، ثم صرخ. وبعدها {لزم⁷} الفراش أياماً. ولما {قام⁸} من مرضه كانت أسنانه جميعاً قد سقطت، إلا واحدة في فكه الأعلى، وأخرى في فكه الأسفل.

Literal TT with Arabic ST metaphors and associated phenomena marked

Children are born and they {greet¹} life with screaming. This is known. But it is recounted that Zein – and the authority for this is with his mother and the women who attended his birth – when he first {touched the ground²}, he {exploded³} laughing. And he remained thus throughout his life. He grew up and there were only in his mouth two teeth, one in his upper jaw, and the other in his lower. And his mother says that his mouth was full of teeth white {as pearls⁴}. And when he was in his sixth year, she went with him one day to visit relatives of hers, and they passed at sunset by a ruin rumoured to be {inhabited⁵}. And suddenly Zein {became nailed⁶} in his place, and began to tremble like one who has a fever. Then he shouted. And after it he {stuck to⁷} the bed for days. When he {got up⁸} from his illness his teeth had all fallen out, except one in his upper jaw and another in his lower jaw.

Idiomatic TT with English metaphors and associated phenomena marked

When children are born, they {greet¹} life with a scream; this is well known. However, according to his mother and the women who attended his birth, as soon as Zein {came into the world²} he {burst out³} laughing.

And this was how he remained his whole life. He {grew up⁴(?) } with only two teeth in his mouth, one in the upper jaw and one in the lower. His mother says that his mouth was once full of {pearly⁵} white teeth. Then one day, when he was six years old, she took him to visit some of her relatives. As the sun was setting, they passed by some ruins which were rumoured to be haunted. Suddenly Zein became {fixed⁶} to the spot, and began to tremble as if he had a fever. Then he screamed. After that he took to his bed for several days. When he {recovered⁷}, all his teeth had fallen out except one in his upper jaw and one in the lower.

What these texts show is the commonness of metaphor (and associated phenomena), even in texts where metaphor does not initially appear to be a prominent feature. They also illustrate two points: (i) that ST metaphors are not necessarily translated into TT metaphors ('recovered', in the idiomatic TT, is not a metaphor in English, and 'grew up' is only likely to be very marginally regarded as metaphorical); and (ii) that ST non-metaphors (e.g. the ST كَاللُّوْلُو / *ka-l-lu'lu'*; literally 'as pearls', like pearls'; cf. Literal TT above) may be translated into TT metaphors or pseudo-metaphors; cf. Section 2 below (as in Idiomatic TT 'pearly').

The commonness of metaphor does not, by itself, make metaphor an important translation issue, although the fact that there is not always a simple correspondence between ST and TT suggests the significance of metaphor in translation terms. There is, however, another central reason why metaphor is an important issue in translation. I shall look at this in Section 4. In order to do so, however, it is necessary to establish a more precise theoretical model of metaphor (Sections 2 and 3).

2. The comparison theory

The comparison theory of metaphor is adopted here, and specifically the version put forward by Goatly (1997),⁵ involving three central notions: topic, vehicle, and grounds. The topic is the entity referred to; the vehicle is the notion to which this entity is being compared; and the grounds are the respect in which this comparison is being made.

The principles are illustrated by the following from L.P. Hartley's novel *The go-between* (cited in Goatly 1997: 9):

1. *The past is another country; they do things differently there.*

What is meant is roughly that the past is *like* another country, in that people do things differently there. Using Goatly's analytical model, 'the past' is the topic, i.e. what the phrase 'another country' refers to. 'Another country' is the vehicle, i.e. the notion to which 'the past' is being compared. And 'they do things differently there' is the grounds, i.e. the sense or respect in which the past can be said to be *like* another country.

⁵ Of the numerous theories of metaphor (plus their many sub-variants), three have been particularly influential over roughly the past seventy years: the substitution theory, the interaction theory, and the comparison theory; cf. Black (1962 [1993]); also Gibbs (1992) for a more exhaustive list; and Dickins (1998: 277-280, 320-326) for a critique of the substitution and interactions theories, plus two other approaches to metaphor, the 'metaphor without meaning' approach, and the 'pragmatic approach'. The comparison theory, which can be traced back to Aristotle, remains the most widely accepted approach. The substitution theory has now been effectively abandoned (Goatly 1997: 116) and is therefore mainly of historical interest. Following Mooij (1976: 171), Goatly (1997: 118-119), argues that the interaction theory can be subsumed within the comparison theory.

‘Topic’ may be regarded as equivalent to referent, i.e. the entity which is being referred to.⁶ ‘Vehicle’ (i.e. what is sometimes traditionally referred to as the metaphor, or metaphorical expression) may be a single word, or it may be a phrase as in this case – ‘another country’ (not just the word ‘country’). The notion ‘grounds’ is considered in more detail in Section 3.

The final notion of interest is ‘like’ or *likeness*. Metaphorical likeness is traditionally defined as an aspect of likeness between two entities which are in their most obvious respects not alike, as is apparent in the example ‘The past is another country’. The past is not in any obvious respect like another country. The reader or hearer has to look for a non-obvious likeness – i.e. grounds – in order to understand what is intended by the metaphor.

Simile can be treated in much the same way as metaphor. Since similes involve an element such as ‘like’ or ‘as’ which explicitly signals the (non-literal) comparison, they are easier to interpret than metaphors. They are also less immediate and powerful; cf. ‘The past is not just like a foreign country; it [really] *is* a foreign country’.⁷ Conversion of SL metaphor to TL simile seems to be a fairly important Arabic>English translation technique (cf. Section 8).

⁶ In ‘John’s a magician’, ‘He’s a magician’, ‘That man’s a magician’, and ‘My father’s a magician’, the expressions ‘John’, ‘He’, ‘That man’ and ‘My father’ all have the same referent if they refer to the same person. If ‘topic’ is understood as a synonym of ‘referent’, the expressions have the same topic. ‘Topic’ may, however, be differently understood to mean a referent as referred to by a particular word or phrase. In this paper, the term ‘topic’ has been used throughout, in order not to exclude this second possibility.

⁷ The example ‘The past is not just like a foreign country; it [really] *is* a foreign country’ also demonstrates that similes are not, in fact, semantically identical to metaphors. This raises an interesting challenge to the view of *likeness* presented as part of the definition of non-lexicalized metaphor. An attempted solution to this falls outside the scope of this paper.

Also relevant are what might be called pseudo-metaphors, e.g. ‘pearly’ in the sense “resembling a pearl, esp. in lustre” (*Collins English Dictionary*). This is not a metaphor, because there is no contrast between a metaphorical meaning of ‘pearly’ and a non-metaphorical (literal) meaning; the sole meaning of ‘pearly’ is “like a pearl”. We can, however, adopt the same basic analytical tools for analysing pseudo-metaphors, as for analysing true metaphors.

3. Lexicalized vs. non-lexicalized metaphors

Lexicalized metaphors are uses of language which are recognizably metaphorical, but whose meaning in a particular language is relatively clearly fixed. ‘Rat’ in the sense ‘a person who deserts his friends or associates’ is an example. The fact that the meaning of ‘rat’ in this sense is relatively clearly fixed allows this meaning to be subjected to attempted dictionary definition.

The other basic category of metaphor is non-lexicalized metaphor. Here, the metaphorical meaning is not clearly fixed, but varies from context to context, and typically has to be worked out by the reader on particular occasions. An example of a non-lexicalized metaphor is ‘[a] tree’ in ‘A man is a tree’. If this were uttered in a context in which the focus was on the distinction between the relatively small amount which is apparent or conscious about human personality and the relatively large amount which is hidden or unconscious, the reader might conclude that ‘A man is a tree’ is roughly equivalent to saying that ‘A man is like a tree in that only a certain proportion is apparent (in the case of the tree: the trunk, branches and leaves), while much remains hidden (in the case of the tree: the extensive root system)’. If, however, ‘A man is a tree’ were uttered in the context of a description of the course of peoples’ lives, the reader might conclude that what is meant is something more like ‘A man is like a tree in that he grows up, develops, “bears fruit” like a tree, and then loses many of his attractive attributes (cf. the leaves), etc.’. The different potential interpretations of non-

lexicalized metaphors is a function of the different grounds which can be associated with the vehicle in different contexts.

Given that lexicalized metaphors have at least fairly fixed meanings, an obvious question is whether the topic-vehicle-grounds model applies to them as it does to non-lexicalized metaphors. It does apply, but to a limited extent only. Take the example ‘Nixon was a rat’. We can certainly identify the topic (or the referent) of a lexicalized metaphor, as we can with a non-lexicalized metaphor. In this case, the topic is Nixon (or we might say that the referent is the person referred to by ‘Nixon’). We can also identify the vehicle – i.e. the word or phrase used metaphorically; in this case, it is ‘rat’. Finally, we can if we like identify the grounds with the sense: in the case of ‘rat’, the grounds is ‘person who deserts his friends or associates (etc.)’.

There are, however, some problems in the identification of grounds with sense in the case of lexicalized metaphors. In the example, ‘Nixon was a rat’, for instance, we do not have to believe that rats (murine rodents) in fact – or even by repute – typically desert their fellow rats in times of adversity in order to interpret the sense – since this sense is lexicalized (i.e. at least fairly fixed by the semantic conventions of English). In fact, it would seem that we do not even have to believe that lack of loyalty (etc.) is a characteristic, or even a reputed characteristic, of rats, in order to accept that ‘rat’ in the sense of ‘person who deserts his friends or associates (etc.)’ is metaphorical. (It is, however, worth noting here the association between ‘rat’ in the metaphorical sense and the traditional idea of rats deserting a sinking ship.) That is to say, in the case of non-lexicalized metaphors, there does not seem to be any absolute requirement for the sense (‘grounds’) to express any aspect of similarity between the topic and the vehicle, although it may, in fact, typically do so. All that seems to be required is that the secondary metaphorical sense (‘grounds’) in some sense *suggests a likeness* (cf.

Section 1.1.) to the basic non-metaphorical sense (vehicle). Thus, in the case of ‘rat’ used metaphorically, the imbalance between the basic physical ‘murine rodent’ sense and the non-basic behavioural or psychological ‘someone who deserts his friends [...]’ sense seems to have the effect of persuading us that the second non-basic sense is metaphorical with regard to the first basic sense, even though we may not regard there as being any real similarity between rats (murine rodents) and people who desert their friends or associates.

A crucial semantic difference between non-lexicalized and lexicalized metaphors, therefore, is that in the case of lexicalized metaphors, the grounds-aspect is simply the sense (i.e. meaning) of the metaphor. The likeness relationship, while perceived or at least suggested, does not play any role in defining the metaphor’s sense. This perceived or suggested likeness is a purely connotative, rather than denotative, feature, and reflects the psychological relationship between the two relevant senses of the word in question (the basic, non-metaphorical sense, and the secondary metaphorical sense).

This implies that lexicalized metaphors may be more or less metaphorical: that is to say, the likeness relationship between the topic and the vehicle may be more or less strongly suggested. And in some lexicalized cases, we may be unsure whether the secondary sense is metaphorical, or otherwise figurative (e.g. metonymical), or non-figurative (i.e. whether one has a simple case of polysemy). Thus, the phrasal verb ‘grow up’ (= become an adult) is at best only marginally metaphorical, as discussed in Section 1.2 (cf. also footnote 8 for a discussion of ‘bottom’).

In the case of non-lexicalized metaphors, by contrast, the model proposed here implies that there will be no such indeterminate cases: all non-lexicalized metaphors are determinately metaphorical. Putative occurrences of non-lexicalized metaphors may, of course, present

other *ambiguities*; in particular cases (and contexts), it may not be clear whether a putative non-lexicalized metaphor is in fact to be regarded as a metaphor, or as otherwise figurative (e.g. a metonym), or as non-figurative. In the case of non-lexicalized metaphors, however, the model proposed here implies that each of these possibilities will be interpretively distinct from the others.

We may summarize the differences between non-lexicalized and lexicalized metaphors with respect to the notions *vehicle* and *grounds*, as follows:

<i>Non-lexicalized metaphors</i>	<i>Lexicalized metaphors</i>
<i>vehicle</i>: is denotative, providing basic definition as likeness relationship	is connotative, suggesting that there is a likeness relationship
<i>grounds</i>: are ‘sub-denotative’, further defining nature of likeness relationship	are not properly operative. Secondary sense functions as equivalent to grounds

The distinction between lexicalized and non-lexicalized metaphors is not always clear-cut (cf. Leech 1981: 214–15). From the point of view of translation, the importance of the distinction between lexicalized and non-lexicalized metaphors is not that it should be absolutely true, but that it provides a reasonable way in the great majority of cases of distinguishing two major classes of metaphor, which, as shall be argued, typically require rather different treatment in translation.

Both lexicalized and non-lexicalized metaphors can consist of more than one word (cf. Section 1.1). Such metaphors are known as phrasal metaphors. Thus ‘[Tom is] a tree whose leaves protect us all’ is a non-lexicalized phrasal metaphor, and the idiom ‘[Tom] knows his onions’ is a lexicalized phrasal metaphor. In principle, all lexicalized phrasal metaphors are idioms (though not all idioms are metaphors).

4. The purposes of metaphor

In Section 1.2, I suggested that one reason why metaphor is important in translation is that it is a pervasive feature of texts. However, more crucial than this is that metaphor has important referential and stylistic implications.

We may divide the purposes of metaphor into two types: denotative-oriented and connotative-oriented. (Newmark (1988: 104) adopts a similar division, but uses different terminology; he talks about ‘referential purpose’, and ‘pragmatic purpose’ respectively.)

The denotative-oriented purposes of metaphor are as follows:

i. *‘[T]o describe a mental process or state, a concept, a person, an object, a quality or action more comprehensively and concisely than is possible in literal or physical language’* (Newmark 1988: 104).

This denotative-oriented purpose of metaphors is particularly clear in the case of lexicalized metaphors. Thus, if I say, ‘Bush slammed Buchanan’, this is a concise way of saying that Bush severely criticized Buchanan. In the case of non-lexicalized metaphors, this purpose is paramount where it is felt impossible to express the intended meaning in non-figurative language. Perhaps the most common usage in everyday speech is when people talk about strong emotions. Here simile is more common than metaphor; ‘There’s just too much to do. I

feel like I'm running after an express train that keeps accelerating in front of me.' Such similes can be easily converted into metaphors: 'Modern man spends his life running after an ever-accelerating train'.

ii. To express an open-ended denotation or potential range of denotations.

In the case of non-lexicalized metaphors, another denotative-oriented purpose is often foremost. This is the use of metaphor to express an open-ended denotation or potential range of denotations. This open-endedness of interpretation of original metaphors is a function of the fact that the grounds of a metaphor are often not defined precisely enough by the context to enable a reader to say exactly what the metaphor means. As seen, 'a man is a tree' may have any number of interpretations (i.e. any number of grounds), and in many contexts it will be impossible to identify which grounds (even in general terms) is most appropriate.

The two denotative-oriented purposes of metaphor (precision vs open-endedness) may appear contradictory to one another. In fact, they may sometimes combine. In trying to express an emotional state for which non-metaphorical language seems inadequate, for example, one may have recourse to a quite striking non-lexicalized metaphor. A hearer or reader may be satisfied that they at least have a clear intuitive understanding of what this metaphor means. However, in seeking to re-express it in non-metaphorical language, they may find that a number of different interpretations seem equally plausible (and perhaps that all should be simultaneously accepted).

The connotative-oriented purpose of metaphor 'is to appeal to the senses, to interest, to clarify 'graphically', to please, to delight, to surprise' (Newmark, 1988, p.104): in short, metaphors tend to bear a strong emotional force. Metaphor is able to achieve these effects because many metaphors involve a strong reflected meaning.

5. Metaphor and translation: Newmark's approach

While there has been a huge growth in general studies of metaphor over the past twenty-five years, relatively little has been written on metaphor translation. Recent studies which are not mentioned elsewhere in this paper include Alvarez (1993), Kurth (1995, 1999), and Samaniego Fernández (1996, 2000). Maalej (n.d.) and Menacere (1992) deal specifically with Arabic>English metaphor translation.

In this paper, I shall focus on the metaphor typology established by Newmark (1988), since I believe this remains the most practical and wide-ranging account in respect of translation analysis.

The three basic terms in Newmark (1988), object, image, and sense, correspond to topic, vehicle and grounds, respectively, as defined by Goatly. I will continue in general to use Goatly's terms in this paper, since they have greater currency within metaphor studies generally. However, where I am talking about lexicalized metaphors, I shall refer to sense/grounds, in order to underline that this element is principally the sense and only secondarily the grounds (or, in the case of an example such as 'rat', a pseudo-grounds).

5.1 Types of metaphor in Newmark

Newmark proposes a typology of metaphors which can be presented as follows (the significance of the dotted line is explained later in this section):

Figure 1

Newmark's typology

Dead ----- Cliché ----- Stock----Recent Adapted Original

These are defined and exemplified as follows:

Dead metaphors

‘metaphors where one is hardly conscious of the image, [they] frequently relate to universal terms of space and time, the main part of the body, general ecological features and the main human activities: for English, words such as: ‘space’, ‘field’, ‘line’, ‘top’, ‘bottom’⁸, ‘foot’, ‘mouth’, ‘arm’, ‘circle’, ‘drop’, ‘fall’, ‘rise’ (Newmark 1988: 106).

Cliché metaphors

‘metaphors that have perhaps temporarily outlived their usefulness, that are used as a substitute for clear thought, often emotively, but without corresponding to the facts of the matter. Take the passage: ‘The County school will in effect become not a *backwater*, but a *break through* in educational development which will *set trends* for the future. In this its *traditions* will help and it *may well* become a *jewel in the crown* of the county’s education.’ This is an extract from a specious editorial ...’ (Newmark 1988: 107).

⁸ Ian Higgins has pointed out to me that ‘bottom’ is problematic as a metaphor; one might regard the topographical sense as psychologically primary. He has also pointed out that the topographical sense is etymologically primary; bottom is cognate with German ‘Boden’ (ground, floor), and in parts of Germany is a dialectal form of meaning “ground, floor”. I will continue to treat ‘bottom’ as metaphorical in this paper; it provides a good example of the often rather marginally metaphorical nature of dead metaphors.

Stock metaphors

‘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 – a stock metaphor has a certain emotional warmth – and which is not deadened by overuse. ([...] I personally dislike stock metaphors, stock collocations and phaticisms, but I have to admit that they keep the world and society going – they ‘oil the wheels’ (*mettre de l’huile dans les rouages, schmieren den Karren, die Dinge erleichtern*))’ (Newmark 1988: 108).

Recent metaphors

‘a metaphorical neologism, often ‘anonymously’ coined, which has spread rapidly in the SL. [...] it may be a metaphor designating one of a number of ‘prototypical’ qualities that constantly ‘renew’ themselves in language, e.g. fashionable (‘in’, ‘with it’, *dans le vent*), good (‘groovy’, *sensas, fab*); without money (‘skint’, *dans le rond*)’ (Newmark 1988: 110).

Adapted metaphors

Metaphors which involve an adaptation of an existing (stock) metaphor. Newmark gives the example ‘the ball is a little in their court’ (Ronald Reagan), adapted from the stock metaphorical idiom ‘the ball is in their court’.

Original metaphors

Metaphors which are non-lexicalized (cf. Section 3 above) and non-adapted

(Newmark 1988: 112-113). The example which we discussed earlier, ‘The past is another country’ is an example of an original metaphor.

In Figure 1 above, dead, cliché and stock metaphors are connected by a dotted line, emphasizing firstly that these are all examples of lexicalized metaphors (Section 3), and secondly that the dividing line between them is not clear. As with numerous categories in translation analysis, they represent points on what is properly speaking a continuum around which examples tend to cluster – or at least to which we can ascribe examples on a reasonably non-ad-hoc basis.

Superficially, the distinction along the whole line might be interpreted as one of ‘age’. We move from *dead* (i.e. having lived an entire life) through *recent* to *original* (i.e. absolutely new) (cf. van den Broeck 1981: 75). However, a more insightful way to understand the distinctions is in terms of metaphorical forcefulness or immediacy: the reflected meaning of the vehicle becomes increasingly prominent, as is clearly seen in comparing dead metaphors with stock metaphors and original metaphors.

All of Newmark’s categories raise theoretical and analytical issues. I will deal with the categories which involve the fewest complexities first – cliché metaphors and adapted metaphors. Then I shall consider the remaining categories: dead metaphors, stock metaphors, recent metaphors, and original metaphors.

Newmark in effect defines cliché metaphors aesthetically, rather than in terms of metaphorical force: a cliché metaphor seems rather like a stock metaphor which one happens to particularly dislike. A number of Newmark’s examples of cliché metaphors are marginal, or not metaphors at all. As Ian Higgins has pointed out to me, ‘set trends’ is a cliché, but metaphorically

speaking, ‘set’ is dead, and ‘trends’ (etymologically from Old English *trendan* ‘to turn’) no longer has metaphorical force in English. ‘Traditions’ is similarly no longer metaphorical in English; and ‘may well’ has no obvious connection with metaphor.

The example given by Newmark ‘The County school will in effect become not a *backwater*, but a *break through* in educational development ...’, etc. points up another issue. A large part of the unacceptability of the metaphors used here is that their vehicles clash with one another. That is to say, the basic non-metaphorical senses which the metaphorical uses recall are inconsistent with one another. A (non-metaphorical) backwater, for example, cannot also involve (non-metaphorical) breaking through. Such incongruent metaphors (cf. Section 9) are sometimes referred to as mixed metaphors. In other contexts, ‘backwater’ would be so aesthetically unacceptable (‘Some people think of Durham as a backwater; but I love it’). For these reasons I believe that the category of cliché metaphor is out of place in Newmark’s typology. I shall therefore drop it from a revised version of Newmark’s typology which I shall subsequently propose.

Adapted metaphors are, properly speaking, non-lexicalized metaphors. However, they are dependent for their interpretation on the existence of similar lexicalized metaphors which they recall; thus the non-lexicalized metaphor ‘the ball is a little in their court’ recalls the lexicalized metaphor ‘the ball is in their court’; i.e. this is a case of reflected meaning, and derives its meaning from this lexicalized metaphor.

I turn now to Newmark’s remaining categories of metaphor: dead, stock, recent and original. As already noted, while the superficial interpretation of Newmark’s metaphor typology is in terms of age, the more important distinction is one of metaphorical force or immediacy. In fact, the age distinction is in large measure an artefact of the terminology used to describe the

categories, rather than a reflection of the notions which this terminology denotes.

I will consider first dead metaphors (such as ‘bottom [of the hill]’), and stock metaphors (such as ‘sunny [smile]’ (Newmark 1988: 110). It may be that ‘bottom’ in this sense came into the English language earlier than ‘sunny’ in this sense. However, this is clearly not what is at issue in distinguishing dead metaphors from stock metaphors. Rather, the distinction is that with dead metaphors ‘one is hardly conscious of the image’ (Newmark 1988:108), whereas with stock metaphors ‘there is a certain emotional warmth’ (Newmark 1988: 108) – and more generally a greater metaphorical force. It would no doubt be possible to find stock metaphors which came into the English language later than certain dead metaphors.

In the case of original metaphors, one might think initially that actual newness is a defining characteristic. This, however, is clearly not the case. A Biblical metaphor, such as ‘lamb’ in ‘Lamb of God’ has been in English for many hundreds of years (in various translated forms). The metaphor remains, however, non-lexicalized (original). Thus, even original metaphors may in fact be older than dead or stock metaphors.

Seen in this light, it appears that the odd man out in the series *dead-stock-recent-original* is recent. Newmark identifies two distinct types of recent metaphors. The first are what might be called vogue usages. These may either be terms ‘designating one of a number of ‘prototypical’ qualities that constantly ‘renew’ themselves in language’ (Newmark 1988: 110), or, we may add, they may be terms such as ‘scenario’ or ‘synergy’, which attain temporary prominence in particular registers (‘scenario’ was a favoured term in political journalism in the 1980s, while ‘synergy’ is a current management ‘buzz-word’). The second type of recent metaphors identified by Newmark are technical neologisms – terms for new objects, processes and concepts. These are likely to remain as long as the objects, etc. continue to be used (Newmark

1988: 112). I shall consider vogue usages first, and then go on to technical neologisms.

Recent metaphors appear at least to be recently coined. In fact, even here, there are complications. Consider the vogue usage ‘cool’ in the sense of ‘excellent, marvellous’ (*Collins English Dictionary*). ‘Cool’ was a feature of 1960s slang in Britain, having been adopted from American English. However, it subsequently became extremely unfashionable until the 1990s, when it reappeared in Britain as a vogue usage, again from American English. ‘Recency’ in Newmark’s classification, therefore, is, properly speaking, not a matter of the actual newness of the term, but of its perceived newness.

There is another issue with vogue usages. Not all such usages are metaphors. Consider the following list: 1. local community; 2. Armenian community; 3. ethnic community; 4. business community; 5. international community; 6. development community; 7. intelligence community; 8. policy community.

The term ‘community’ seems to have spread from more traditional usages, such as 1. and 2. and (subsequently, perhaps) 3., through to 4–7 and 8. (a ‘policy community’ being roughly a group or nations or other entities which share or develop a common policy or set of policies). Collocations lower down the list (‘development community’, ‘intelligence community’, ‘policy community’) in particular, certainly have something of the feel of vogue usages – including the potential to annoy those of a more conservative or reflective disposition. None of these uses of ‘community’, however, are metaphorical. Rather, they have emerged through ‘sense-creep’ – the gradual extension of usages of the word ‘community’ in this particular sense.

To recapitulate, the notion of recent vogue metaphor suffers from two problems. Firstly, such

metaphors may not necessarily be that recent. Secondly, ‘recency’ is not purely a feature of metaphors, but can apply to non-metaphorical – and even non-figurative – language. The applicability of the notion of recency to non-metaphors, in particular, indicates that from a more thoroughgoing theoretical standpoint recent metaphors should not figure in the Full Model. From a more practical point of view (e.g. translation teaching), however, there is a case for retaining them. The combination of recency with metaphoricality yields a degree of forcefulness which is not achieved by recency alone; we may find ‘intelligence community’ clichéd, or even annoying, but this is the kind of aesthetic issue which I have argued should be removed from metaphor analysis in the case of Newmark’s cliché metaphors. It may also be that *recency+metaphoricality* yields a metaphorical forcefulness in the case of vogue usages which is greater than the sum of its parts. ‘Cool’ in the sense ‘lacking in enthusiasm, affection, cordiality, etc.’ (*Collins English Dictionary*) is a fairly non-prominent stock metaphor, or even a dead metaphor in Newmark’s classification. The recent metaphor ‘cool’, by contrast, seems to have distinctly more metaphorical force.

If the argument is accepted that for vogue usages *recency+metaphoricality* yields more metaphorical forcefulness than the sum of its parts, it seems sensible to retain recent metaphors at least in the Simplified Model. For purposes of the Full Model however, I will treat recency as a matter of interaction between the figurative-specific dimension of topic-vehicle-grounds, and the non-figurative-specific dimension of recency (see Section 11).

Technical terms raise more general, but also more easily soluble, problems. Such terms may constitute either dead, stock or recent metaphors in Newmark’s terminology – or, of course, they may be non-metaphorical; ‘mother lode’ (= principal lode in a mining system) would be a stock metaphor in Newmark’s classification, but ‘motherboard’ (as a computing term) would be a recent metaphor. However, in the great majority of translation contexts, the

metaphorical nature of these terms is unimportant; ST technical terms will need to be translated into equivalent TT technical terms, regardless of the metaphorical status of the terms in the two languages. In the rare cases where an initial TT yields metaphorical mixing (Section 10), it is highly unlikely that it will be appropriate to change the technical term; rather the translator will need to change the non-technical terms. If two or more technical terms yield mixed metaphors, this will just have to be accepted in a final TT, regardless of the stylistic oddity involved.

In the Simplified Model, technical metaphors can be removed from the remit of analysis. In the Full Model, we can regard technicality as a particular ‘dimension’ of analysis, potentially allowing terms to be analysed on various points on the continuum *non-technical*→*highly technical*. This issue is taken up in Section 11.

I return now to the other three categories under current consideration: dead, stock and original metaphors. Original metaphors are clearly distinguished from all other categories theoretically by virtue of being non-lexicalized. Even in terms of the Full Model – and a fortiori in terms of the Simplified Model – this category is to be maintained, since it cannot be assigned to any other more general linguistic (or other) category. The distinction between dead metaphors and stock metaphors, by contrast, is more problematic. This rests on the degree of prominence of the vehicle (or, in Newmark’s terms, the image): if the vehicle is fairly prominently perceived, we have a stock metaphor; if not, we have a dead metaphor. It is at least likely that differential perceptions of this kind ultimately derive from the general human cognitive organization of experience, and are only secondarily reflected in linguistic phenomena; we perceive physical objects as basic to experience, and increasingly abstract phenomena as increasingly less basic (Section 1.1). The degree to which a lexicalized metaphor is felt to be prominent (and accordingly forceful) therefore is likely to be a function of the general

cognitive ‘distance’ between the meaning of the vehicle and that of the sense/grounds. Thus, there is quite a significant cognitive ‘distance’ between ‘rat’ in the sense of ‘murine rodent’ and ‘rat’ in the sense of ‘person who deserts his friends or associates (etc.)’ – the first sense denotes a well-known (physical) animal, while the second denotes a psychological or behavioural trait. We would almost certainly want to regard ‘rat’ as a stock metaphor. In the case of ‘bottom’ (as in ‘bottom’ of the hill), on the other hand, the distance between the more basic sense of ‘bottom’ (i.e. the part of the human anatomy) and that of the secondary sense (‘bottom of the hill’) is relatively insignificant. Both are physical – even if ‘bottom [of the hill]’ has a somewhat more strongly relational element to its meaning than does ‘bottom’ as part of the human anatomy. Newmark lists ‘bottom’ as a dead metaphor (above) – and one might even regard it as not a metaphor at all.

If the distinction between dead and stock metaphors derives from general non-linguistic cognitive properties, then in terms of the Full Model we can remove this distinction to the periphery of metaphor analysis, and treat it as a matter of the interaction between genuinely metaphor-internal models with more general cognitive models. I shall consider this further in the summary of the Full Model in Section 11. For many practical purposes, however, I believe that such a move would be too complex and unwieldy. In the Simplified Model, therefore, I shall retain both dead and stock metaphors.

6. Integration of the lexicalized/non-lexicalized distinction with Newmark’s categories

The following is a presentation of the categories of metaphor so far established for the Simplified Model. I have removed Newmark’s category of cliché metaphor, as discussed in Section 4.2, and bracketed his adapted metaphors, which I have suggested are a somewhat odd category. It will be seen that the notions lexicalized and non-lexicalized are fully integratable with the categories derived from Newmark: that is to say: dead, stock and recent metaphors

are all unambiguously lexicalized metaphors, and adapted and original metaphors are both non-lexicalized (albeit that adapted metaphors draw on similar lexicalized metaphors for their interpretation).

Figure 2.

Initial revision of Newmark's typology

-----			*-----*			*-----*			*-----*		
Dead			Stock			Recent			(Adapted)		Original
L E X I C A L I Z E D									NON-LEXICALIZED		

In the following section, a further textual model of relevance to metaphor translation is considered. In theoretical terms, this model is independent of the ones so far established. For the purposes of practical translation analysis, however, I will suggest that it can be integrated into the Simplified Model together with the model given in this section.

7. Lakoff and Johnson's model

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that many metaphors in languages fit into coherent metaphorical patterns. Thus, in English a large number of metaphors to do with arguing are drawn from warfare: what Lakoff and Johnson refer to as 'argument is war' metaphors. Examples are: 'He attempted to defend himself, but was *overwhelmed*⁹ by the force of his

⁹ 'Overwhelm' illustrates a rather problematic aspect of Lakoff and Johnson's approach. As Ian Higgins has pointed out to me, 'overwhelm' is not intrinsically related to warfare; when a rugby team is overwhelmed one is probably more inclined to think of it being overrun by a flood than by an army. In the example given by Lakoff and Johnson 'He attempted to *defend* himself, but was *overwhelmed* by the force of his *adversary's* arguments', it is the fact that 'overwhelmed' occurs in the context of 'defend' and 'adversary'

adversary's arguments' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4). English similarly makes use of a large number of 'theories are buildings' metaphors:

Is that the *foundation* for your theory? The theory needs more *support*. The argument is *shaky*. We need some more facts or the argument will *fall apart*. We need to *construct* a *strong* argument for that. I haven't figured out yet what the *form* of the argument will be. Here are some more facts to *shore up* the theory. We need to *buttress* the theory with *solid* arguments. The theory will *stand* or *fall* on the *strength* of that argument. The argument *collapsed*. They *exploded* his latest theory. We will show that theory to be without *foundation*. So far we have put together only the *framework* of the theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 46).

Such metaphorical systematicity seems to be ultimately conventional. This is underlined by the fact that different languages may operate with quite different conceptual orientations. As Lakoff and Johnson note:

For example, we project a front-back orientation in contexts onto objects that have no intrinsic fronts or backs. Given a medium-sized rock in our visual field and a ball between us and the rock, say, a foot from it, we would perceive the ball as being *in front of* the rock. The Hausas make a

which disposes the reader to interpret 'overwhelmed' in military terms, rather than the intrinsically metaphorical orientation of 'overwhelmed'. In this context, 'force' as well acquires something of a military reflected meaning (Section 1.1).

different projection than we do and would understand the ball as being *in back of* the rock. Thus, a front-back orientation is not an inherent property of objects like rocks but rather an orientation that we project onto them, and the way we do this varies from culture to culture (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 161).

We may call metaphors which fit into such larger metaphorical schemata, schematic metaphors.¹⁰ In principle, any of dead, stock, recent, adapted or original metaphors may be schematic. Such metaphorical schemata may be more or less complete and all-embracing in particular languages. Thus, it may be that there are many lexicalized ‘theories are buildings’ metaphors in English, and that this is the commonest way of metaphorically conceptualizing notions to do with theories. In other languages, however, this metaphorical schema may not be present, or, if it is, it may not be dominant to the same degree as in English.

An example of ways in which metaphorical schemata may operate to differing degrees in different languages is provided by the metaphorical use of verbs of motion in Arabic and English to describe the imparting of information. Arabic has a relatively large number of verbs of motion which also have a lexicalized (stock) metaphorical ‘informational’ sense. English does make some metaphorical use of verbs of motion to describe the imparting of information (‘Information has reached us that’). However, it more commonly uses either a metaphor of ‘giving and receiving’ (‘We have received information that’), or non-metaphorical forms (‘We have been informed that’).

¹⁰ My use of ‘schema’ (also ‘schemata’, ‘schematic’) in this paper is rather different from that of

Lakoff (cf. Lakoff and Turner 1989: 61-65).

The following examples, all of which are taken from original Arabic texts (reproduced in Dickins and Watson 1999), illustrate the point.

2. *ST*

لقد {ورد} إلى برنامجنا « لكل سؤال جواب » سؤال عن حقيقة جحا.

(Dickins and Watson 1999: 283; taken from the BBC Arabic Service tape series حصاد الشهر 'Pick of the month', no. 32, side 2, item 2. Juha is a semi-fictional humorous character, about whom anecdotes are told in most Middle Eastern countries.)

Literal TT

[There] has {reached} to our programme 'For Every Question an Answer' a question about the reality of Juha.

Idiomatic TT

The BBC programme *An Answer to Every Question* recently {received} a question about whether Juha was a real person or not.

3. *ST*

وكانت قرطبة هي مدينة المدارس الموسيقية التي {وصلت} شهرتها
إلى الممالك المسيحية التي كانت تستدعي مطربي وموسيقي تلك
المدارس لإحياء أعيادها واحتفالات قصورها.

(Dickins and Watson 1999: 321; taken from مجلة الشرق الاوسط 'The Middle East Magazine', Feb. 3-9, 1993. The passage is about Muslim Spain.)

Literal TT

And Cordoba was the city of musical schools, whose fame {reached} to the Christian kingdoms, which used to summon the singers and musicians of those schools to enliven their festivals and the celebrations of their palaces.

Idiomatic TT

Cordoba was the city of musical academies. Their fame {reached} as far as the Christian kingdoms, where musicians and singers from these schools were employed to perform at religious festivals and palace gatherings.

4.

ST

{ونقلت} وكالة الانباء الجزائرية عن الرئيس بن جديد قوله ان بعض الجماعات الاسلامية تحاول بث بذور الفوضى والانقسام وسط المسلمين المتمسكين بالدين ممن لا يقبلون ان يلقي عليهم احد دروس في هذا الشأن.

(Dickins and Watson 1999: 407; taken from القبس الدولي (newspaper), May 23, 1990.)

Literal TT

And the Algerian News Agency {transported} from the President Ben Djedid his statement that some of the Islamic groups are trying to spread the seeds of chaos and splitting amid the Muslims adhering to the religion, who do not accept that anyone give them lessons in this matter.

Idiomatic TT

The Algerian News Agency {reported} President Ben Djedid as saying that certain Islamic groups are trying to spread the seeds of disunity and chaos among pious and observant Muslims. Such Muslims, however, will not allow anyone dictate to them what they should believe.

5.

ST

وفي هذه الاثناء خرجت قيادة الجبهة الاسلامية للانقاذ من صمتها
 واصدرت بياناً يحذر الحكم من تعطيل المسار الديمقراطي. وقد {جاء}
 في بيان المكتب التنفيذي المؤقت للجبهة الاسلامية للانقاذ « [...] ».

(Dickins and Watson 1999: 413; taken from الشرق الاوسط (newspaper),
 Jan. 13, 1992. The passage deals with political events in Algeria.)

Literal TT

And in these interims, the Islamic Front for Salvation emerged from its silence and issued a communiqué, it warns the authority from abolishing the democratic process. And [there] {came} in the communiqué of the Provisional Executive Bureau of the Islamic Front for Salvation ‘[...]’.

Idiomatic TT

Meanwhile, the FIS broke its silence, issuing a communiqué in which it warned the government authorities against subverting the democratic process. The communiqué, from the Provisional Executive Committee of the FIS, {stated} ‘[...]’.

6. *ST*

وقد قيل : إن الله أمر بها نبيّه ليتألف قلوب أصحابه ، وليقتدي به من بعده ، وليستخرج مِنْهُمْ الرَّأْيَ فيما لم {ينزل} به وحي من أمر الحروب والأمور الجزئية وغير ذلك ، [...] .

(Dickins and Watson 1999: 417; taken from the Classical text السياسة الشرعية 'Islamic Legal Policy in Reforming the Ruler and his Subjects' by ابن تيمية (Ibn Taymiyya), Cairo: مكتبة دار الشعب , 181-2. The text deals with rights and duties of rulers and ruled in an Islamic perspective.)

Literal TT

And it has been said: God ordered His Prophet [to do] it so that the hearts of his companions be united, and so that those after him be guided by it, and so that he extract from them the opinion in what inspiration did not {descend} with it from the affair of wars and the partial matters, and other than that.

Idiomatic TT

It is also said, 'God ordered His Prophet to do this so that his followers should be reconciled with one another, so that those who followed him should be guided by his example, and so that he should ask their opinion when he had not {received} divine inspiration on matters of war and other secondary issues. [...]'

7. *ST*

واخترط الزُّبَيْر سيفه، وقال: لا أغمده حتى يُبَايَع عليٌّ، فـ{بلغ} ذلك أبا بكر وعمر، فقال عمر: خذُوا سيف الزُّبَيْر، فاضربوا به الحجر.

(Dickins and Watson 1999: 448; taken from the Classical text تاريخ الطبري 'Tabari's History', vol. III, p. 203, Sections 1819-20. This passage deals with the dispute between leading Muslims about who should succeed the Prophet Muhammad following his death.)

Literal TT

And Az-Zubayr drew his sword, and said, 'I do not sheathe it until allegiance is pledged to Ali, so that {reached} Abu Bakr and Umar, and Umar said, 'Take the sword of Zubayr, and strike with it the stone'.

Idiomatic TT

Al-Zubayr drew his sword, saying, 'I will not put it back until the oath of allegiance is given to Ali.' When Abu Bakr and Umar {heard about} this, Umar said, 'Seize Al-Zubayr's sword and strike it with a stone.'

In only one of the six cases here does the TT retain the motion metaphor of the Arabic ST (3. 'reached'). In two cases, the motion metaphor is replaced by a giving-and-receiving metaphor ('received', 2, and 6.). And in three cases a non-metaphorical form is used in the TT (5. 'reported'; 5. 'stated'; 7 'heard about').

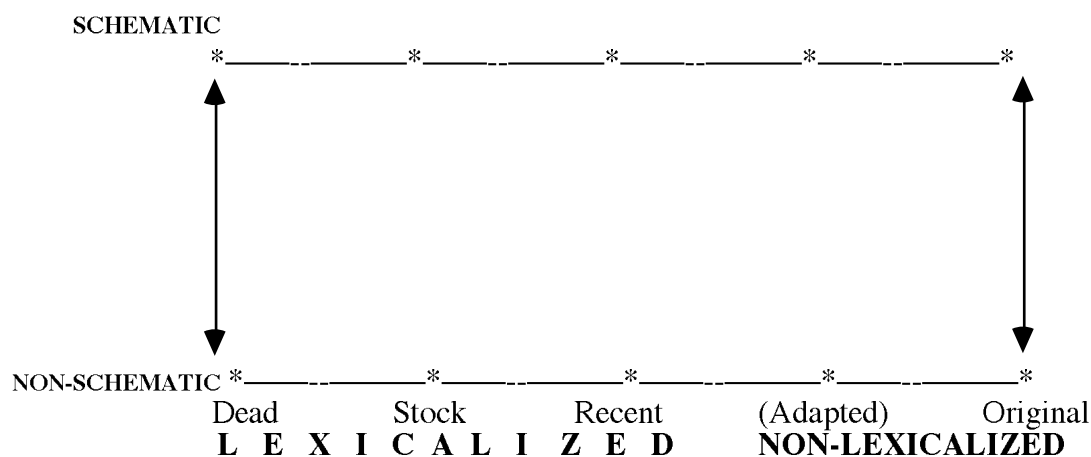
Metaphorical schemata raise another issue. As we have seen, Newmark recognizes two kinds of metaphor which are not lexicalized: adapted metaphors and original metaphors. The term

‘original metaphors’ as well as Newmark’s discussion (Newmark 1988: 112-3) suggest that he regards original metaphors as falling outside standard linguistic conventions. (This is in fact the way the term ‘original metaphor’ is used in Dagut 1976: 22.) However, consider an utterance ‘He redeployed his troops’ made in the context of a description of a debate. ‘Redeploy ... troops’ is not a lexicalized metaphor in English. But in this context a reader or hearer would have little difficulty in interpreting it along the lines ‘he refocused his argument’ or ‘he began to concentrate on another aspect of the debate’. This is partly at least because of the general and conventional metaphorical schema in English ‘argument is war’.

The fact that any of dead, stock, recent, adapted or original metaphors may or may not fit into a metaphorical schema, and that such schemata may be more or less dominant suggests a two-dimensional-type extension of Figure 2, incorporating an account of metaphorical schemata, as in Figure 3.

Figure 3.

Integration of initial revision of Newmark’s typology and Lakoff and Johnson



This approach, which provides an assessment of the extent to which any kind of metaphor, from dead to original, forms part of a metaphorical schema, may be reasonable in theory. In practice, however, and particularly from the point of view of classroom translation analysis, it seems over-complex. The schematic aspect of non-lexicalized metaphors may be less important for translation purposes than other issues: for example, whether a particular metaphor in a TT is incongruent with another metaphor, thus giving rise to unacceptable metaphorical mixing (Section 9).

Where metaphorical schemata are important is in the area of Newmark's original metaphors. Thus, in a metaphorical utterance 'A man is a tree', part of the puzzle of the metaphor, and therefore part of the metaphorical force, is that 'tree' does not fit into any standard recognisable schema – at least in any meaning which is likely to be intended in the context of 'man'. This contrasts with 'redeploy ... troops', which is also an original metaphor in Newmark's sense. In this case, the existence of the general schema 'argument is war' allows for the simple interpretation of the metaphor in appropriate contexts.

On the basis that metaphorical schemata are relatively unimportant in the case of lexicalized metaphors (dead metaphors, stock metaphors and recent metaphors), I propose that in analysing the translation of metaphor they can be typically ignored with regard to these categories. However, as I have also argued, metaphorical schemata are much more important in the case of Newmark's original metaphors: there is a clear difference between a form such as 'redeploy ... troops', which fits into a metaphorical schema and '[a] tree' in 'A man is a tree', which does not fit into such a schema. Within non-lexicalized metaphors, it therefore seems sensible to make a distinction between genuinely original metaphors – i.e. those which do not fit into any obvious schema, and schematic non-lexicalized metaphors.

I suggest an overall model which revises Newmark's classification as follows:

Figure 4.

Simplified Model

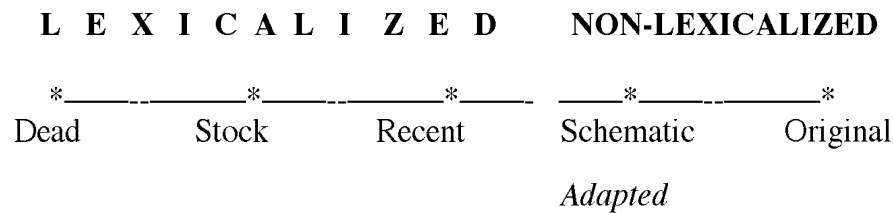


Figure 4. provides a typology of metaphors which is simple to work with, since it operates on only one 'dimension'. A distortion is, of course, involved in the ignoring of the schematic aspects with respect to lexicalized metaphors. The justification for this is that, as argued, metaphorical schemata seem in practice to be less important in these areas than in consideration of non-lexicalized metaphors, where (non-lexicalized) schematic metaphors are represented as a separate category. However, it may be that for many purposes this one-dimensional model involves too high a degree of distortion to be acceptable. (The one-dimensional model seems particularly problematic in analysing extended metaphors, Section 9, involving a combination of lexicalized and non-lexicalized metaphors.) In cases where the treatment of schematic metaphors in the one-dimensional model proves inadequate, it will be necessary to operate with a two-dimensional model, as given in Figure 3.

I have not placed adapted metaphors in the main part of the figure. Their reliance on reflected meaning seems to make them rather different from the other types of metaphor which have been identified. I have, however, placed them below schematic metaphors, since both are non-lexicalized but, unlike original metaphors (as redefined above), involve appeal to

conventions for their interpretation.

The model is useful in providing a ‘focalized’ continuum from dead metaphors to original metaphors, which seems to accurately mirror increasing degrees of metaphorical forcefulness. The points which are established along this continuum (dead metaphor, stock metaphor, recent metaphor, etc.) correspond to relatively intuitive categories. The continuum aspect of the model, however, allows for the fact that there are indeterminate cases: some dead metaphors seem more dead than others. (Goatly, for instance, even has a category of ‘dead and buried’ metaphors: Goatly 1997: 32; Dagut 1976: 22 lists numerous proposed categories, culled from other authors.) Some metaphors only marginally belong to a metaphorical schema, and one might want to place them somewhere between schematic metaphors, and original metaphors in Figure 4.

While the model captures a general tendency towards increasing metaphorical force, other factors may intervene to counteract this general principle, two being particularly important. Firstly, some original metaphors which were when first used extremely striking might now be considered rather hackneyed and lacking in force because of their frequent repetition – perhaps John Donne’s ‘No man is an island’. Secondly, the degree of technicality of a metaphor plays an important role in its metaphorical force: the more technical the notion which a metaphor designates, the less likely that metaphor is to have significant force, regardless of whether it is classified as dead, stock, or recent (non-lexicalized metaphors can hardly be used to designate technical notions, since they do not have precise definitions). Contextual factors can also play an important role in the forcefulness of a particular metaphor, as will be discussed in Section 9.

8. Application of the Simplified Model to translation analysis

The Simplified Model (Figure 4) can be applied to the analysis of individual ST and TT examples, with a view to shedding light on the nature of the individual metaphorical phenomena involved.

There is also, however, the potential for more general analysis of ST and TT corpora involving particular language pairs, with a view to establishing more general patterns of metaphor correspondence or non-correspondence between these pairs. The scope of application could be further extended to consider universals of metaphor translation: ways – if any – in which TT equivalents of ST metaphors tend to differ from the ST metaphors, and ways in which TT metaphors may differ from ST forms, whether metaphorical or not, regardless of the languages involved, and thus general tendencies in the treatment of metaphor on the part of translators.

An application of roughly the Simplified Model in Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 150-155) suggests a general tendency in Arabic>English translation towards ‘downtoning’ of metaphors in translation – what might be called *leftward shifting* in terms of the presentation of Figure 4: original ST metaphors may be replaced by TT schematic metaphors, ST schematic metaphors by TT stock metaphors, and so on. Not infrequently, ST metaphors are also replaced by TT similes. This same general pattern is suggested for French>English and German>English translation by the largely uncontextualised examples given in Newmark (1988: 107-111).

It may be that Arabic in particular has a greater general tendency towards ‘metaphorical exuberance’ than English (cf. Section 10). However, while the Arabic>English sample given in *Thinking Arabic translation* may be suggestive, it has severe limitations: the number of examples is very small; the material derives almost exclusively from the work of student

translators; unlike a standard corpus it is not statistically neutral (it was designed to illustrate a range of possible Arabic>English metaphor translation solutions, rather than to consider statistical aspects of metaphor translation solutions). Any firm conclusions regarding such issues must therefore await further research.

9. Extended and mixed metaphors

I have already considered how metaphors may enter into larger patterns as elements of metaphorical schemata (Section 7). These patterns might be regarded as part of the abstract language system, and thus in Saussurean terms as belonging to *langue* rather than *parole*.

However, there is another prominent feature of metaphor patterning which involves the way metaphors are deployed in texts, and can therefore be considered a matter of *parole* in Saussurean terms. This is the tendency for a particular metaphorical image to be maintained over a fairly long stretch of text. By ‘image’ here is meant a particular semantic field to which a series of vehicles belongs, rather than a synonym of ‘vehicle’ as in Newmark (Section 5).

As in the previous sections, I will consider here data from Arabic>English translation. Although I believe the examples are of interest in their own right the main intention, as above, is not to develop an argument relating specifically to Arabic>English translation. Rather, I want mainly to consider a number of notions, such as metaphorical congruence, which I believe are important for the understanding of metaphor in text, and are therefore relevant to translation involving any language pairs, regardless of their typical deployment in particular languages.

Consider the following, which is taken from the novel مدينة البغي *The City of Oppression*

by the Palestinian writer عيسى بشارة (Eissa Bishara) (reproduced in Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 161).

The central character is a young journalist called صابر (Saber, i.e. 'patient, forbearing') who lives in the مدينة البغي 'city of oppression' of the title, which can be taken to be Jerusalem, or a fictional equivalent. صابر (Saber) feels oppressed by the army which is blockading the city, and which on one level can be understood as a reference to the occupying Israeli army. He also feels oppressed, however, by the fact that where there should be harmony, respect and peace between people in the city, there is hatred and distrust.

The work is non-realist, and includes Christian-oriented mystical elements (the author is a Christian). The general style is poetic, with a high overall density of many of the traditional features of Arabic rhetoric – particularly morphological repetition (Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 100-108), semantic repetition (ibid. 59-61), and parallelism (ibid. 62-63), as well as metaphor. In a number of emotively charged sections, these co-occur with rhyme, giving rise to سجع, or 'rhymed prose' (Irwin 1999: 178-93; Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 139). In this extract (from Brown 1996: 36), صابر (Saber) is contemplating his predicament:

تراءت له مشاهد البؤس والخوف على شريط من الذكريات،
 فـ{اشتعل} فيه الحنين الى الهجرة، ولكن في اعماق قلبه {جمرة} تأبى
 {الانطفاء}، فهي كلما {ذوت} سرعان ما تعود الى {الاتقاد} من جديد.

This can be translated fairly literally as follows:

Scenes of wretchedness and fear presented themselves to him on a band of

memories and the longing to emigrate {caught fire} in him. But in the depths of his heart an {ember} refused to {go out}; every time it {faded} it quickly {ignited} again.

The metaphorical image of fire to express desire is strongly schematic in Arabic, as it is in English. The verb *اشتعل* ‘to catch fire’ is non-lexicalized in Arabic in the sense of ‘arise (with force) [of desire]’. However, the Hans Wehr *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* gives the related *اشتعل غضب* ‘to be flaming with rage’ (lit: ‘to catch fire with rage / *ragely*’). There is thus an aspect of reflected meaning in the use of *اشتعل* in this context, making it to some extent an adapted metaphor.

The final three ST metaphors *الانطفاء* (literally ‘to go out / going out [of fire]’), *ذوت* (literally: ‘faded [of colour]’), and *الانتقاد* (literally ‘to catch fire / catching fire’) are dependent for their interpretation on the metaphorical *جمرة* ‘ember’. This is here non-lexicalized, although Hans Wehr gives *جمرة* ‘ember’ as having the lexicalized sense ‘rankling resentment’, (a stock metaphor), making *جمرة* ‘ember’ here to some extent an adapted metaphor. The word *جمرة* ‘ember’ here provides the context for the final three ST metaphors following it, ensuring that all these four metaphors are interpreted as non-lexicalized.

We may term metaphors which maintain the same general image, as in the above Arabic extract, *congruent metaphors*. Not all metaphors in a text are necessarily congruent with one another. Non-congruent metaphors are traditionally referred to as mixed metaphors. An example of a mixed metaphor is the following regarding the Maastricht Treaty promoting closer integration of the European Union: ‘[...] the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, said that what he called “trench warfare” against the treaty “had evaporated” (BBC Radio 4 News, 18 May

1993). Another example of mixed metaphor is ‘All the evidence must be sifted with acid tests’. Here there is an incongruity between the image conjured up by ‘sifted’ and that conjured up by ‘acid tests’. Compare in this regard the perfectly acceptable ‘All the evidence must be subjected to acid tests’.

As this example shows, in the case of mixed metaphors, stock metaphors can become much more prominent (‘revitalized’), and even dead metaphors ‘revived’ (cf. Fowler 1926: 359; also Cooper 1986: 128). This underlines the fact that metaphorical forcefulness is not merely a function of the type of metaphor (*langue*), but also of the textual context in which a particular instance of a metaphor is deployed (*parole*).

Where the metaphors in question are dead or stock metaphors, mixed metaphor is very often not particularly noticeable. So, ‘the forces which make up the political spectrum’ (involving the deadish metaphors ‘force’ and ‘spectrum’) seems reasonably acceptable, despite the fact that the basic sense of ‘spectrum’ has to do with colour rather than (physical) force. The **يولد الأطفال** ‘When children are born’ text (discussed in Section 1.2) contained numerous dead and stock metaphors with quite different vehicles. However, the metaphorical mixing in them did not disturb the effectiveness of the ST or TT.

In mixed metaphors, denotatively coherent material may be unacceptable because the connotations are incongruent. Congruent metaphors by definition present material which is *connotatively* congruent, but which may on occasion, display denotative incoherence. The use of **لكن** ‘but’ in the extract beginning **تراءت له مشاهد البؤس** ‘Scenes of wretchedness and fear presented themselves to him’ above illustrates this point. The Arabic **لكن** ‘but’ is unambiguously contrastive (cf. Dickins and Watson 1999: 576-584; for a general typology of conjunctive relations, cf. Baker 1992: 191). The obvious logical relationship between the first

تراءت له مشاهد البؤس والخوف على شريط من الذكريات، two clauses in the extract ‘Scenes of wretchedness and fear presented themselves to him on a band of memories and the longing to emigrate {caught fire} in him’ and the subsequent element ‘But in the depths of his heart an {ember} refused to {go out}’ is not, however, adversative but additive; one might expect to add to the notion that something had caught fire the information that an ember *also* refused to go out; not to contrast with this fact that an ember *nonetheless* refused to go out. This denotative tension is, however, somewhat disguised – both in the Arabic ST and the fairly literal English TT – by the metaphorical congruence of the extract.

While the metaphorical aspect of the above example seems relatively unproblematic, in certain cases, metaphorical mixing (non-congruence) can present a considerable problem in translation, particularly where there is a high density of non-lexicalized metaphors. Consider the following, again from مدينة البغي ‘The City of Oppression’ (Brown 1996: 50):

[...] تمنى صابر لو أنه يستطيع ان {يفجر} هذا الصوت و{يفجر} معه
{بركان} الحرية الذي {لا يصحو له جفن} و{لا تثور له ثائرة}.

This can be translated fairly literally as:

Saber wished that he could {explode} his voice and {explode} with it the
{volcano} of freedom at which {an eyelid does not wake up}¹¹ nor {does a

¹¹ Mona Baker has pointed out to me that the Arabic phrase الذي لا يصحو له جفن ‘at which an eyelid does not wake up’ could be regarded as rather comical here. A consideration of the overall context from which this extract is taken strongly suggests that it is not the author’s intention to be humorous.

tumult arise}.

The following is a partial actual translation (Brown 1996: 50), omitting the equivalent of لا يصحو له جفن (literally '[at which] an eyelid does not wake up'), which is replaced by a gap:

Saber wished that he could make this voice {burst forth} and that in turn the {volcano} of freedom would {erupt}, _____ nor had it {flared up in rage}.

The overall metaphorical image of the outpouring of unrestrained emotion as volcanic violence is fairly schematic in both Arabic and English. In the ST, the word يفجر '[he] explode(s)'' occurs twice as a non-lexicalized metaphorical verb: firstly with the object هذا الصوت 'this voice', and secondly with the object بركان الحرية 'the volcano of freedom'; بركان 'volcano' is also a non-lexicalized metaphor, the phrase [...] يفجر بركان (TT 'explode [...] the volcano' acting as a quasi-phrasal metaphor.¹² The repetition of يفجر '[he] explode(s)'' in the ST maintains connotative metaphorical congruence, although the notions to which يفجر '[he] explode(s)'' is applied, 'voice' and 'volcano', are denotatively quite distinct.

The ST phrase تثور له ثائرة 'a tumult arises' is lexicalized, i.e. an idiom (Section 3; the

¹² The fact that بركان الحرية 'the volcano of freedom', involving the literal حرية 'freedom', is itself a syntactic phrase seems to preclude regarding يفجر بركان 'explode [...] the volcano' as a phrasal metaphor proper.

Hans Wehr *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* gives the related *ثار ثائرہ*, literally ‘his stirring stirred’), having the sense/grounds ‘become enraged [he became enraged]’). The phrase *لا يصحو له جفن* ‘an eyelid does not wake up’ is non-lexicalized, and involves a metaphorical reinterpretation of what is already a synecdoche, the word *جفن* ‘eyelid’ standing for the entire person.

The translator has relayed the general metaphorical congruence of the ST in the TT. The English preference for lexical variation as contrasted with that of Arabic for lexical repetition (cf. Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 109-111) is reflected in the fact that she translated *يفجر* (literally ‘explode’) first in the context of ‘voice’ as ‘burst forth’, and subsequently in the context of ‘volcano’ as ‘erupt’. ‘Burst forth’ is a lexicalised phrasal metaphor (idiom) having the grounds/sense ‘give vent (to) suddenly or loudly’ (cf. under *burst* in *Collins English Dictionary*). The phrase also, however, carries the reflected meaning (vehicle; cf. Section 3) of ‘burst’ ‘to break or cause to break open or apart, suddenly and noisily, esp. from internal pressure; explode’ (*Collins English Dictionary*), maintaining a degree of metaphorical congruence (albeit weaker than that of the ST) with the subsequent ‘erupt’ and also ‘volcano’ and ‘explode’.

The translator has thus uncoupled the ‘volcano of freedom’ element from the ‘his voice [explode]’ element in the TT; a more literal translation of the TT along the lines ‘he could make his voice explode, and with it the volcano of freedom’ would avoid stylistic problems involving lexical repetition. However, this translation would link a phrase containing a strongly schematic metaphor (‘make [...] explode [...] the volcano [...]’) with a phrase containing a fairly original, and somewhat odd, metaphor (‘make his voice explode’). The translation opted for by the translator ‘and that in turn the volcano of freedom would erupt’ abandons the causative element ‘make’ for a structurally simpler intransitive verb. Perhaps in compensation

for the loss of the close conceptual linkage implied by the lexical repetition of **يفجر** '[he] explode(s)' in the ST, she has added in the TT a phrase denoting causal connection: 'in turn'.

The phrase 'the volcano [of freedom] would erupt' involves the quasi-phrasal metaphor 'volcano [...] erupt'. 'Volcano' is a non-lexicalized metaphor, while 'erupt' seems best interpreted as the stock lexicalized metaphor having the sense/grounds 'burst forth suddenly and violently, as from restraint' (*Collins English Dictionary*). This, however, has the reflected meaning (vehicle) 'be ejected violently (as of volcanic material)' (cf. *Collins English Dictionary*), a meaning which is, of course, highly congruent with 'volcano' in its basic non-metaphorical sense.

The metaphorical idiom **تثور له ثائرة** ('a tumult arises', i.e. 'it becomes enraged') is translated as 'it flared up in rage'. 'Flare up' is a stock lexicalized metaphor having the sense/grounds 'to burst [into anger]' (in this case, the sense is not in doubt, since the TT explicitly adds 'in rage'). 'Flare up' also, however, has the reflected meaning (vehicle) 'burst suddenly into fire or light', giving a high degree of metaphorical congruence with the previous 'burst forth', 'erupt' and 'volcano'.

The phrase **لا يصحو له جفن** (literally '[at which] an eyelid does not wake up'), which is omitted in the second TT, presents a translation problem. A possible translation might be 'at which no one bats an eyelid', or perhaps more appropriately in this general context, 'at which no one had ever batted an eyelid'. However, the use of this particular idiomatic stock metaphor seems odd in this context, partly at least because the image (i.e. vehicle) of batting an eyelid is incongruent with the general image of volcanoes and fire. In order to avoid this incongruity, it might be appropriate in this case to opt for a relatively bland (dead metaphorical) translation

of لا يصحو له جفن (literally '[at which] an eyelid does not wake up') such as 'which had never attracted anyone's attention' or 'which had never attracted a glance'. Together with further adjustments to sentence structure this might yield a translation along the lines:

Saber wished that he could make this voice {burst forth} and that in turn the {volcano} of freedom would {erupt}, which had never once {flared up in rage} nor even {attracted} people's attention.

10. Metaphorical exuberance and density

It has been suggested (Section 8) that there may be a general tendency to tone down (downtone) metaphors in Arabic>English translation (perhaps as a result of the tendency of translators towards caution).

The example in the previous section involved the toning down of a particular ST metaphor لا يصحو له جفن '[at which] an eyelid does not wake up' in the TT for a different reason: the incongruence of a direct translation in context. This can be linked, however, to be a more general tendency for some languages to accept a greater degree of metaphorical density than others, at least in some text-types. Newmark says:

Again, a typical *Guardian* editorial starts, under the title 'Good Faith amid the Frothings', 'and on the second day, the squealing *sic* of breaks was loud in the land ...The National Coal Board had gone about as far as it could go'. Such metaphorical exuberance would hardly be possible in another European language, and, unless the purpose of a translation were to demonstrate this exuberance ('a ton of enforced silence was dumped on

Mr. Eaton ... window of opportunity ... dribbling offers, and trickling talks ... Kinnock scrambles out from under' – all in the first paragraph), the metaphors should be modified or eliminated (Newmark 1988: 112-113).

Arabic would appear to allow even greater 'metaphorical exuberance' than English, particularly where the author is being emotive. Accordingly, Arabic ST metaphors not infrequently appear too strong or too dense for equivalent forms of English writing and there is some need to tone down the metaphors of the Arabic ST in the English TT.

Consider the following, which is the opening sentence of a short story *حقل البنفسج* 'The violet field' by the Syrian writer *زكريا تامر* (Zakariya Tamir). Like much of the writing of *زكريا تامر* (Zakariya Tamir), this story combines supernatural elements with a rather pessimistic view of social reality, in particular the oppression of the poor and weak by the rich and powerful. ST metaphors and their TT equivalents are noted by curly brackets and a following superscript number:

ناش محمد أعواماً {مديدة¹} في مدينة صغيرة {تقبع²} {بذل³} عند
{أقدام⁴} جبل شاهق {ترتطم⁵} السحب بصخوره الصفراء.

This can be translated fairly literally as follows:

Mohammed lived for {extended¹} years in a small town which
{squatted²} {with ignominy³} at the {foot⁴} of a lofty mountain against
whose yellow rocks the clouds {crashed⁵}.

An actual translation of this (St John 1999: 4) reads:

Mohammed had lived for {many¹} years in a small town. It {squatted²}
 {insignificantly³} at the {foot⁴} of a towering mountain whose pale rocks
 {touched⁵} the sky.

The ST contains five metaphors. The word مديدة ‘extended’ (superscript 1) is a stock metaphor. The words تقبع ‘[it] squatted’ (superscript 2), أقدام ‘foot’ (literally ‘feet’) (superscript 4), and ترتطم ‘crashed’ (superscript 5) are non-lexicalized metaphors. However, the conceptual ‘distance’ in each case between the metaphorical sense/grounds and the basic sense (vehicle) is not that great; in all four cases, both the metaphorical sense/grounds and the basic sense (vehicle) are physical.

The Arabic بذل (*bi-dull*) ‘with ignominy’ (superscript 3) is interesting, since it involves metaphorical recursion: ذل (*dull*) in the sense of ignominy is itself already a metaphor – the more basic sense/grounds of ذل (*dull*) in Arabic being ‘lowness’. (The context dictates, however, that it is ‘ignominy’ rather than ‘lowness’ which is intended here.)

The description in this sentence of the physical surroundings in which the hero of the story, Muhammad, lives involves a dramatic contrast between the ‘ignominious’ town and the huge mountain towering over it. This suggests a parallelism between his own downtrodden social and psychological state, and that of the distant and powerful elite. The metaphors in the Arabic are thus well-motivated.

The second English TT, nonetheless, shows a marked tendency to tone down the ST metaphors.

Three of the five Arabic ST metaphors – مديدة ‘extended’ (superscript 1), بذل ‘with ignominy’

(superscript 3) and ترتطم ‘crashed’ (superscript 5) – have been toned down in the English, where they appear as the non-metaphorical ‘many’ (rather than ‘extended’, etc.), the stock-metaphorical ‘insignificantly’ (rather than ‘shamefully’, etc.), and the stock-metaphorical ‘touched’ (rather than ‘crashed against’). This tendency towards downtoning is not ubiquitous: the TT has in fact one metaphor, ‘towering’, where the ST employs a non-metaphor شاهق ‘lofty’. The English is probably best regarded as a stock pseudo-metaphor (Section 2), since there is no more basic usage of the verb ‘tower’ of which ‘tower[ing]’ in this sense is metaphorical; the verb ‘to tower’ clearly reflects the more basic sense of the noun ‘tower’ although the verb itself has no non-metaphorical sense.

The operative factor in this downtoning seems to be that despite the rhetorical and textual purposes of the original ST metaphors, the relatively neutral emotive context of the start of a story does not easily support such metaphorical exuberance in English.

A more extreme example of metaphorical exuberance in an Arabic ST and the need for downtoning in an English TT is provided by the following extract from a signed article entitled السياسة الأمريكية تجاه فلسطين ‘American policy towards Palestine’ by أسعد عبد الرحمن (As’ad Abdurrahman) a Jordanian academic, from the Jordanian newspaper الرأي ‘Opinion’ (the full text is reproduced in Obiedat 1996). The article was written after the end of the second Gulf War between Iraq and the American-led coalition following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. It deals with attempts on the part of the American government to seek an alternative Palestinian leadership to that of Yasser Arafat, because of PLO support for Iraq against the coalition. The tone of the article is strongly anti-American, and the article contains a high density of metaphorical elements throughout, the selected extract being particularly metaphorically dense.

Metaphorical elements in the text have been placed within curly brackets with accompanying superscript numbers:

ST

ومنذ اللحظة التي نطق فيها {المايسترو¹} الأمريكي بذلك، تكاثرت
الاقوال المماثلة والمشابهة من قبل كل {العازفين²} على {النغمة
النشاز³}، سواء كانوا أولئك الذين {ينتظمون ضمن التخت
الموسيقي⁴} نفسه، او أولئك الذين {ينتظمون ضمن الكورس
المواكب⁵}!!! ثم {تسارعت⁶} {الالحان النشاز⁷}، بل والاعمال {النشاز⁸},
الملاحقة! فلم يمض وقت طويل حتى بدأ العالم المشدوه يسمع تخرصات
جديدة من الولايات المتحدة - يا رعاها الله!!! - قوامها المساواة، على
صعيد {هجومها⁹} {التعسفي، بين منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية
ورئيسها بحيث فقدت المنظمة في {بنك¹⁰} السياسة الامريكية الكثير
من {رصيدها¹¹}!!!

TT1: fairly literal translation

Since the American {maestro¹} first uttered that, similar and corresponding statements have proliferated on the part of all the {players²} on the {discordant tune³}, whether they were those who {formed part of the orchestra⁴} itself, or those who {formed part of the accompanying chorus⁵}!!! Then the {discordant melodies⁷} {became quicker⁶}, and indeed the subsequent/connected {discordant/recalcitrant⁸} actions. It was not long before the astonished world began to hear new fabrications from the United States - God preserve it! - whose basis, on the level of its arbitrary {attack⁹}, was the equivalence between the PLO and its leader, such that the Organization had lost much of its {available funds¹⁰} in the American political {bank¹¹}.

TT2: idiomatic translation

Since the Americans first {orchestrated¹} this campaign, similarly {discordant notes have been struck³} by all the minor {players²}, whether they were actually {members of the alliance⁴} or merely {stood by applauding⁵} US actions. These {discordant voices⁷} have recently {reached a crescendo⁶} and have given rise to increasingly {violent actions⁸}. Now, a bewildered world has begun to hear new allegations from the glorious United States, whose abusive {tones⁹} are directed not only against Arafat, but against the PLO in general, and which suggest that the PLO has {lost whatever credit¹⁰,¹¹} it had with the Americans.

The ST maintains the relatively non-schematic overall metaphorical image of an orchestra almost throughout. At the end of the extract there is a shift to a financial image. There are a number of metaphorical incongruences, discussed below.

The orchestra metaphor is developed congruently through the following words and phrases: النغمة (maaystru) ‘maestro’ (superscript 1), العازفين ‘the players’ (superscript 2), ‘formed part of the orchestra’ (superscript 4), ‘became quicker’ (superscript 6), and ‘discordant melodies’ (superscript 7). These are all original metaphors. The general metaphorical image is strongly signalled by the rather ironic use of the loan word مايسترو (maaystru) ‘maestro’ (superscript 1). The ironic intention is made plain, both by subsequent metaphorical usages, and by the non-metaphorical يا رعاها الله ‘God preserve it’ later in the text. The initial clause also provides a bridge to the previous section of text, which has

discussed American statements regarding Yasser Arafat, through the use of the non-metaphorical
نطق ‘uttered’.

This section of text also contains, however, one somewhat incongruent metaphor: the original
ينتظمون ضمن الكورس المواكب (*yantaḍimuun ḍimn al-kooras al-muwaakib*) ‘formed part
of the accompanying chorus’ (superscript 5). The active participle مواكب (*muwaakib*) here
means ‘to accompany’, as in a procession: that is to say, the metaphor here is more of a
Greek chorus, accompanying and commenting on the actors in a drama than of singers
accompanying (musically) an orchestra.

It is possible that this incongruence is unintentional. It is also rendered non-prominent by the
fact that the phrase ينتظمون ضمن الكورس المواكب (*yantaḍimuun ḍimn al-kooras al-*
muwaakib) ‘formed part of the accompanying chorus’ (superscript 5) involves significant
repetition of the previous phrase ينتظمون ضمن التخت الموسيقي (*yantaḍimuun ḍimn*
al-taxt al-muusiiqi) ‘formed part of the orchestra’ (superscript 4). As noted previously (Section
9), such lexical repetition can provide conceptual linkage in Arabic.

The potential for lexical repetition to yield conceptual linkage is further exploited in the
pairing الالحان النشاز (*al-alḥaan an-našaaẓ*) ‘discordant melodies’ (superscript 7), and
الاعمال النشاز (*al-a‘maal an-našaaẓ*) ‘discordant/recalcitrant actions’ (cf. superscript 8).
Here the original الالحان النشاز (*al-alḥaan an-našaaẓ*) ‘discordant melodies’ (superscript
7) maintains, as noted, the overall musical image. The usage of نشاز ‘discordant/recalcitrant’
(superscript 8) in the phrase الاعمال النشاز (*al-a‘maal an-našaaẓ*) ‘discordant/recalcitrant
actions’ is a stock metaphor; the sense ‘recalcitrant’ can be regarded as a stock metaphorical
extension of the musical sense ‘discordant’. The repetition in the phrases, الالحان النشاز
(*al-alḥaan an-našaaẓ*) ‘discordant melodies’ (superscript 7), and الاعمال النشاز (*al-a‘maal*

an-našaaʒ) ‘discordant/recalcitrant actions’ (cf. superscript 8), however, provides a strong sense of conceptual linkage, nullifying the metaphorical incongruence which exists between the two phrases.

The densely metaphorical ‘orchestra’ section of the text is followed by a largely non-metaphorical section. This includes one clear-cut example of a metaphor, the stock metaphorical هجوم ‘attack’ (superscript 9).

The final two ST metaphors بنك ‘bank’ (superscript 10) and رصيد ‘available funds, balance’ (superscript 11) are fairly schematic (‘moral (etc.) credit is money’ being a fairly standard metaphorical schema in both Arabic and English). They come after a brief non-metaphorical section, which seems sufficient in the Arabic to provide a sense of termination to the previous orchestra metaphorical image.

English TT2 is marked by a general tendency to maintain the overall metaphorical image, but to downtone the ST metaphors: ‘orchestrated’ (superscript 1), ‘players’ (superscript 2: but see also below), ‘discordant notes’ (superscript 3), ‘stood by applauding’ (superscript 5), ‘reached a crescendo’ (superscript 6), ‘discordant voices’ (superscript 7), and ‘tones’ (superscript 9) are all stock metaphors; ‘lost [...] credit’ (superscript 10, 11) is a dead metaphor; and ‘members of the alliance’ (superscript 4), ‘violent actions’ (superscript 8) are non-metaphorical (grounds).

ST مايسترو ‘maestro’ (superscript 1) is translated through grammatical transposition and merging together with the non-metaphorical نطق ‘uttered’ as the phrase ‘orchestrated this campaign’. This utilizes the stock metaphorical ‘orchestrated’ in a fairly standard political collocation with suitably negative connotations: ‘orchestrate a campaign’. The word ‘orchestrated’ is thus initially fairly non-prominent, but is subsequently revitalized (Section

9) by the subsequent development of the ‘orchestra’ metaphor.

In TT2, ‘similarly discordant notes have been struck’ translates ST **تكاثرت الاقوال المماثلة** (TT1: ‘similar and corresponding statements have proliferated [...] on the discordant tune’) (cf. superscript 3). TT2 utilises the stock phrasal metaphor (idiom) ‘strike a note’, but adds the stock metaphorical ‘discordant’. The effect, together with the previous ‘orchestrated’, is to revitalize all these metaphors.

The ST musical metaphor **العازفين** ‘players’ (superscript 2) is translated in TT2 as ‘minor players’. The addition of ‘minor’ is motivated by the fact that TT2 has changed the status of the Americans from orchestral conductor (**الميسـتـرو** the maestro), to musical arranger (cf. ‘orchestrate’ in its basic non-metaphorical sense) or to political fixer (‘orchestrate’ in the relevant metaphorical sense). It also, however, introduces a double interpretation for ‘player’. On the one hand, ‘player’ can be seen as a stock metaphor (cf. the vogue usage, Section 5.1, ‘political player’), whose basic non-metaphorical correspondent is ‘player’, i.e. ‘one who plays [a game]’ – though with further reflected meaning from ‘player’ in the sense of ‘actor’ (perhaps itself to be regarded as metaphorical of ‘player’ in the basic ‘one who plays’ sense). In this context, however, where a general orchestral metaphorical image has been established, ‘player[s]’ also carries some reflected meaning of ‘one who plays an instrument’.

The following two TT2 metaphors have been significantly toned down. The ST has **ينتظمون ضمن التخت الموسيقي** (TT1 ‘formed part of the orchestra’) (superscript 5) and **ينتظمون ضمن الكورس المواكب** (TT1 ‘formed part of the accompanying chorus’) (superscript 6). These become most immediately in TT2 the non-metaphorical ‘members of the alliance’ (superscript 4) and the stock metaphorical ‘stood by applauding’ (superscript 5). The general motivation for this downtoning is that English TT2 has already reached a point of metaphorical

‘saturation’; any further powerful metaphors coming so close to the previous congruent metaphors would render the text stylistically odd, and perhaps somewhat comic.

Additionally, the previous TT2 use of ‘players’ in the stock metaphorical sense of ‘political agents/actors’ would make further metaphorical usages along the lines ‘formed part of the orchestra’ (TT1, superscript 4), or ‘formed part of the accompanying chorus’ (TT1, superscript 5) metaphorically incongruent. Even if ‘players’ were given a metaphorical interpretation with respect to a more basic sense ‘player on an instrument’, a subsequent formulation along the lines ‘formed part of the accompanying chorus’ would be metaphorically incongruent: one cannot both be part of the orchestra (a ‘player’) and a member of the accompanying chorus.

TT2 downtones the metaphors, avoiding major problems of congruence. A degree of metaphorical incongruence is in fact retained in TT2; if one is a minor player (superscript 2), whether in a musical or an acting sense, one is not likely to be simultaneously applauding (superscript 5), since this implies membership of the audience rather than the performing group. For a number of reasons, however, this incongruence is relatively non-prominent. Firstly, the complex, and somewhat obscure, metaphorical status of ‘players’ reduces the effect of potential subsequent metaphorical incongruence. Secondly, TT2 has the non-metaphorical ‘members of the alliance’ (superscript 4) intervening between ‘players’ (superscript 2) and ‘stood by applauding’ (superscript 5) reducing the sense of metaphorical association between these two phrases. Also important is the emphatic structure of TT in the larger phrase ‘whether they were actually members of the alliance or merely stood by applauding US actions’. The word ‘actually’ can be seen as translating ST نفسه (TT1 ‘itself’). TT2 ‘Merely’, however, has no direct correspondent in the ST; its introduction into TT2 in combination with ‘actually’ serves to highlight the contrast between ‘members of the alliance’

and ‘stood by applauding US actions’. This use of explicit contrastive devices helps to de-focus issues of connotative (metaphorical) incongruence, and play up the contrasting denotative senses of the two phrases. Finally, the phrase ‘stood by applauding’ in TT2 has the object ‘US actions’, which has no direct correspondent in the ST (cf. TT1 ‘formed part of the accompanying chorus’, superscript 5). ‘US actions’ provides a further non-metaphorical connection to the stock metaphorical ‘stood by applauding’ reducing the metaphorical prominence of that phrase.

TT2 ‘discordant voices’ (superscript 7) for ST *الالحان النشاز* (TT1 ‘discordant melodies’) utilizes ‘voice’ in the stock metaphorical sense of ‘written or spoken expression, as of feeling, opinion, etc.’ (*Collins English Dictionary*). There is a high degree of metaphorical congruence between ‘voice’ and ‘discordant’. The use of ‘these [discordant voices]’ in TT2 provides co-referentiality with ‘discordant notes have been struck’ (superscript 3), which is underlined by the lexical repetition of ‘discordant’ in the two phrases. The ST similarly has *النشاز* (‘discordant’) twice (superscripts 3, 8). The slight metaphorical incongruence between ‘discordant notes [...]’ (superscript 3) and ‘discordant voices’ (superscript 8) in TT2 does not noticeably interfere with the acceptability of the text.

TT2 ‘reached a crescendo’ (superscript 6) is a stock metaphor, and echoes other usages which are relatively common in political writing (e.g. ‘a crescendo of criticism’). There is a high degree of metaphorical congruity between ‘reached a crescendo’ and the preceding ‘[discordant] voices’. A more direct translation of ST *تسارعت* (superscript 6), such as the non-lexicalized TT1 metaphor ‘became quicker’) would convey very little in English. One would perhaps need to recast the entire ST clause *ثم تسارعت الالحان النشاز* (TT1 ‘then the subsequent discordant melodies became quicker’) along the lines ‘the pace/tempo of such criticisms has recently increased’ in order to retain the ST vehicle of speeding up. The replacement of the

ST speed metaphor by the TT2 crescendo one does not, however, involve significant translation loss.

ST الأعمال النشاز (TT1 'discordant/recalcitrant actions', superscript 8) is replaced in TT2 by the non-metaphorical 'violent actions'; there is loss both of the metaphor, and of the conceptual and textual link in the ST between the use of النشاز (*al-našaaaz*) 'discordant/recalcitrant' here and immediately before (superscript 7). TT2 to some extent compensates for this: there is a degree of structural parallelism between '[these discordant voices] have recently reached a crescendo', and 'have given rise to increasingly violent actions', as well as alliteration and assonance involving elements of these two clauses: most strikingly, perhaps, the sentence-initial '[these] discordant voices' and the sentence-final 'violent actions' share word-final *ant/ent* ('discordant', 'violent').

The use of 'violent actions' in TT2 ensures that TT2 effectively terminates the 'orchestra' metaphorical image sooner than TT1. 'Violent' in TT2 may be regarded as having a metonymical aspect to it; the actions themselves may not in fact be directly violent, but they are the kind of actions which are oriented towards violence. This interpretation is favoured by the subsequent development of the text; the ST goes on to talk about the افتراءات (TT1 'fabrications') TT2 'allegations', and هجومها التعسفي (TT1 'its arbitrary attack'; cf. superscript 9), TT2 'abusive tones'. What is intended is clearly not a physical attack, but a political offensive. TT2 'violent attacks' thus serves to shift the topic to the less metaphorical discussion which follows in the next sentence.

In this section of text beginning فلم يمض وقت طويل (TT1 'It was not long before') TT2 'Now', and ending ورئيسها (TT1 'and its leader') TT2 'the PLO in general', TT2 exhibits a fairly dramatic recasting of ST material. Of specific interest are a general emotional downtoning

in the TT; ST افتراءات (TT1 ‘fabrications’) becomes TT2 ‘allegations’, ST هجومها التعسفي (TT1 ‘its arbitrary attack’) is shifted to the somewhat less emotive TT2 ‘abusive tones’. Here ‘tone[s]’, used in the sense ‘general aspect, quality or style [of something said or written]’ (cf. *Collins English Dictionary*) is a stock metaphor (tending towards a dead metaphor) in relation to ‘tone’ in its basic ‘sound’ sense, but has only a weak textual connection with the previous ‘orchestra’ metaphors, with which it is congruent. The emotive downtoning of the English TT2 in this section, while only partially connected to metaphor, parallels the general metaphorical downtoning in TT2.¹³

As noted, the final two ST metaphors, بنك (TT1 ‘bank’, superscript 11), and رصيد (TT11 ‘available funds’, superscript 10), are severely toned down in TT2, where they are combined into the single phrase ‘lost [...] credit’ (superscript 10,11). The metaphorical force of this is very weak in English, and it is best regarded as a dead metaphor. If a more obviously financial metaphor in English were used here, it would be likely to result in an unacceptable sense of mixed metaphor coming so soon after the extended musical metaphor. The ST, by contrast, is quite acceptable.

In this section and Section 9, I have considered some ways in which metaphors interact in text. Arabic seems to tolerate a greater degree of metaphorical exuberance and density than English, at least in certain types of writing, and is perhaps also more tolerant of metaphorical

¹³ Other changes in this section of TT2 fall outside the central concern of this paper, having to do with concision and structural elegance in English, rather than with metaphor. Thus, the overall ST phrase قوامه المساواة، على صعيد هجومها التعسفي، بين منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ورئيسه (TT1 ‘whose basis, on the level of its arbitrary attack, was the equivalence between the PLO and its leader’) becomes the relatively concise TT2 ‘whose abusive tones are directed not only against Arafat but against the PLO in general’.

mixing. As elsewhere, however, my intention here is not so much to make specific claims about Arabic in relation to English, but through taking a particular case study to suggest the general applicability of these notions to translation analysis regardless of the language pair involved.

The features which I have looked at in sections 9 and 10 are, of course, not the only textual aspects of metaphor. I have already noted (Section 7), for example, ways in which intertextual features such as quotation (e.g. John Donne's 'No man is an island') may have an influence on metaphor effect. I have, however, picked out textual features in this section (as with features generally in this paper) which I believe are central for understanding metaphor. These contrast with, for example, intertextual features (e.g. the fact that 'No man is an island' is a well-known quotation), which apply to metaphor and non-metaphor alike, and which I have accordingly excluded from focal consideration.

11. Recapitulation: the Full Model

For the Full Model, a number of dimensions need to be recognised for metaphoricality. These yield all the categories established in the Simplified Model, as well as other categories which are excluded from that model for the sake of simplicity and on the grounds of their relative unimportance in more practical terms. The account I have presented of *parole*-oriented aspects of metaphor (sections 9 and 10) is fairly informally framed. I shall not therefore attempt to distinguish a Full-Model version of this from a Simplified-Model version. Rather, I will focus entirely on the more developed and more *langue*-oriented aspects of metaphor discussed in sections 2-7. The following are the major dimensions of metaphor described in those sections:

Figurative-specific dimensions

1. *Topic, vehicle, sense/grounds*, and suggested non-basic likeness relationship between topic and vehicle (to establish the basic notion of metaphor): *discrete categories*.
2. Lexicalization vs. non-lexicalization: *discrete categories (but with fuzzy boundary in particular between non-lexicalized metaphors and non-metaphors)*.
3. Schematicity (extent to which metaphors fit into metaphoric schemata): *non-schematic→highly schematic continuum*.

Non-figurative-specific dimensions

4. Reflected meaning, and degree of prominence of vehicle, as function of general conceptual hierarchies: *weakly-reflected→strongly-reflected continuum*.
5. Perceived recency of metaphor (?); *non-recent→very-recent continuum*.
6. Technicality vs. non-technicality; *non-technical→highly technical continuum*.

I shall take each of these dimensions in turn. Dimension 1 is described in Section 2, and revised in Section 3, to take account of the fact that in the case of lexicalized metaphor, rather than a grounds-proper, one has a secondary sense which functions either as a real grounds or a pseudo-grounds. Dimension 1 is possibly not only metaphor-specific, but more generally figurative-specific. That is to say, the topic, vehicle, sense/grounds model might be applicable to at least some other figures of speech apart from metaphor. Take the case of metonymy. We may define metonymy as reference to an entity through the use of a word or phrase which more basically refers to something associated with that entity, rather than to the entity itself. Thus in the metonymic ‘the bourbon-on-the-rocks wants a refill’ (= the person who is drinking a bourbon-on-the-rocks wants a refill; cf. Cooper 1986: 112), the topic – or referent – is the person referred to as ‘the-bourbon-on-the-rocks’; the vehicle is ‘[the] bourbon-on-the-rocks’; the operative relationship is one of contiguity, rather than likeness, as in metaphor; and the grounds might specify what kind of contiguity relationship is operating in this context.

Dimension 2, lexicalization vs. non-lexicalization, provides the basis for this distinction between grounds and sense. Dimension 2 is figurative-specific (rather than being merely metaphor-specific); any figure of speech may be lexicalized or non-lexicalized. Thus ‘the crown’ in the sense of ‘monarch/monarchy’ is a lexicalized metonymy. ‘Bourbon-on-the-rocks’ as a reference to an habitué of a bar is a non-lexicalized metonymy. Dimension 2 describes what are in principle discrete categories: metaphors are either lexicalized or non-lexicalized. However, in practice there may be cases where it is not clear whether a particular metaphor is lexicalized or non-lexicalized. In the case of lexicalized metaphors, the boundary between what is and is not metaphorical is also itself unclear (fuzzy) (cf. Section 3).

Dimension 3, schematicity, is discussed in Section 7. As noted there, schematicity can be applied to both lexicalized and non-lexicalized metaphors. It is particularly important in the case of the latter. In the case of lexicalized metaphors, schematicity is only likely to become prominent (and therefore important in translation terms) in metaphorically dense sections of text where non-lexicalized metaphors are also involved, and where metaphorical congruence or non-congruence (metaphor mixing) becomes an issue. Schematicity is not a discrete category but operates on a continuum from non-schematic to highly schematic: different schemata may be more or less strongly represented in different languages.

Dimensions 4-6 are not specific to figurative language, and are applicable also in other domains. They are, however, central to an understanding of how metaphor works, and need therefore to be taken into consideration in a model for metaphor analysis.

Dimension 4, reflected meaning, in fact comes very close to being figurative-specific, and is most clearly evidenced in metaphor itself (although it is, of course, also apparent in other

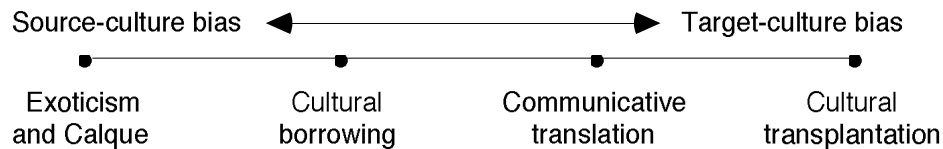
figures of speech, such as the metonymic ‘bourbon-on-the-rocks’, above). I have argued (Section 1.1) that reflected meaning is a function of general – and perhaps universal – conceptual hierarchies. It is suggested that physical objects, for example, are universally likely to be regarded as more conceptually basic than behavioural patterns or psychological states. Linguistically, this is reflected in the fact that ‘rat’ (= person who deserts his friends or associates, etc.) is regarded as metaphorical of ‘rat’ (= murine rodent), but ‘rat’ (= murine rodent) is not regarded as metaphorical of ‘rat’ (= person who deserts his friends or associates, etc.). It is possible, of course, that such conceptual hierarchies are not universal (or not entirely universal). In this case, researchers would be faced with the daunting task of drawing up different categorizations for different cultures (or at least different culture-groups).

Dimension 5, perceived recency (Section 5.1), is perhaps somewhat dubious as a category. I have, however, retained it here, since it is necessary for Newmark’s category of recent metaphor. Metaphors may be more or less recent (or perceived as more or less recent). That is to say, recency is a continuum, rather than a matter of discrete categories.

Dimension 6, technicality (Section 7), is important, if only because it in practice eliminates (highly) technical terms as a problem in terms of metaphor translation. Metaphors denoting such terms will almost certainly need to be translated by the appropriate TL technical term, regardless of the metaphorical status of this term. Technicality is a matter of degree (a continuum).

Four of the six dimensions which I have identified here (schematicity, reflected meaning, recency and technicality) are described in terms of continua. Such continua may be intrinsically focalized; if not, they are extrinsically focalizable. What I mean by intrinsically focalized continua are continua along which one can identify relatively well-defined nodes around

which examples tend to cluster; i.e. examples tend to fall into natural if somewhat fuzzy classes (sets). An example of an intrinsically focalized continuum might be the following (from Dickins, Hervey and Higgins 2002: 29) representing cultural choices in translation:



Here, the categories presented seem fairly ‘natural’; my experience in applying them to Arabic>English translation, at least, suggests that there are relatively few examples which fall indeterminately between the named categories on the continuum.

In other cases, continua may be much less ‘naturally’ focalized; in these cases the analyst will need in practice to extrinsically focalize the continuum; i.e. divide it up into categories which have no obviously natural basis, but are at least workable. It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider which of the continua I have identified are intrinsically focalized, and which are only extrinsically focalizable.

12. Conclusion and prospects

I have focused in this paper on categories which I believe are either intrinsic to metaphor analysis, or more generally to the analysis of figurative language, or which are essential to metaphor analysis although they have more general application in language analysis.

I have left out of consideration features of linguistic and textual analysis which may be of relevance to particular metaphors (or even all metaphors), but which have a clearly much wider domain of application across linguistic or textual analysis. Thus, register is an important

feature in dealing with the translation of metaphor. However, this is a feature which applies to all aspects of language equally. It is not specific to metaphor, and I have therefore excluded it from the models which I have developed.

I have in the main applied the models developed in this paper to Arabic>English translation. Other language pairs (or even English>Arabic translation) might have resulted either in greater prominence being given to issues which I have regarded as fairly marginal, or in the need to develop additional analytical sub-models not considered in this paper.

A final issue of importance which I have virtually ignored is the translation from non-metaphor into metaphor, or even, in principle, \emptyset (no linguistic element at all) into metaphor (cf. Toury 1995: 83). As has been seen (Section 10), (Standard) Arabic may be much more metaphorically exuberant and dense than English. It is, however, frequently notably less idiomatic; that is to say, in many kinds of writing Standard Arabic typically uses markedly fewer idioms (semantically unanalysable or only partially analysable phrases) than English. (Standard Arabic here contrasts with colloquial Arabic dialects, in which idioms are very frequently used.) This marked tendency towards non-idiomaticness is probably a reflection of the fact that Standard Arabic is a formally learned, rather than acquired, language, and thus has no native speakers in the strict sense of the term. One function of idioms is to add an emotive element to the text. One might therefore expect English idioms (whether metaphorical or not) to sometimes be translated into Arabic metaphors (either single-word lexicalized metaphors, or non-lexicalized metaphors) in order to retain this emotive element. It would be worth examining English>Arabic translations to see if this is the case.

I have established two models for metaphor translation in this paper: the Full Model and the Simplified Model. To the extent that the Full Model is adequate for at least aspects of

metaphor analysis, it should be applicable for theoretical academic investigations of metaphor and metaphor translation.

More interesting, perhaps, are the potential applications of the Simplified Model, which I have suggested might be used particularly in translation teaching. In general, I believe that translation students derive benefits from any models which provide reasonably soundly based insights into those aspects of language which are important in translation: the competent analysis of textual material sharpens language awareness and contributes towards better translation. More particularly, however, I believe that the models presented here might be used to focus on specific issues. In the case of Arabic>English translation, for example, students typically have great difficulty in producing idiomatic translations of metaphorically dense and exuberant Arabic texts, of the *منذ اللحظة* 'Since the American maestro' type discussed in Section 10; the tendency is either not to downplay the ST metaphors sufficiently in the TT, or to introduce new elements into the TT which are insufficiently motivated.

Making use of the Simplified Model, in particular, students could be specifically trained in dealing with metaphorically dense and exuberant Arabic STs through: (i) teaching of the Simplified Model and principles of metaphor downtoning in Arabic>English translation; (ii) a range of graded exercises extending from simple analysis of Arabic STs and acceptable English TTs, through partial translation of omitted key elements in otherwise complete English TTs of Arabic STs, to full translation into English of densely and exuberantly metaphorical Arabic STs.

I have only touched on other figures of speech, such as metonymy and synecdoche, in this paper. Some of these figures are likely to involve considerable analytical overlap with metaphor (for example, metonymy and synecdoche both involve reflected meaning – whereas more

linguistically peripheral figures of speech such as irony and hyperbole do not). However, I believe that these other figures of speech also raise other, quite distinct, issues. I have similarly not attempted to include symbolism (cf. Dobrzynska 1995) or allegory in my analysis. Again, I believe the issues involved, both theoretical and translational, make these rather different from metaphor, and worthy of distinct treatment.

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