

MASTER'S FINAL DISSERTATION

TRANSLATING METAPHOR IN POLITICAL NEWS:

A BIDIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS

(ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

Vanessa Johnson

Master's Degree in Specialized Translation

Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Advisor: Bartolomé Mesa Lao

February 2018

ABSTRACT

This descriptive translation study examines metaphor translation within the journalistic realm by using political news articles and their translations to determine if the methods EN>ES translators tend to use when translating metaphors in this context differ from the methods ES>EN translators tend to use, and to what degree. The framework for classifying the metaphor translation methods was based on methods identified by previous authors in addition to a new method discovered over the course of this study. It was found that the most commonly used metaphor translation methods did in fact differ between the two different linguistic combinations. By analyzing the results, this study suggests that the metaphor translation method used when translating political news articles is not a matter of linguistic necessity imposed by one particular linguistic combination or the other, but rather a choice the translator makes after taking into account a variety of target-text based factors.

KEYWORDS: conceptual metaphor, descriptive translation studies, journalistic translation, metaphor translation, translation methods

1. Introduction

If you were to ask someone where you could find a metaphor, they would probably suggest you peruse a poem or a book. What many people don't realize is that we all use metaphors in our day-to-day language, regardless of our age, education level, profession, cultural background, or mother tongue. In fact, metaphors are an essential part of the way humans think and understand the world around us, even though oftentimes we are not even aware that we're using them. Take something as simple as talking about the weather. Imagine that you hear that temperatures will climb later this week. You know that the temperature is not a physical thing with arms or legs with which to "climb," but you understand that the temperature will increase without recognizing that "climbing" is a metaphor for "increasing." Or what if someone is cold to you, or extends you a warm welcome? These things have nothing to do with the temperature; we understand cold to mean lacking in affection and warm to mean affectionate. Truly, metaphors are everywhere, once you start to look.

This has been common knowledge in academic circles for years. Lakoff and Johnson clearly demonstrated that metaphor, which they define as "understanding and

experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003:5), abounds in everyday language in their highly influential book *Metaphors We Live By*, first published in 1980. Nevertheless, more than 35 years later, most translation studies continue to consider metaphor in purely literary contexts. The present study breaks with this tradition, although it is certainly not the first to do so, by studying political news articles. This type of text provides a fertile landscape for finding metaphors and studying how they are translated. It’s interesting to keep in mind that a mistake in this context could have a huge impact on the target audience’s perception of political figures and current events. Translation mistakes could lead to libel cases or to dangerous misunderstandings between nations.

This study’s bidirectional focus makes it possible to compare the ways that translators handle the task of metaphor translation in different linguistic combinations. The majority of translation studies seem to consider only one translation direction, so this study will provide a new perspective. The objective of this study is to determine if the methods EN>ES translators tend to use when translating metaphors in political news articles differ from the methods ES>EN translators tend to use, and to what degree. The flow of this paper will allow us to examine metaphors and metaphor translation through the lens of previous works before embarking on a new study that illuminates and analyzes the different methods translators employ to transfer metaphors from English to Spanish and vice versa in political news articles.

2. Literature Review

Lakoff and Johnson’s groundbreaking work *Metaphors We Live By* turned our understanding of metaphor on its head. The authors made a complete break from the traditional idea of metaphor as a tool writers intentionally employ for stylistic or decorative purposes and revealed that, in fact, we all use metaphors in ordinary, everyday language without even being aware of it. What’s more, they present a clear and convincing argument that metaphors are not merely a linguistic phenomenon but actually exist in the conceptual realm, that is to say that they inform and structure the very way humans think and understand the world.

Lakoff and Johnson classify these conceptual metaphors into three main types: structural, orientational, and ontological. Here are some examples they give:

Structural metaphor

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Examples in everyday language:

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

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

(Lakoff and Johnson 2003:4)

Here, the conceptual understanding of war is mapped onto our conceptual understanding of argument. It's important to recognize that not only do we *talk* about argument in terms of war using language, we actually understand and experience it that way: we think of ourselves *attacking* and *defending* our ideas *against* the other person, and we believe an argument can be *lost* or *won*.

Oriental metaphor

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

Examples in everyday language:

My spirits *rose*.

You're in *high* spirits

He's really *low* these days.

I *fell* into a depression.

Physical basis: Drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state.

(Lakoff and Johnson 2003:15)

As seen here, the authors argue that orientational metaphors stem from physical and cultural experience.

Ontological metaphor

THE MIND IS A MACHINE

Examples in everyday language:

We're still trying to *grind out* the answer to this equation.

My mind just isn't *operating* today.

I'm a little *rusty* today.

(Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 27)

This type of metaphor helps us understand nonphysical entities or concepts by thinking of them in terms of something concrete we have experience with in the physical world.

It is difficult to overstate the influence these ideas have had on linguistics. However, the book does have its shortcomings. For one, Lakoff and Johnson fail to use examples from actual sources; the only examples presented are ones that the authors have thought up in their heads, and as a result perhaps they fit too neatly into the concepts defined. Furthermore, they claim that conceptual metaphors go deeper than language and actually structure the way humans think about reality, but they do not attempt to show the existence of conceptual metaphors in any language other than English. Therefore, their claim that they have discovered a concept that exists beyond or outside language is actually only explored within the confines of one language.

However, these criticisms can be easily refuted by later studies that were inspired by Lakoff and Johnson's ideas, studies that have proved the overwhelmingly pervasive nature of conceptual metaphors in real contexts and in multiple languages. Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphors continues to be useful as it allows us to recognize the existence of metaphors that we are usually unaware of. In the present study, conceptual metaphors account for a large portion of the metaphors identified in political news articles.

In his book *Approaches to Translation* (Newmark 1981), Newmark identifies five types of metaphor and seven procedures for translating metaphors, listed in order of preference. The five types of metaphors he identifies are dead, cliché, stock, recent, and original. These categories exist on a spectrum ranging from dead metaphors, which have been fully incorporated into everyday language and therefore people are not usually aware of their metaphorical nature, to original metaphors, which are just coming into the language for the first time and are therefore unfamiliar and highly recognizable as metaphors.

Newmark's seven procedures for translating metaphors are as follows:

1. Reproducing the same image in the TL
 2. Replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image which does not clash with the TL culture
 3. Translation of metaphor by simile, retaining the image
 4. Translation of metaphor (or simile) by simile plus sense, or occasionally metaphor plus sense
 5. Conversion of metaphor to sense
 6. Deletion
 7. Translation of metaphor by the same metaphor combined with sense
- (Newmark 1981:81-91)

Many authors have found Newmark's ideas about metaphor to be very useful for their own studies, but his theories do have certain limitations. First of all, the five types of metaphor he proposes are not clearly defined and therefore have limited usefulness. He himself describes cliché, one of his categories, as "a murky area between dead and stock metaphor" (Newmark 1981:87). It is difficult to see how a "murky" classification would help elucidate our understanding of metaphors. He also states that dead metaphors "are sometimes brought to various degrees of life" (Newmark 1981:86), and that "many stock metaphors are cliché" (Newmark 1981:86). Judging from these statements, it seems that a metaphor can go from one classification to another, or be in two classifications at the same time. I would argue that this imprecise system of classification defeats the purpose of categorizing the metaphors at all. Indeed, in this study, I have chosen not to muddy the waters with attempts to classify metaphors into different categories.

Another seeming inconsistency Newmark presents is his treatment of dead metaphors. On the one hand, he claims that "dead metaphors are no part of translation theory, which is concerned with choices and decisions, not with the mechanics of languages" (Newmark 1981: 86). However, in the context of translation, the fact that a metaphor is dead in one language doesn't mean it is dead or even that it exists in the other language, so surely when a translator comes across a dead metaphor he or she will need to make a "choice" or "decision" regarding how to translate it. Oddly enough, Newmark also says, citing Gombrich (1978), that "dead metaphors, i.e. literal language, are the staple of accurate translation" (Newmark 1981:84), and that "it has been said that three-quarters

of the English language consists of *used* metaphors” (Newmark 1981:85). The ideas that dead metaphors are highly common and essential for accurate translation seem to suggest that they would be worthy of consideration in translation theory, which is consistent with my decision to include them in the present study. Indeed, most of the metaphors identified in the current study are what Newmark would call dead, as the reader would normally bypass them without even realizing they were metaphors.

Newmark’s seven methods of translation also invite criticism. First, as Samaniego Fernández (2013) points out, by ordering the methods in order of preference, Newmark asserts that some methods are preferable to others, but does not state any reasons for these preferences and does not consider how the context surrounding the target text could influence the translator’s decision regarding the translation method best suited to the purpose of the text. Furthermore, he does not provide any concrete evidence of his methodology in action as he includes no real data (Samaniego Fernández, 2013). That said, other authors (see Alvarez, 1993) have performed further studies demonstrating the utility of his methods in actual cited examples of metaphor translation. Finally, Toury has argued that source text-based perspectives, including Newmark’s, are missing information. He summarizes the methods given by Newmark and similar authors into four methods, and then points out that

“When proceeding from the *target text*, the four basic pairs listed above immediately find themselves supplemented by two inverted alternatives where the notion of ‘metaphor’ appears in the *target* rather than the source pole; as a *solution* rather than a *problem*: (5) non-metaphor *into* metaphor (6) 0 *into* metaphor (i.e., addition, pure and simple, with no linguistic motivation in the source text” (Toury 1995:83).

Despite these faults, Newmark’s methods are highly present in the literature surrounding metaphor translation and they deserve recognition as an important stepping stone that has led both to numerous studies and to other, more complete theories. I will not be heeding his advice regarding the categorization of metaphors or his claims that dead metaphors are not worthy of investigation in translation studies, but I will make use of his seven source text-based methods, along with Toury’s two target text-based possibilities, to build the translation method classification system for this study.

In her 2013 article “The impact of Cognitive Linguistics on Descriptive Translation Studies: Novel metaphors in English-Spanish newspaper translation as a case in point,” Samaniego Fernández gives us a detailed overview of how the treatment of metaphors in translation theory has evolved over time, from *prescriptive*, source text-based approaches that dictate how metaphor *should* be translated (including Newmark’s contribution), which are often accompanied by the traditional view of metaphor as a literary, stylistic figure of speech, to the modern, *descriptive* approaches that refrain from making judgments on how a translator should do their job, which mostly recognize the prevalence of metaphor in everyday language. Samaniego Fernández strongly favors the descriptive approach, stating that “The proper task of translation theory would not be to specify how metaphor should be translated, but to describe and account for actual renderings of metaphors” (Samaniego Fernández 2013:164). She also emphasizes that the translator has to analyze the context and communicative purpose of the target text when making translation decisions (Samaniego Fernández 2013:168), a further argument against a prescriptive structure in which some methods are always better or worse than others, regardless of the context or purpose of the target text. It’s important to note that she follows the methodology of descriptive translation studies by assuming that a source text (ST) and target text (TT) are equivalent and describing the way that this equivalence has been achieved (Samaniego Fernández 2013:175), for this is also how the present study is conducted.

Samaniego Fernández’s paper presents a descriptive study carried out with a target text-based approach that analyzes novel (or original) metaphors that appear in Spanish TTs of news articles, looking at what material in the English ST matches them (including the possibilities Toury hypothesized about, namely that metaphors found in the TT could correspond with non-metaphors in the ST or could even come from nothing). The results show “a small percentage of original creation of novel material in the TTs. This means that, as Toury had pointed out, translators do create their own textual material” (Samaniego Fernández 2013:186). The present study will present additional evidence of translators employing Tour’s two methods of metaphor translation.

In an article titled *Metaphor and Culture* (Kövecses 2010), Kövecses studies conceptual metaphors (as defined by Lakoff and Johnson) that exist across multiple languages.

Noting that there are thousands of languages in existence today, to avoid claiming any metaphor is “universal,” he instead suggests that some conceptual metaphors may be “near-universal or potentially universal” because there is some “universal bodily experience” that led to their common development in languages that are geographically and linguistically dissimilar (Kövecses 2010:199-200). For example, “spatial relations are commonly understood as parts of the human body (e.g., the head means up and the feet means down)” (Kövecses 2010: 202), which gives us the English examples of a showerhead or the foot of a mountain.

Nevertheless, although all humans have shared physical experiences, different linguistic groups may choose to focus on different aspects of those common experiences when creating metaphors. Kövecses argues that metaphor creation stems partly from our physical experience or “embodiment” and partly from “context” or our local culture (Kövecses 2010: 204). Humans’ common physical experiences lead to similarities in metaphor creation, while culture and context lead to unique or dissimilar metaphor creation. He looks at two ways that metaphors vary: cross-culturally and within a single culture. First, cross-culturally, he distinguishes between congruent metaphors and alternative metaphors. Congruent metaphors are extremely general, for example AN ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, which is a metaphor he states may be near-universal. By taking this conceptual metaphor without specifying the kind of container, the kind of substance in it, or other details, “the metaphor constitutes a generic schema that gets filled out by each culture that has the metaphor” (Kövecses 2010: 208). For example, in English, anger is a liquid in a pressurized container (consider the phrase *he makes my blood boil*), while in Chinese, anger is a gas in a pressurized container, which is related to the Chinese idea of *qi* (Kövecses 2010: 208, citing Yu 1998). In this case, the general metaphor is shared but the two languages diverge when it comes to the specifics of the general metaphor.

Another thing that can happen is a case in which two languages share some metaphors mapped onto a single concept (English and Chinese: happiness is UP, LIGHT, FLUID IN A CONTAINER) but not others (Chinese but not English: happiness is flowers in the heart). Here, the English and Chinese conceptual metaphors for happiness overlap but are not entirely identical. Kövecses calls the non-shared mapping an alternative metaphor.

Apart from cross-culturally, metaphor use also varies within a culture in a number of dimensions including social (e.g., men and women use different metaphors), regional, style (as determined by audience, topic, setting, medium), subcultural, and individual. Finally, metaphors can serve to bring intertextual or intratextual coherence, by either linking different texts together (e.g., recurring metaphors in different chapters of the Bible) or linking different ideas together in the same text, respectively.

Although Kövecses's argument that common human experiences lead to shared metaphors that exist in multiple, unrelated languages is convincing, it seems far-fetched to call these shared metaphors "near-universal" when the most languages he cited with the same metaphor was seven, which does not seem to be a significant percentage of the thousands of languages that are spoken today. Nevertheless, he is successful in demonstrating the existence of common metaphors across certain languages.

Kövecses goes back and forth between showing us how metaphors can lean towards universality, then conversely detailing what makes metaphors different, not just from language to the next but also within the same language. This exploration of both the overlap and the divergence of metaphors offers a combination of perspectives that have been put to use in the present study of metaphor translation. For example, the existence of what Kövecses calls near-universal conceptual metaphors would explain why Newmark's first method of metaphor translation (Reproducing the same image in the TL) is valid. We will also see evidence for Kövecses's theory of congruent metaphors, as we will find general metaphors that are common to both English and Spanish but are expressed differently in each language.

In her article "What corpus linguistics can tell us about metaphor use in newspaper texts" (Krennmayr 2015), Krennmayr presents a study that employs corpus linguistics to investigate the use of metaphor in news articles. First, metaphors in news articles were compared to metaphors in other types of discourse: fiction texts, academic texts, and conversations. Krennmayr mentions that of these, fiction texts are often assumed to contain more metaphor than the other types. However, the study showed that "contrary to what might be expected based on intuition, newspapers count more metaphors than fiction texts and conversation but fewer than academic writing" (Krennmayr 2015:536).

The study explains this common misconception by indicating that signals such as similes, which alert the reader to the presence of a metaphor, are twice as frequent in fiction as in newspaper texts (Krennmayr 2015: 536). In news articles, metaphors tend to be unmarked so they are more likely to go unnoticed by the reader.

In another part of the study, newspaper articles were classified into three types: “‘hard news’ (commerce section and world news), ‘sciences’ (natural, social, and applied sciences) and ‘soft news’ (arts and leisure)” (Krennmayr 2015: 541). The study showed that hard news contained “‘significantly more metaphors’” than sciences and soft news. This once again goes against the common intuition that soft news would have more metaphors. Krennmayr explains that “‘hard news is more abstract than soft news and may thus need more metaphors to explain complex situations and concepts to the non-expert reader’” (Krennmayr 2015: 541).

The present study benefits from her evidence that metaphors occur more often in news than in fiction and more often in hard news (including world news) than in other types of news. These findings reinforce the relevance of my decision to study the translation of metaphor in political news articles rather than in literary texts or soft news articles.

3. Methodology

To conduct the present study, first the political news articles that were to comprise the corpus were selected, based on the criteria that they should be political news articles (as distinguished from general news reports or editorials) published in both English and Spanish. Two EN>ES articles were chosen from *The New York Times* website (English and Spanish editions) and two ES>EN articles were chosen from the *El País* website (Spanish and English editions). These sources were chosen due to their high levels of readership: *The New York Times* has the third highest circulation in the U.S. (Top 15 U.S. Newspapers By Circulation 2017) and *El País* is Spain’s most read newspaper (excluding *Marca*, a newspaper dedicated to sports), according to Spain’s General Media Study (AIMC 2017). All in all, the corpus included eight articles: four originals and four translations.

Following the selection of the articles, the next step was to identify the metaphors and their equivalents. This was a two-fold process: first, the metaphors in the source text and their equivalents in the target text were identified, then a target text-focused approach was adopted to identify metaphors in target text and their equivalents in the source text that were not included in the previous phase. Metaphors were identified based on the definition of metaphor as a case when one thing is understood in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson 2003). Cases of personification (e.g., “if the response is perceived to be too meek” [Article 2]) and metonymy (e.g., “Britain voted last year” [Article 2]) were not considered to be metaphors. Furthermore, countries and regions were not considered metaphorical containers (e.g., “In Catalonia” [article 1]), as countries and regions do exist in the physical realm. However, understanding institutions as a container (“outside the European Union” [article 1]), time as a container (e.g., “in 1975” [Article 2]), or activities as a container (e.g., “in interviews” [article 1]) were considered metaphors.

Once the metaphors and their equivalents were identified, they were then classified according to the metaphor translation methods expounded by Newmark (Newmark 1981:81-91) and Toury (Toury 1995:83), along with one additional category. This new category was created during the study when it was discovered that, in three of the four articles included, there were cases that illustrated a metaphor translation method that did not fit into any of the pre-defined categories. This method was denominated “Same underlying metaphor, different image.” Table 1 shows a few examples.

Table 1: Examples of metaphor translation method “Same underlying metaphor, different image.”

Source text	Target text	Underlying metaphor	Article
Catalonia would thrive	Cataluña florecería (Catalonia would flower)	REGIONS ARE PLANTS	1

Whether this wave of nationalism will awaken old demons in Spain	<p>si esta nueva ola nacionalista en España desatará demonios dormidos por mucho tiempo</p> <p>(whether this new nationalist wave in Spain will unleash demons that have long been asleep)</p>	LATENT EMOTIONS/MEMORIES/IDEAS ARE SLEEPING DEMONS	2
with its warm cloak of identity as well as its concomitant dangers	<p>ayuda a cobijarse en una identidad pero también conlleva peligros</p> <p>(helps [people] take refuge in/wrap themselves up in an identity but also carries dangers with it)</p>	IDENTITY IS SOMETHING THAT PROVIDES PROTECTION FROM THE COLD	2
ha llegado el momento (the moment has arrived)	the momento has come	TIME IS A MOVING THING	4

In the first case, the underlying metaphor is the same (REGIONS ARE PLANTS), but in English the plant is “thriving”, meaning “to grow vigorously”, while in Spanish the plant is “flowering”. Clearly, the images produced here are different: in both cases Catalonia is a plant that is alive and well, but in English there is nothing that would suggest that it has flowers. In the second example, the underlying metaphor is the same (LATENT EMOTIONS/MEMORIES/IDEAS ARE SLEEPING DEMONS), but in English the demons are “awakened” while in Spanish the demons are “untied” or “unleashed” (verb *desatar*); producing two distinct images. In the third case, in English, identity is a warm cloak, while in Spanish, identity is something you can wrap yourself in or take refuge in (*cobijarse* can have both of these meanings). These two images are similar (IDENTITY IS SOMETHING THAT PROVIDES PROTECTION FROM THE COLD), but the English version refers to the noun, a “cloak,” while the Spanish refers to the action, “wrapping oneself up” or “taking refuge,” thus providing a different

image. Another aspect worthy of note is that a cloak is normally associated with the actions of being worn and being taken off, and this image of identity as a piece of warm piece of clothing that can be put on and, especially, *removed*, is quite different from the image of identity as something to wrap around oneself or, especially, *to take refuge in*. In the final case, the underlying metaphor is the same (TIME IS A MOVING THING), but in Spanish the moment has “arrived,” while in English, the moment has “come”. This may appear to be small difference, but it is clear that the translator decided not to translate the sentence literally despite the fact that doing so would follow conventions of language (“the moment had arrived” sounds perfectly natural in English). By choosing instead to use the word “come,” the translator changes the metaphorical image as the focus is shifted from one moment in time, the arrival, to the journey (“has come”). The existence of this new category —“Same underlying metaphor, different image”— is consistent with Kövecses’s ideas about congruent metaphors, wherein two languages share general metaphors (what I have called underlying metaphors) but express them in different ways. Once this category was included in the classification system, there were 10 possible categories under which the translation methods could be classified, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Metaphor Translation Method Classification System.

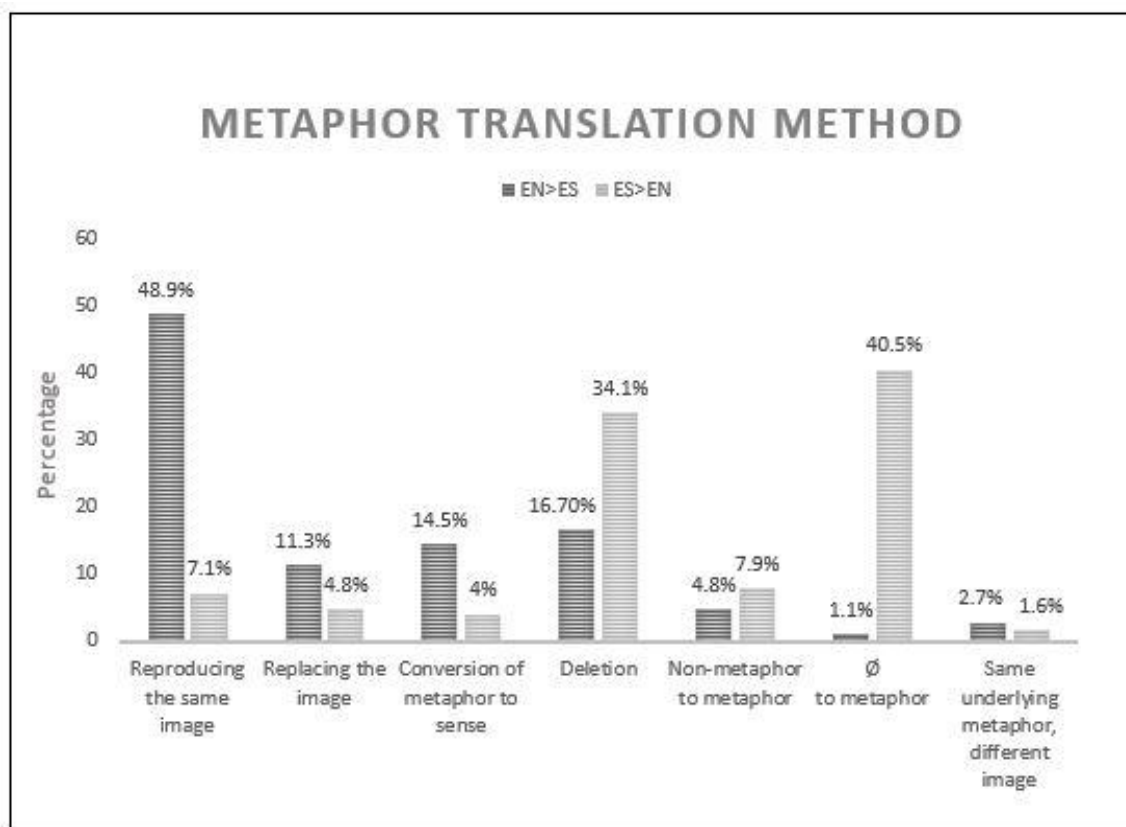
Metaphor Translation Method	Author
1. Reproducing the same image in the TL	Newmark 1981:81-91
2. Replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image which does not clash with the TL culture	
3. Translation of metaphor by simile, retaining the image	
4. Translation of metaphor (or simile) by simile plus sense, or occasionally metaphor plus sense	
5. Conversion of metaphor to sense	
6. Deletion	
7. Translation of metaphor by the same metaphor combined with sense	

8. Non-metaphor into metaphor	Toury 1995:83
9. Ø into metaphor	
10. Same underlying metaphor, different image	

4. Results

The metaphors and their equivalents were identified and the metaphor translation methods were classified. The results can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Frequency at which metaphor translation methods were used.



The first aspect to mention is that only seven of the ten methods included in the classification system appear in Figure 1. The reason for this is that three of Newmark’s seven methods (just under half) were not employed in any of the articles: “Translation

of metaphor by simile, retaining the image,” “Translation of metaphor (or simile) by simile plus sense, or occasionally metaphor plus sense,” and “Translation of metaphor by the same metaphor combined with sense.” The fact that this study found no cases of simile being used in metaphor translation is consistent with Krennmayr’s studies, which find that the use of signals such as similes to alert the reader to a metaphor are not nearly as common in newspaper texts as it is in fiction (Krennmayr 2015:536). This is not to suggest that the use of simile is not a viable translation method, but this study does confirm that it is not one that’s commonly used in the translation of political news.

Interestingly, one of the holes that Toury (1995:83) spotted in Newmark’s conception of metaphor translation that proved to be minimal but existent in Samaniego Fernández’s study when she found a “small percentage” of Ø to metaphor translations (Samaniego Fernández 2013:186) is much more prominent here. In the ES>EN articles, this method (that Newmark failed to identify) was used 40.5% of the time, making it the most widely used method for this linguistic combination, followed by deletion with 34.1%.

The extremely high occurrence of “Ø to metaphor” and “Deletion” in the ES>EN texts (one or the other was used to translate metaphors almost 75% of the time) reveals a phenomenon that became clear early in the study: the information contained in the Spanish versions of *El País* articles differs substantially from that of their English counterparts. Much of the information present in the source texts is not present in the target texts: not only were metaphors deleted, entire paragraphs have disappeared. Likewise, the target texts introduce a variety of information not present in the source texts — not just metaphors but entire paragraphs, including quotes, appear out of thin air. In these cases, it’s important to remember that we understand the source and target text as equivalents. The methodology of descriptive translation studies assumes that a ST and TT are equivalent and describes the way that this equivalence has been achieved (Samaniego Fernández 2013: 175). Thus, text deletion and text creation are admissible translation methods, and, in fact, here they are the most commonly used methods for ES>EN metaphor translation. Both text deletion and text creation also occurred in the EN>ES translations, but to a lesser degree.

This study has revealed a shortcoming in the classification used by Toury, who contributed two important categories to Newmark’s metaphor translation methods but

failed to identify all metaphor translation methods. As mentioned above, the present study required the creation of the “Same underlying metaphor, different image” category; however, there may be many more metaphor translation methods that are as yet unidentified. In this study, there were two cases that did not seem to fit exactly into any of the categories, which we will call “Anomaly 1” and “Anomaly 2,” which can be seen in Table 3 and Table 4, respectively.

Table 3: Anomaly 1.

Source text	Target text	Article
<p>Turull avisó que la Generalitat “no se moverá” (Turull warned that the Generalitat “will not move”)</p>	<p>Jordi Turull [...] warned that Catalan authorities will not budge one inch from their position</p>	<p>4</p>

This metaphor seems to partially fit into two of the categories we have identified plus a new category. First, it seems to partially fit into the “Same underlying metaphor, different image” category. The common underlying metaphor is CHANGING ONE’S ARGUMENT IS MOVING ONE’S POSITION (based on the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor), but the image of not moving is different from the image of not budging because budge implies there is an outside force acting on the object, while simply moving does not. It also seems to partially fit Newmark’s “Same metaphor combined with sense” method (which was not actually used in any of the translations included in the study) because of the inclusion of “from their position” as an explanation. Thus, it seems fit into a new category because it “Intensifies the original metaphor” by including the phrase “one inch,” which does not correspond to linguistic material in the source text. Therefore, this method might have own category called “Same underlying metaphor, different image + intensification.” However, as it was the only one of its kind, it did not merit its own category and was classified as “Same underlying metaphor, different image.”

Table 4: Anomaly 2.

Source text	Target text	Article
<p>no tenía aritméticamente ninguna posibilidad</p> <p>(arithmetically, it had no possibility)</p>	<p>only a remote possibility</p>	<p>4</p>

In Table 4, Anomaly 2 shows a method that fits into the category “non-metaphor to metaphor” (the possibility is not literally physically far away or “remote”), but it may seem important to mention that there is a change in meaning. In the source text, there is absolutely no possibility, and in the target text there *is* a possibility, albeit a very unlikely one. A category called “non-metaphor to metaphor + change in meaning” might be created to describe this metaphor translation method. However, as in the previous example, this would be a category of one and therefore the category was not created.

5. Conclusions

These two cases of anomalies show that the metaphor translation techniques that have heretofore been identified do not comprise an exhaustive list. Further investigation may reveal any number of additional categories. This fact highlights the vast creativity of translators, whose actions are not confined by the conceptual systems translation theorists may build. For this reason, it is informative to carry out descriptive studies such as this one to study how translations actually are and rather unhelpful to suggest how they should be.

This bidirectional analysis of metaphor translation in political news has illuminated discoveries as well as new questions. It found that the most frequently used metaphor translation methods were different in the two linguistic combinations. In the EN>ES texts, “Reproducing the same image” dominated with 48.9% (the next most frequent was “Deletion” with 16.7%), while in the ES>EN texts, the most frequently used method was “Ø to metaphor” (40.5%), closely followed by “Deletion” (34.1%). It is worth mentioning that both linguistic combinations used the same seven metaphor

translation methods (excluding the two anomalies previously mentioned), despite the fact that the methods were used in different frequencies.

In the EN>ES translations, one method (“Reproducing the same image in the TL”) clearly dominates all the others in a way that is consistent with Newmark’s classification and preferences. At first glance, it might seem that the translator maintains the image if possible, and if not, chooses another method further down the list. However, that is not supported by the evidence, as seen in Table 5.

Table 5: A case of the metaphor translation method “Replacing the image.”

Source text	Target text	Article
they have very little idea	no tienen una idea clara (they do not have a clear idea)	1

Here, instead of choosing to replace the metaphor with a different metaphor, the translator could have reproduced the same image with the phrase “*tienen muy poca idea*,” [they have very little idea] which, according to Newmark, would have been “preferable.” Why did the translator choose to change the metaphor? We can see that it wasn’t due to a linguistic necessity.

In the same way, the use of the “Deletion” method does not indicate that the translator was unable to translate the metaphor by other means, as its position at the bottom of Newmark’s list might suggest. While one method that stood out from all the rest in the EN>ES texts, there were two methods that shared the spotlight in the ES>EN texts: “Ø into metaphor” (40.5%) and “Deletion” (34.1%). It’s important to note that these two methods seem to go hand in hand in the ES>EN texts. As text was deleted in the source text, other text in the target text was created to replace it, and since metaphor permeates language (often without us being aware of it), text creation means metaphor creation.

On 26 September 2017, *El País* published a short article entitled “About the EL PAÍS English Edition” that gives us some insight into how the English articles are created. Although the article does not mention that some of the information present in the original Spanish articles is not included in the English version, it does state that, in the English Edition, the “Spanish version of the publication is translated into English and

with added context and explanation.” This is consistent with the work of Krennmayr, who says that metaphors can be used “to explain complex situations and concepts to the non-expert reader” (Krennmayr 2015:541). However, it’s also important to point out that not all of the cases of text creation in the ES>EN translations were attributable to explaining the contents of the source text. In fact, new information was sometimes added to the target text. In article 4, there is a direct quote from politician Pablo Iglesias in the target text, but the source text not only does not include the quote, it fails to mention Iglesias’s name at all.

One factor that may affect the translations of political news is time. In some cases, the target text may not be published the same day as the source text (see articles 1 and 4). Since political news is expected to be up-to-date, this time lag could play a role in some of the translator’s decisions to delete or create text. However, Article 3 was published on the same day in both languages, and the top two metaphor translation methods for that article alone were still “Deletion” and “Ø into metaphor.”

The findings of this study suggest that translators weigh a number of factors when making translation decisions; it is not merely linguistic factors that are taken into account but also the purpose of the target text and its audience, journalistic criteria, the translator’s stylistic preferences, etc. Therefore, the differences this study reveals in the metaphor translation methods employed in the two different linguistic combinations may not have much to do with the languages themselves. As we’ve seen, translation methods are *chosen by the translator*, not dictated by linguistic necessity. This serves as a reminder of the many roles a translator fulfills in addition to the linguistic one.

Due to the limited nature of this study, which only uses one source for each linguistic combination, it is impossible to know if these trends are in fact reflective of translation norms dependent on the linguistic combination or if they are merely reflective of the translation norms of a single institution (*El País* or *The New York Times*). Additional studies of metaphor translation methods used in other newspapers could elucidate this question. There were also a limited number of texts included from each source; the findings of this study should not be considered definitive. Instead, this study is valuable in the way it has identified interesting trends in metaphor translation in political news

and described new methods of metaphor translation observed in real examples, opening the door to further investigation.

References

- ‘About the EL PAÍS English Edition’ (26 September 2017), *El País*. Available online at [https://elpais.com/elpais/2013/04/09/inenglish/1365510477_811322.html] (accessed 11 November 2017).
- Alvarez, Antonia (1993) ‘On translating metaphor’, *Meta*, 38(3): 479-490.
- Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación (AIMC) (2017). *Estudio general de medios (EGM) Año móvil febrero a noviembre 2017: Resumen general*. Available online at [<http://www.aimc.es/a1mc-c0nt3nt/uploads/2017/05/resumegm317.pdf>] (accessed 11 November 2017).
- Biber, Douglas (1988) *Variation across speech and writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Biber, Douglas (1989) ‘A typology of English texts’, *Review of Linguistics*, 27(1): 3-43.
- Gombrich, Ernst (1978) *Mediations on a hobby horse*. London: Phaidon.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson (1980) *Metaphors we live by*. 2nd ed. (2003). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Newmark, Peter (1981) *Approaches to translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. Available online at [<https://www.docdroid.net/9ahy/approaches-to-translation-newmark.pdf#page=205>] (accessed 11 November 2017).
- Kövecses, Zoltán (2010) ‘Metaphor and culture’, *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, 2(2): 197-220.
- Krennmayr, Tina (2015) ‘What corpus linguistics can tell us about metaphor use in newspaper texts’, *Journalism Studies*, 16(4): 530-546.
- Samaniego Fernández, Eva (2013) ‘The impact of cognitive linguistics on descriptive translation studies: Novel metaphors in English-Spanish newspaper translation as a case in point’, in Ana Rojo and Iraide Ibarretxe-Antuñano (eds.) *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation. Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications*, 159-198. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. Available online at [<https://0-www.degruyter.com.catalog.uoc.edu/view/product/186336>] (accessed 11 November 2017).

'Top 15 U.S. Newspapers by Circulation' (2017), *Agility PR Solutions*. Available online at [<https://www.agilitypr.com/resources/top-media-outlets/top-15-daily-american-newspapers/>] (accessed 11 November 2017).

Toury, Gideon (1995) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Yu, Ning (1998) *The contemporary theory of metaphor: A perspective from Chinese*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Articles included in the study

Article 1:

Barry, Ellen (3 October 2017) 'Catalans Who Did Not Vote (More Than Half) Ask: What Now?', *The New York Times*. Available online at [<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/03/world/europe/catalonia-independence-referendum.html>] (accessed 11 November 2017).

Barry, Ellen (4 October 2017) 'Los catalanes que no votaron se preguntan: "¿Y ahora qué?"', *The New York Times*. Available online at [<https://www.nytimes.com/es/2017/10/04/los-catalanes-que-no-votaron-se-preguntan-y-ahora-que/>] (accessed 11 November 2017).

Article 2:

Kingsley, Peter and Raphael Minder (5 October 2017) 'Catalonia Separatism Revives Spanish Nationalism', *The New York Times*. Available online at [<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/world/europe/catalan-independence-referendum.html>] (accessed 11 November 2017).

Kingsley, Peter and Raphael Minder (5 October 2017) 'A la par del independentismo catalán, en España revive el nacionalismo', *The New York Times*. Available online at [<https://www.nytimes.com/es/2017/10/05/cataluna-espana-independentismo-nacionalismo/>] (accessed 11 November 2017).

Article 3:

Ríos, Pepe (6 November 2017) 'Ciudadanos, PSC y PP hablarán de acuerdos después del 21-D', *El País*. Available online at [https://elpais.com/ccaa/2017/11/05/catalunya/1509912591_764356.html] (accessed 11 November 2017).

Ríos, Pepe and Camilo Baquero (6 November 2017) ‘Catalan parties cagey on coalition question as electoral deadline looms’, trans. by George Mills, *El País*. Available online at [\[https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/11/06/inenglish/1509965552_970046.html\]](https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/11/06/inenglish/1509965552_970046.html) (accessed 11 November 2017).

Article 4:

Baquero, Camilo and Àngels Piñol (18 October 2017) ‘La prisión de Sánchez y Cuixart da oxígeno al independentismo’, *El País*. Available online at [\[https://elpais.com/ccaa/2017/10/17/catalunya/1508229944_368994.html\]](https://elpais.com/ccaa/2017/10/17/catalunya/1508229944_368994.html) (accessed 11 November 2017).

Piñol, Àngels (19 October 2017) ‘Imprisonment of Catalan Independence leaders gives movement new momentum’, trans. by Susana Urra, *El País*. Available online at [\[https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/18/inenglish/1508311241_706221.html\]](https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/18/inenglish/1508311241_706221.html) (accessed 11 November 2017).