TRANSLATING CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN MANDELA'S *LONG WALK TO FREEDOM*: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON

by

AMANDA BLOSSOM BULELWA NOKELE

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DECLARATION

Student number: **0670-382-8**

I declare that this thesis entitled

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ABSTRACT

Since the publication of the seminal work by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a), *Metaphors we live by*, countless research has been done on metaphor. This research was conducted because, in the past, metaphor was considered a deviant and poetic device that could be used only by those who were skilful. These scholars offered another view: metaphor is a matter of thought. They showed that linguistic metaphor is the manifestation of conceptual metaphors that are in our subconscious mind and are found in every day language. In other words, metaphors are a revelation of how we think. Linguists and translation scholars claim that it is a challenge to translate metaphor. The main objective of this study is to determine how conceptual metaphor theory can contribute towards the development of translation in African languages. The study seeks to identify conceptual metaphors in Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom,* which was written in English, and then analyse how these were translated into isiXhosa and isiZulu. This implies that this study involves a corpus. In identifying metaphors from the source text a Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU), which was conceived by Steen and his colleagues at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, was used (Steen et al 2010). ParaConc concordancer was used to investigate and compare how the metaphors were translated. The results showed that most metaphors were translated the same way in isiXhosa and isiZulu, which implies that the translators conceptualised the metaphors in the same way. These results revealed that the translators' styles were similar. This confirms the fact that the two languages are related. As scholars in earlier research indicated, metaphors in translation pose a problem, yet the translators of Mandela's book successfully met this challenge. They were able to render the metaphors in their respective languages in an acceptable manner. They tried to adhere to the style of the source text writer, but traces of their own style are evident in the texts.

Key terms

Cognitive approach, conceptual metaphor, metaphor translation, translation strategies, decision-making, corpus-based translation studies, multilingual parallel corpus, alignment, metaphor identification, style.

ISISHWANKATHELO (ISIXHOSA)

Ukusukela kupapasho lwencwadi eyaza nodumo eyabhalwa nguLakoff noJohnson (1980), zingangeentwala kubaThembu izifundo zophando ezisekelwe kwisikweko ezithe zaqhutywa. Unobangela walo mdla ungaka ngowokuba ngaphambili isikweko sasithathwa njengesagwelo sokuhombisa intetho kwaye oku kwakunokwenziwa kuphela ngamaciko avunyiweyo. Ezi ngcali zeza nembono entsha yokuba izikweko ezisetyenziswa entethweni zisekelwe kwindlela esicinga ngayo, zingumfuziselo wezikweko zengqiqo. Izikweko zengqiqo ke azifumaneki entethweni okanye kwiimbalo zikwingqiqo yomntu kuphela. Iingcaphephe zolwimi nezoguqulo zibanga ukuba akulula ukuguqula izikweko zolunye ulwimi uzise kolunye. Eyona njongo ingundoqo kolu phando kukufumanisa ukuba itheyori emalunga nezikweko zengqiqo inganagalelo lini ekuphuhliseni uguqulo lweelwimi zesiNtu. Olu phando ke ngoko lujolise ekuchongeni izikweko zengqiqo kwincwadi kaMandela ebhalwe ngesiNgesi ukuze emva koko luphendle indlela eziguqulwe ngayo kwinguqulelo yesiXhosa nakweyesiZulu. Oku kuthetha ukuba olu phando lusekelwe kusetyenziso lwengqokelela yamaxwebhu ebizwa ngokuba yikhophasi. Ekuchongeni izikweko kwincwadi yentsusa kusetyenziswe inkqubo ebizwa ngokuba yiMetaphor Identification Procedure (MIPVU), eyasungulwa liqela labaphandi (Steen et al 2010) abakwiyunivesithi iVrije Universiteit eseAmsterdam. Zakube zichongiwe ezi zikweko kuye kwafunyaniswa indlela eziguqulelwe ngayo esiXhoseni nakwisiZulu kwaze kwathelekiswa inguqulelo yesiXhosa neyesiZulu. Ekufumaniseni nasekuthelekiseni inguqulelo yezikweko kuye kwasetyenziswa isixhobo sohlalutyo sekhompyutha esibizwa ngokuba yiParaConc concordancer. Iziphumo zolu phando zibonise ukuba uninzi lwezikweko luguqulwe ngendlela efanayo esiXhoseni nakwisiZulu, nto leyo erhesha ukuba abaguquli bacinga ngendlela efanayo nokuba isimbo sabo sokubhala siyelelene. Oku kukwangqina ukuzala phakathi kwezi lwimi. Njengoko iingcali zibonisile kuphando lwangaphambili ukuba kungumngeni ukuguqula izikweko, ubuchule nezakhono ezisetyenziswe ngabaguquli zenze banakho ukujongana nemingeni yokuguqulela izikweko zengqiqo ezikwisiNgesi kwiilwimi zabo. Kwakhona njengoko le ncwadi iyiothobhayografi, imbali yobomi ebhalwe ngumnniniyo, abaguquli abemkanga kuyaphi kwisimbo sombhali,

iinguqulelo zabo zithande ukukekelela kwesombhali naxa apha naphaya ziphushuluka iimpawu zesimbo sabo.

IQOQA (ISIZULU)

Kusukela kwashicilelwa umsebenzi wocwaningo wawoLakoff noJohnson (1980) sekwenziwe imicwaningo eminingi kakhulu ngesingathekiso. Lokhu kwabangelwa wukuthi esikhathini esedlule isingathekiso sasithathwa njengesu lokusebenzisa ulimi ngendlela ehlukile, ngolimi lobunkondlo, elisetshenziswa kuphela yizingcweti. Laba bacwaningi beza nombono wokuthi isingathekiso siwumcabango. Babonisa ukuthi ukusebenzisa isingathekiso ngokolimi kuwukuveza izingathekiso ezisengqondweni yomuntu angenalwazi ngazo, ezitholakala olimini esilusebenzisa nsuku zonke. Ngamanye amazwi ziyisibonakaliso sendlela esicabanga ngayo. Izazi zolimi nabacwaningi emkhakheni wezokuhumusha bathi kuyinselelo ukuhumusha isingathekiso. Ngakho-ke inhlosongqangi yalolu cwaningo wukuthola ukuthi ithiyori ngezingathekiso ezisengqondweni ingasiza kanjani ekuthuthukiseni ukuhumusha ngezilimi zase-Afrika. Kulolu cwaningo kuhlolwa izingathekiso ezisengqondweni yomuntu ezitholakala emqulwini olotshwe ngempilo kaMandela, owalotshwa ngesiNgisi wahunyushwa ngesiXhosa nesiZulu. Kuhlaziywa indlela ezihunyushwe ngayo ngalezi zilimi. Lokhu kusho ukuthi wucwaningo olugxile emibhalweni. Ukuhlonza izingathekiso olimini okususelwe kulo (isiNgisi) kusetshenziswe indlela yokutomula izingathekiso eyasungulwa ngoSteen nozakwabo eNyuvesi yaseVrije e-Amsterdam, indlela ebizwa ngokuthi i-Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (i-MIPVU). Uhlelo lwekhompuyutha olusetshenziselwe ukuqhathanisa izingathekiso nokuhlaziya indlela ezihunyushwe ngayo lubizwa ngokuthi i-ParaConc. Imiphumela yalokhu kuhlaziya ibonise ukuthi iningi lezingathekiso lihunyushwe ngendlela efanayo ngesiXhosa nesiZulu, okusho ukuthi ukucabanga kwabahumushi ngezingathekiso ezisetshenzisiwe kuyafana. Le miphumela iveza nokuthi izitayela zalaba bahumushi ziyafana. Lokhu kufakazela khona ukuthi kukhona ukuhlobana kulezi zilimi ezimbili. Njengabacwaningi abalwaziyo ucwaningo lwaphambilini ngokuthi ukuhumusha izingathekiso kuyinselelo, laba bahumushi basebenzise ubuciko babo ngempumelelo. Bakwazile ukuthola izingathekiso ezamukelekile ezilimini zabo. Bazamile ukulandela isitayela sesiNgisi, nakuba kunobufakazi besitayela sabo njengababhali.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the study:

CMT: Conceptual Metaphor Theory

CTM: Contemporary Theory of Metaphor

CTS: Corpus-based Translation Studies

DTS: Descriptive Translation Studies

GDX: The Greater dictionary of Xhosa/IsiXhosa

MRW: Metaphor-related word

MRW-impl: Implicit metaphor-related word

MRW-indirect: Indirect metaphor-related word

OED: Oxford English dictionary

SL: Source Language

ST: Source Text

TL: Target Language

TT: Target Text

TT1:   IsiXhosa

TT2:   IsiZulu

Please note:

In this study the generic 'she' is used to refer to translators in general and 'he' is used when referring to the specific translators under investigation.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to and rationale behind the research problem

Autobiographies are regarded as "privileged sources of knowledge" and experience, which renders them an excellent topic for enquiry (Olney in Rooke 2004: 41). *Long Walk to Freedom* is an autobiography that was written by Nelson Mandela when he was in Robben Island prison. This book was chosen for this study, firstly, since it is about Nelson Mandela, a prominent national figure, a freedom fighter, a symbol for reconciliation and the first black president of South Africa (Nokele 2014: 78). Such an important figure is an interesting subject on which to conduct research. As a political figure his writings or utterances are worth analysing. This autobiography can be regarded as a history book since it tells about important events in South African history. Honey (2006: ii) comments that it is not only a history book but a "milestone in South African history". Rooke (2004: 47) argues that autobiographies are selected for academic enquiry because of their "documentary value and historical interest", which justifies this study. Because the book contains important knowledge, it attracts modern readers globally. To illustrate this point, in this autobiography Mandela is not only telling a story about himself, he is also narrating about the African National Congress (ANC) and other leaders like Sisulu, Tambo, Kathrada, Maharaj and Sobukwe. In his narration, he shares sensitive information which, under normal circumstances, would never be accessible to the public. Adding to that, the ANC is the most popular democratic movement in South Africa, which took over from the apartheid government. Such information about the political struggles in South Africa attracts international readers irrespective of background.

Autobiographies pose a challenge to translators because they are intimate texts, which require the translator to transfer the spirit of the author in the target text (Brierley 2000). In a sense, the translators have to undergo a kind of transformation and present themselves as the original author. In addition to this, Newmark (1991: 33) purports that "the more challenging the source language, the more subtle and delicate will be the new 'mix' of units of

meaning". Reporting on how he dealt with problems he encountered in his translation of this book into isiXhosa, Mtuze (2003: 147-149) affirms that Mandela used unfamiliar words and expressions. This confirmation and the fact that it is difficult to translate autobiographies were an inducement for the researcher to study the translations of *Long Walk to Freedom.*

Most important for this study is the translation of conceptual metaphor. Metaphor, in general, has been widely debated as a translation problem. Mtuze (2003: 146) confirms this in his article when he says:

> idioms, metaphors and culture-bound terms and expressions are always problematic especially because, invariably, one struggles to find suitable equivalents or approximations in the target language.

He attests that he was not always successful in transferring the meaning to the target text. In light of the facts mentioned above, it is evident that translators who were commissioned to translate this book into isiXhosa and isiZulu and other languages were faced with a big challenge. It is therefore legitimate to discover how they successfully addressed the challenges. Since metaphor is a cognitive phenomenon this study investigated the implications of cognitive linguistics in metaphor translation.

Although it is not the focus of this study, it is important to note that Mandela did not write his autobiography alone. In his narration Mandela mentioned that the idea of writing about himself came from his colleagues. He also stated that when he started writing in prison he would give the manuscript to Sisulu and Kathrada who would in turn suggest changes where necessary. When the book was finished, they hid the manuscripts, but certain parts of that original copy were discovered and confiscated by the prison authorities. The copy that is under scrutiny was written in collaboration with Richard Stengel, an American writer and then manager of Time Magazine.   It can be assumed, therefore, that some of the metaphorical expressions that are found in the book are of Stengel's creation.

1.2   Research problem

Traditionally, metaphors were viewed as decorative or poetic devices. Then Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) and, later, other cognitive linguists like Kövecses (2003), Tendahl (2009) and others, posited that there is more to metaphor than just being decorative. They maintained that it is a cognitive phenomenon. Results yielded by a literature search indicate that a considerable number of studies have been done on conceptual metaphor in Europe since the ground-breaking publication by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a). This work also had an influence on translation studies. Metaphor is now viewed from a cognitive perspective and not only as an ornamental device. When looking at the research that has been accomplished in Southern Africa, we find that not much work has been performed on conceptual metaphor in African languages, let alone its translation. This study seeks to explore the translation of conceptual metaphor and how cognitive linguistics can be useful in describing translation processes and products in African languages.

As mentioned, limited research has been conducted on the translation of conceptual metaphor in African languages. The question that can be asked therefore is: How can the cognitive theory of metaphor contribute to the theory of translation in African languages? The research questions to be considered in this thesis will be addressed in the following section.

1.3   Research questions

This study considered the following research questions:
- Which metaphors can be found in the Source Text (ST), Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*? Cognitive linguists argue that metaphor is ubiquitous in language, so this study seeks to determine how far this ubiquity is reflected in selected parts of the ST and to which type of conceptual metaphors they can be linked.
- How have these metaphors been rendered in the Target Texts (TTs)? The study will explore the types of strategies used by the translators of the ST when they dealt with these metaphors.

- How are the translations similar or different? IsiXhosa and isiZulu are sister languages which belong to the Nguni language family. However, translators are unique individuals with different styles of writing. By comparing the translations of the two languages, the study will show the differences or similarities between their writing styles and the two languages. These questions determine the aims of this study as listed below.

1.4   Aims of study

In view of the research problem and questions, the aims are summarized as follows:

Primary aim

- To investigate the conceptual metaphors found in the English source text and to explore how they were rendered in the isiXhosa and isiZulu target texts.

Secondary aims

- To determine the differences and/or similarities between the two translations
- To explore the decision-making process and also to determine the translator's individual style with regard to metaphor and its translation. How they rendered the metaphors in the target language will expose how they understood and interpreted the source text metaphors

By achieving these aims, the study will shed more light on the complexities faced by translators when dealing with autobiographies in general and conceptual metaphors in particular. It is hoped that it will contribute to existing knowledge about conceptual metaphors in South African languages and how they can be translated. The analysis of the translations will uncover the decision-making process and the norms that guided the translators' strategies.

1.5   Delineating the study

The study does not investigate the challenges of translating an autobiography or whether the translators succeeded in conveying the spirit of Mandela in the target languages. Instead, it concentrates on the identification and translation of

conceptual metaphor in the book. To this end it gives attention only to the selected parts of the book, which are Part Eight, 'Robben Island: The dark years' (*Isiqithi: Iminyaka yobunzima* [IsiXhosa]; *ERobben Island: Ifu elimnyama* [IsiZulu]) and Part Nine, 'Robben Island: Beginning to hope' (*Isiqithi: Ukuqala kwethemba* [IsiXhosa]; *ERobben Island: Kuyantwela ezantsi* [IsiZulu]). These two sections were selected because they deal with Mandela's life in prison. Twenty-seven years in prison is a long time and an interesting topic to explore. Because of the volume of the book, it would have been a mammoth task to identify metaphors in the entire book. The metaphor identification procedure selected for the study is also intensive and lengthy, which precluded examining the contents of the entire book. In addressing the question regarding decision-making and the style of the translators, the researcher does not explore the recurrent patterns in the relationship between the ST and TTs (Baker 2000, Malmkjær 2004) since examining style is not the primary aim of the study. Instead, style is viewed based on Reiss's (2000: 174) definition as the "ad hoc selection of linguistic signs and of their possibilities of combination supplied by the language system". Thus, only the choices made by the translators in their rendering of conceptual metaphors are considered.

1.6   Research methodology

The purpose of this section is to outline the procedures followed in this study. The study was directed by the theories of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), Corpus-based Translation Studies, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Metaphor Identification Procedures Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU). The varied approach adopted here was used to query the process of metaphor translation between English, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The key concepts such as DTS, CTS and MIPVU, conceptual metaphor and translation strategies will be explained below.

1.6.1   Descriptive Translation Studies

The translations that are being investigated here were analysed using the principles of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). DTS was conceived by Holmes in the1970s with the aim of establishing translation studies as an

empirical discipline (Brownlie 2011). It emerged as a reaction to the linguistic equivalence-based approach that dominated the discipline earlier. DTS, as the name suggests, aims to describe translation phenomena instead of prescribing how translation should be done. It is mainly target-oriented as it views translations as facts of the target culture (Toury 1995). Toury extended Holmes' vision, coupling it with Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, and introduced the question of norms and laws in translation. These norms served as sign posts that guided translation practice, that is, they informed the strategies employed by translators. Munday (2012) explains that norms are useful in distinguishing trends of translation behaviour. Toury distinguishes between three kinds of norms, that is, initial, preliminary and operational norms. Initial norms have to do with choices made by the translator. She would subject herself either to the source norms or target norms. Preliminary norms are about policies and directness of the translation. Operational norms concern matricial norms, which relate to completeness of text, and textual linguistic norms, which govern the selection of linguistic material. He further proposed the following methodology for describing translation products (Toury 1995: 36-9):

i) Situate the text within the target culture system,
ii) Undertake textual analysis of source text (ST) and target text (TT) in order to identify relationships between corresponding segments, and
iii) Attempt generalisation about patterns identified in the ST and TT

The close examination of the ST and TT uncovers the shifts that occurred during the translation process.

Using these principles, it was possible to identify norms that guided the translators and also to expose the shifts that took place when transferring the ST to TT. This will be illustrated in detail in Chapter 4.

The description of products involves a corpus of source texts and their translations. This therefore takes us to corpus-based translation studies. But, before corpus-based translation studies are discussed, the concept known as 'corpus' needs to be explained first.

1.6.2 Definition of a corpus

Various scholars have provided different definitions of a corpus. In defining what a corpus is Baker (1995: 225) highlights three important points:

i) A corpus is a collection of texts in machine-readable form that can be analysed automatically or semi-automatically.

ii) It is no longer restricted to written texts; it includes spoken texts as well.

iii) It may include a large number of texts from a variety of sources put together for a particular purpose and according to explicit design.

Kenny (2011: 59) simplifies the above and defines a corpus as "a collection of texts that are the object of literary or linguistic study". From these definitions, one can safely say that a corpus is a collection of texts that have been put together for a particular study. These texts can be machine-readable or not, depending on what the researcher wants to accomplish. Other scholars mention that the texts should be authentic (Bowker and Pearson 2002), that is, they must occur naturally and must not be made up by the researcher to suit her/his study (Stubbs in Kenny 2011). Examples of such texts are natural conversations and written texts like newspaper reports and written literature.

There are various types of corpora: monolingual or comparable, bilingual or parallel and multilingual. These are dealt with in detail in Chapter 2 under section 2.3. The next section will attempt to explain corpus-based translation studies.

1.6.3 Corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS)

In the past a translation was judged according to the source text, that is, how close was it to the source text. Later, after realising that languages are different, theorists such as Holmes (1978/2000), Even-Zohar (1979) and Toury (1980 and 1995) opted for a more descriptive approach. Corpus-based translation studies came about as an answer to Toury's call for a transparent and repeatable methodology (Kenny 2011). Granger (2003) attributes this call

to the shift of focus from the source text to the target text. Baker (in Laviosa 2002) realised that corpus linguistics was capable of providing such methodology and consequently corpus-based translation studies was born. She had a vision of compiling corpora with the aim of exploring these in order to uncover patterns that distinguish translations from original texts (Baker in Laviosa 2002; Granger 2003). Corpora have not only been useful in describing translation phenomena, but also in training translators and developing terminologies and dictionaries. More information about CTS is provided in section 2.3 of the literature review in Chapter 2.

In the following section, a description of the metaphor identification procedure followed in this study is provided.

1.6.4   Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit

Since the emergence of the "cognitive turn" in metaphor research, not much research has been performed in identifying metaphor. It is only recently that scholars have taken an interest in finding ways of identifying linguistic metaphor in a text. How this could be achieved posed a challenge because, unlike other parts of speech, metaphor cannot be identified on the surface structure of a sentence as a word on its own. Its meaning is derived from the context in which it appears. This could be the immediate context, that is, the sentence where it occurs, and the wider context, the paragraph or even the whole book. Steen (1999) conceived a method that was to become known as the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) of the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The model was the first explicit and systematic tool for identifying metaphor in authentic texts. Recently Steen and his colleagues at the Vrije Universiteit improved MIP and developed the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) (Steen et al 2010). Because of concerns that were raised by other researchers concerning the earliest model (Heywood et al 2002, Semino et al 2004), MIPVU emerged as a method that addressed those concerns by meeting the generally accepted standard of methodological quality. MIPVU will be dealt with in finer detail in the methodology chapter. The term "conceptual metaphor" is explained in the next section.

1.6.5 Conceptual metaphor

The term "conceptual metaphor" became popular after the publication of the pioneering book *Metaphors we live by* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a). According to Lakoff and Johnson, the linguistic metaphors that we use in discourse are a surface revelation of figures of thought that are in the mind, which they call conceptual metaphors. In other words, they distinguish between a figure of speech, the linguistic expression that we find in normal speech, and the figure of thought, the conceptual metaphor that is not found in normal speech but is only implied (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a: 3-6).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) introduced metaphor as a cognitive entity after it had been viewed as an ornamental device for a long time. Their theory became known as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). It was later developed into Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (CTM) (Lakoff 1993). Proponents of CTM argue that metaphor is a matter of cognition, that is, people understand a concept by using another, thus, metaphor was a conceptual mapping.

1.6.6 Translation strategies

Non-equivalence between the ST and TT requires the translator to possess certain skills that will enable her to carry the message of the ST across. These skills include translation strategies. Translation strategies refer to the manner in which the translator manipulates the ST in order to produce an adequate and acceptable TT. Translation scholars have defined strategies in various ways. For the purpose of this study the definition that is adopted is that of Lörscher (1991 in Kearns 2011: 283) which is "a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem that the individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another". Since the process occurs in the translator's mind, the only way to uncover it is to study the translation product. This study therefore seeks to reveal the procedures or techniques that were followed by the isiXhosa and isiZulu translators in solving the problem of translating a metaphor.

1.7   Organisation of the study

The rest of the study is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 outlines a review of literature that is relevant to this study. It also maps out how translation studies moved from a linguistic/equivalence based approach to translation to a descriptive, corpus-based and later cognitive approach. The contribution of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) scholars and pioneers of Corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS) is summarised. The impact of cognitive linguistics on metaphor and its translation is also sketched.

Chapter 3 focuses on the analytical framework and research procedures that were employed to address the aims of the study. An outline of the English-isiXhosa-isiZulu parallel corpus is provided. Illustrations of the alignment of parallel texts, frequency lists and distributions of words using ParaConc concordance are presented. The metaphor identification procedure used when identifying metaphors is offered.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the discussion and interpretation of findings. In this chapter, the lexical units that were identified as metaphor-related words in the source text are analysed. The strategies used by the translators to transfer conceptual metaphors from English into isiXhosa and isiZulu are scrutinized, and examples are cited from the parallel corpus. The strategies are interpreted using Kövecses's (2010) strategies as guidelines. The translations of the target languages are compared with each other and the motivation behind the choice of words is probed and explained.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the study; it provides a synthesis of the findings and evaluates the contribution of the study to a cognitive approach to the study of metaphor and its translation. Recommendations for future research are presented.

CHAPTER 2
CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

2.1   Introduction

This chapter deals with the theoretical literature relevant to this study in order to establish the necessary basis for the empirical examination that follows. It begins by briefly sketching the development of translation studies as a scientific discipline, from prescriptive theory to descriptive models of translation. Since the study adopts a corpus-based approach, section 2.3 outlines the corpus-based approach to translation studies and provides a synopsis of research accomplished in the field, particularly in African languages. Section 2.4 deals with the relationship between translation studies and cognitive linguistics as well as the treatment of metaphor as a cognitive device. In section 2.5 a brief sketch of what has been done on metaphor identification is provided. Lastly, section 2.6 looks at the problem of metaphor translation.

2.2   Translation studies: past and present

In the past translation was viewed as a purely linguistic phenomenon. It was described in terms of its equivalence to the source text. Equivalence meant being a mirror image of the source text. Translators and theorists focused mainly on reproducing the style and grammatical structure of the original text and the product was evaluated from that perspective. Other extra-linguistic factors that influence the translation process, such as history, culture, social factors, commissioner's brief, etcetera, were not considered. This was challenging because adhering to the style of the author resulted in absurd target texts. Immediately this was realised, there was a shift from this stance and the focus was placed on the receiving audience. For Nida and Taber (1974: 1) this meant making sure that the average receptor was unlikely to misunderstand the message and that the response of the receiving audience was the same as that of the original audience (Nida 2000: 160). This is what they called dynamic equivalence and differed from formal equivalence, which referred to the mechanical reproduction of the formal structure of the original text in the target text. Nida and Taber appreciated that languages are inherently different and therefore it was inevitable that there would be shifts in the target text.

They were also cognisant of the fact that preserving the message of the ST meant changing the original form to suit the TT and target receptor. They stressed that translators should strive for what they called equivalent response. The shift towards meaning is also evident in the four priorities that these scholars viewed as primary in the translation process: context over word form; dynamic equivalence over formal equivalence; the aural form over the written form and forms acceptable to audience over forms that may be traditional and prestigious (Nida and Taber, 1974: 14). This approach received a lot of criticism based on the argument that it is not possible to predict the response of the target audience, since speakers of the same language may have different interpretations of the same text (Hervey and Higgins 1992). This is a valid point, considering that if people from the same speech community can interpret the same text differently, how can one ensure that an audience from a different speech community responds in the same way as the audience of the original text? Although the point about reception of the message had challenges, the move from form to meaning was significant.

Nida and Taber were not the only scholars who saw the need to change the way translation was perceived. There were theorists like Vermeer, the father of *skopos theory*, Reiss, Holz-Mänttäri, Hönig, Kussmaul and Nord, who are known as the pioneers of the functionalist theory. These scholars made an invaluable contribution to the field. Their approach is target-oriented because the translation is primarily for the target reader in a different cultural situation. They described translation as a communicative process that has an aim or purpose, the *skopos,* "which is determined by the needs and expectations of the target text recipient" (Malmkjær 2005: 36). In fact, Malmkjær describes the *skopos* as being "more important in shaping the target text than the form and content of the source text" (2005: 35). According to Schäffner (1998: 235), this means that these theorists propose a "more functional and socio-culturally oriented concept of translation". To illustrate this point, Reiss (2000: 171-3) distinguishes between four types of texts: informative, expressive, operative and multi-medial. Reiss argues that the function of the target text should be compatible with that of the original text. In similar manner to Nord (1991), she argues that before translating the translator should do a text analysis, which will help in establishing the function of the source text. Nord (1991: 72) maintains that it is only by analysing the ST function that the translator can decide which target text (TT) functions will be compatible with the given text.

The idea of analysing the ST is also supported by Hewson and Martin (1991), the proponents of the Variational Approach, who advocate in-depth reading and understanding of the text before embarking on translation. The analysis and understanding of the text can only be achieved if the translator is competent in both the languages she is working with. However, it is possible that the function of the target text may differ to that of the source text, depending on the commissioner's brief and the purpose of the translation. Vermeer (2000: 235) argued that a brief or commission comprises the aim and the conditions under which the aim should be attained. In other words, the purpose of the text determines the translation. The functionalist theory took seriously these factors, which include the culture of the target reader (Schäffner 1998: 236). Taking a closer look at Nida's dynamic equivalence, Newmark's communicative translation and the functionalist approach, it is possible to note some resemblance. Although Nida and Newmark are mostly aligned with the linguistic approaches, their views are target-oriented. The point of departure in all these theories is the source text. Nida's theory, like the functionalists', focused on the function of the text in the target culture.

The functionalists were not the only scholars who criticised the equivalence theory. The Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) school of thought emerged in the 1970s, at more or less the same time as the functionalists. Some scholars refer to this period of development as the 'cultural turn'. These theorists realized that translation was more of an inter- and intra-cultural activity (Gentzler, 1993: 186). Scholars like Holmes, Even-Zohar, Lefevere and Toury, among others, argued that the translation process involved subjectivity on the part of the translator and that there were socio-cultural conditions that had to be considered in the process. These scholars recognised that the focus should not be on how translations should be, but rather on the description of the product, that is, the target text. Thus DTS theorists explored cultural systems that controlled translation. For instance, one of their principal assumptions was that translation is always controlled by the target culture, unlike theorists before them who maintained that translation was controlled by the source system. To support this Toury (1995) maintains that translations always come into being within a certain cultural environment. To this end, DTS theorists posit that "belief structures, social value systems, literary and linguistic conventions, moral norms and political experiences of the target culture always shape translations" (Robinson 1997: 233). That is why DTS is sometimes

referred to as the polysystem approach, a term that was conceived by Even-Zohar (1979). Its main aim was to observe and describe translation processes and products. The interest of DTS scholars was focused on what is specific about translations and their contexts. As an empirical discipline, translation studies aim to describe phenomena and then establish principles to explain their occurrence (Hermans 1999: 29). This can be done by conducting a comparative study of the source text and target text. This implies that DTS analysts examine a collection of original texts and their translations to uncover the set of relationships that are exhibited by the target texts.

Holmes (1978/2000) posits three different kinds of research in DTS: process-oriented, product-oriented and function-oriented. He asserts that each is the result of the other and therefore a translator cannot study one without touching on the other. A product-oriented approach describes existing translations. An investigation into translation strategies, like the present study, is an example of a product-oriented study. The process-oriented approach looks at translations more psychoanalytically (Nokele 2011), with the aim of establishing what happens in the mind of the translator during the translation process. Think-aloud protocols (TAP) and eye tracking are examples of process-oriented research. If decision-making involves cognition, and if translation products are the revelation of a processing that occurs in the translator's mind, then it is safe to argue that decision-making also forms part of the process-oriented approach. It is from that premise that the researcher suggests that this study is process-oriented. Unlike the product- and process-oriented approaches, a function-oriented approach does not describe the actual translation. It is more concerned with the function of the text within the recipient socio-cultural system (Holmes 2000: 184-5). Toury (1995) is of the opinion that translation activities should be viewed as having cultural implications. Translations, therefore, should fulfil a function in the community.

It can be deduced from the above discussion that the translation activity, among other things, should be guided by a set of norms, which determine the suitability of the translation product within a certain cultural environment. Toury (1980, 1995) regards norms as the most important translational aspects in scientific research. He defines norms as:

the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community –
as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into
performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to
particular situations. (Toury 1995: 55)

Toury (1995: 56) then describes translation as a kind of activity, which involves at least two sets of norm-systems on each level. He ascribes two major elements to a translation:

(1) Being a text in a certain language, occupying a position in the appropriate culture or a certain section thereof;

(2) Constituting a representation in that language or culture of another, pre-existing text in some other language, belonging to some other culture and occupying a definite position within it.

Toury (1980: 51-62) distinguishes three types of norms: the initial, the preliminary and the operational norms. In the initial norm, which he regards as the most important, the translator subjects herself either to the original text with the norms it has realized, producing an adequate text, or to the norms active in the target culture, producing an acceptable text. The actual translation decisions involve a combination or a compromise between the two extremes. The preliminary norms concern factors regarding translation policy and the directness of translation. Translation policy guides the translator in terms of the choice of text types, source texts and who (the author) to translate. Directness of translation involves the tolerance and intolerance for translating from mediating languages. Operational norms involve direct decisions made during the translation act. They influence the substance of the text, that is, how linguistic material is distributed, as well as the textual make-up. They govern the relationship between the source texts and the target texts. Toury suggests that in order to find out which norms were at play during translation, the researcher would have to compare the TT to the ST. That is what the researcher attempted to achieve in this study. The ST, *Long Walk to Freedom*, was compared with its translations *Indlela ende eya enkululekweni* and *Uhambo olude oluya enkululekweni*. Toury is not the only scholar who introduced norms in translation. Chesterman (1997) came up with expectancy and professional norms. The expectancy norms correspond with Toury's initial norm in

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that they deal with the receiver's expectancies. The professional norms relate to Nord's (2002) loyalty principle because it requires of the translator a certain degree of loyalty to the original author and the commissioner of the translation. They also account for the translator's behaviour.

As can be seen, translation is a norm-governed process (Toury 1995) that involves decision-making. This is so because translators are always confronted with problems which stem from the different language structures. Wilss (1998, 1999) asserts that decision-making occurs in a context which demands "some form of choice" especially with regard to sentence perspective and idiomaticity. He (1999) maintains that decision-making involves information processing, which entails the translator's cognitive system. This means that the translator's linguistic skills, sociocultural background and knowledge base come into play. When interacting with the source text, formulating the new text, these factors will influence her decision-making. This process takes the translation activity to another level of conceptualisation.

Recently translation has been viewed more and more from a cognitive perspective. Translation scholars are cognisant of the fact that translation is the result of cognitive processing (Albir and Alves 2009). They view translation as involving a complex integration of a variety of cognitive mechanisms (Shreve and Diamond (1997: 246). Some scholars define it more often in terms of re-expression, reconceptualization, or reformulation and there is emphasis on the translator's competence in order to carry out the translation process successfully (Albir and Alves 2009; Dancettte 1997; Katan 2009; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010; Rydning and Lachaud 2010; Wilss 1999).

As these shifts are noticed in terms of how translation is viewed or should be approached, the shift can also be observed in the definition of equivalence. Vermeer (1998: 61) defines equivalence in terms of "contextually sufficient similarity of content between source and target languages". After taking into consideration all aspects influencing translation, DTS scholars view equivalence in terms of the relationship between the ST and TT and as a necessary condition for translation (Kenny 2011; Toury 1980). Taking these opinions into consideration, it is obvious that the description of a translation or TT always involves the ST as

well, even if they are treated equally. If we consider the cognitive turn in translation studies, equivalence involves the translator's conceptualisation of the process which serves "as a contextual constraint on the translational act" based on the translator's knowledge (Halverson 2013: 45). The investigation of the translation strategies and norms that govern them, in this study, shed light on the type of equivalence that prevails between the ST and its TTs. It was possible to determine whether the translators' strategies were guided by the source text or target text norms, which in turn enabled us to comment on the similarity between the texts.

2.2.1   Summary

The discussion above dealt with the overview of the development of translation studies from the prescriptive linguistic-based approaches to DTS and functionalism. In the past, a good translation was expected to be as close as possible to the source text. Because this resulted in skewed products, scholars realised that the target audience should be considered hence the emergence of target-oriented approaches. Among other things DTS advocated for the description of the translation product instead of prescribing how it should be done. The focus of this approach is culture and the norms that guide the strategies that are applied by translators when translating. The functionalist approach emphasised the importance of the translation brief, source text analysis and purpose of the translation. It also highlighted that translators, as media through which the source author speaks, should be competent in the languages in which they work. The question of competency highlights the fact that translation involves mental processes. Thus translation can be considered a cognitive process.

In the next section, research that has been done in corpus-based translation is presented.

2.3   Corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS)

By its nature, translation involves languages, which means it will somehow have links with the different branches of linguistics. Subsequently it has borrowed corpus-based approaches from corpus linguistics. This section, therefore, discusses the relevance of corpus-based research to translation studies and to this research in particular.

Corpus linguistics is a branch of linguistics that deals with the study of language based on corpora (Kenny 2001: 23). It is based on four elements, i.e. data, description, theory and methodology. Texts, which can be in various forms, that is, written, electronic, printed or oral, constitute raw data, which form a corpus. In the past, corpora used to refer to printed texts only, or a set of writings by a specific author. Now it includes oral texts and, with the advent of technology, computerised texts. According to Olohan (2004: 12), corpus linguistics investigates the use of language features. It has over the years become an interdisciplinary field whose aim is "to reach a better understanding of the workings of human language" (Aijmer and Altenberg 1991: 3). Aijmer and Altenberg argue that the use of computerised corpora has proved to be beneficial for linguistic inquiry and has led to the development of sophisticated research methodologies. Corpus-based studies have exploited corpora to analyse lexical items, phrases and grammatical constructions within their sentential contexts. Such studies are significant because they analyse particular constructions in naturally occurring discourse rather than made-up sentences (Biber and Finegan 1991). Biber and Finegan also argue that computerised corpora have provided a platform for the exploration of certain questions that were not in the forefront of linguistic inquiry before. Supporting this notion, Malmkjær (2005) acknowledges the invaluable contribution of corpora. She asserts that it provides massive data to draw on and has allowed researchers to explore relationships between languages in use. It is clear therefore that corpus linguistics has opened up many possibilities for the study of language. To this end, Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 2) asserts that "corpus linguistics aims to describe language use as it is realised in text, thereby giving insights into a text". According to her, it provides:

- an empirical approach to the description of language use;
- it operates within the framework of a contextual and functional theory of meaning; and
- it makes use of new technologies.

Tognini-Bonelli also distinguishes between corpus-based and corpus-driven research. Corpus-based research starts with existing paradigms and investigates these by using a corpus. Stefanowitsch's approach to metaphor identification, for example, is corpus-based (2006: 1-13). In this approach, a researcher with a certain conceptual metaphor in mind would look for linguistic metaphors by which the conceptual metaphor is realized. This is done by searching for source domain or target domain vocabulary with the hope of finding the linguistic metaphors. Corpus-driven research starts on a clean slate, with no assumption about what will be found. Rules emerge from the investigation. For example, a researcher would analyze individual words in a text to find out which category the word belongs to or the context in which it usually appears and then generalize from those findings. Steen et al (2010) and the Pragglejaz Group (2007) adopted this approach in their metaphor identification process. They identified a metaphor or metaphor-related word by analysing every item or word in a sentence to find out what category each word belonged to. This is the approach that has been adopted in the present study.

Corpus-based research opened up many possibilities for the study of language, including translation studies. Mona Baker, one of the renowned scholars in translation studies, encouraged translation researchers to use corpora and corpus-based methods in their research (Laviosa 1998). Corpus-based translation studies (CTS) came into existence as a response to this call. It supported the shift from prescriptive to descriptive approaches in the study of translation (Granger 2003). Granger maintains that target orientation compels researchers to give more attention to a detailed description of translations. This vindicates scholars such as Holmes (1978), Toury (1980) and others who introduced DTS to the study of translation. It is from this perspective that Laviosa (2003: 49-50) could establish links between DTS and the principles underlying CTS. She argues that:

(i)   Both studies embrace an empirical perspective and investigate their respective objects of study through the direct observation of real life examples. Data is taken from authentic texts that have been selected using certain criteria, although at times translation texts are selected randomly.

(ii)   Both approaches affirm that the generalizations derived from empirical evidence can only be valid if based on the study of large collections of texts, not just individual instances.

(iii)   Principles are discovered by systematic rigorous research and are expressed in terms of probabilistic rules of behaviour rather than prescriptive pronouncements.

Laviosa (2003: 45) thus, defines Corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS) as:

> a branch of the discipline that uses corpora of original and/or translated texts for the empirical study of the product and process of translation, the elaboration of theoretical constructs, and the training of translators. [...] It uses both inductive and deductive approaches to the investigation of translation and translating.

The corpus-based approach has been a useful methodology in investigating linguistic and translational phenomena. According to Laviosa (2003: 45) corpora have been used "for the empirical study of the products and processes of translation, the elaboration of theoretical constructs and the training of translators." Olohan (2004: 16) concurs with Laviosa but she takes this opinion a step further by outlining the following possible research approaches that could be adopted in translation studies using corpus-based research:

- a descriptive study of translations as they exist;
- a study of language as it is used in the translation product;
- investigating what is probable and typical in translations and interpreting what is unusual;
- combining quantitative and qualitative corpus-based analysis in the description, which can focus on lexis, syntax and discoursal features; and

- application of the methodology to different types of translations, that is, translation in different sociocultural settings, modes and so on.

Put simply, Corpus-based Translation Studies seek to understand the processes and products of translation (Moropa 2005) and in the process enhance research in translation studies (Alves et al 2010).

Mona Baker began by building a corpus with the aim of investigating distinctive features of translation (Baker 1995). Since then considerable research has been done to investigate both the universal and specific features of translation, how corpus tools could be useful for searching equivalents in parallel and comparable texts, contrastive studies as well as in translator training (Bowker and Pearson 2002; Bennison and Bowker 2000; Zanettin 1998 and 2011); Laviosa 2003). Corpora have been useful in verifying and/or clarifying theories in descriptive translation studies.

A literature search yielded many reports of research that has been accomplished in the northern hemisphere. Among others, mention can be made of scholars such as Baker (1995, 2000); Bowker (2000, 2003); Bowker and Pearson (2002); Laviosa (1998, 2002, 2003, 2011); Kenny (2011) and Olohan (2004). Although so much research has been done in the northern hermisphere, applaudable work has been accomplished in the southern hermisphere as well, and in South Africa in particular. For example, Kruger (2002) reported on how CTS tools can be used to query general, literary and Bible translations. Moropa did tremendous research in isiXhosa, which is one of the official African languages in South Africa, using corpus-based approaches. In her doctoral thesis (2005) she examined the use of simplification and explicitation strategies in the translation of official documents from English into isiXhosa and the manner in which these features manifest themselves as universal features of translation. She also wanted to determine whether corpus-based research could contribute to the development of strategies for translating technical texts and the creation of technical terminology for isiXhosa. In another study, she also explored the link between simplification and explicitation and how isiXhosa morphological systems influence these strategies (Moropa 2011). Her other works using a corpus-

based approach are reported in Moropa (2000, 2004, 2007 and 2009). Other researchers who conducted research in African languages using corpus-based approaches are Madiba (2004), Masubelele (2004), Wallmach (2004), Gauton (2008), Ndlovu (2009, 2013) and Ndhlovu (2012) amongst others. Although different in perspective, this study will add to corpus-based translation studies accomplished in South African languages, which are limited. This study explores the use and translation of conceptual metaphor into isiXhosa and isiZulu, which has not been extensively researched. Since this study is corpus-based, it is important to sketch briefly the types of corpora that are available and explain which type has been adopted.

2.3.1   Types of corpora

The following are the types of corpora that have been integrated into translation studies.

2.3.1.1   Comparable corpora

Baker (1995: 234) defines comparable corpora as

> two separate collections of texts in the same language: one corpus consists of original texts in the language in question and the other consists of translations in that language from a given source language or languages … both corpora should cover a similar domain, variety of language and time span, and be of comparable length.

For example a comparable corpora can be formed from novels originally written in isiXhosa in the 1960s such as *UDingezweni* (Mtuze 1966), *Elundini LoThukela* (Jolobe 1958) and novels translated into isiXhosa from English in the 1990s: *Lwadilik' udonga* (Bongela 1993) and *Akusekho konwaba* (Mothlabane 1992) to cite just a few. Comparable corpora can be used by translators or researchers to check naturalness and collocations. They can also be used to identify patterns that are specific to translated texts. For example, it has been suggested that translations tend to be more explicit than their

originals (Moropa 2005). Much work has been done using comparable corpora, which focused on this issue and has provided evidence for the occurrence of explicitation and simplification in translated texts. Olohan (2004: 37) maintains that comparable corpora can be used to "investigate aspects of translator's use of language that are not the result of deliberate, controlled processes and of which translators may not be aware". Studies have shown that it can also be a useful tool for solving translation problems such as lack of a technical term that is not lemmatised in the dictionary and a resource for translator training (Sharoff 2006).

2.3.1.2   Multilingual corpora

Multilingual corpora usually refer to comparable original monolingual texts in different languages. These may be newspaper articles written in English and isiXhosa, covering a particular content during a certain period. Such texts do not need alignment software and are useful resources for contrastive analysis. Multilingual corpora are sometimes used in translator training as tools for enhancing translation skills.

2.3.1.3   Parallel corpus

Corpus linguists and translation scholars differ in their definition of the term "parallel corpus". Corpus linguists define parallel corpus as sets of texts that have the same communicative function as the source text, which are not necessarily translations (Bowker 2000). Such texts are referred to as comparable corpora by other scholars. On the contrary, parallel corpora in translation studies involve source texts and their translations. Olohan (2004: 24) defines parallel corpora as "a set of texts in one language and their translations in another language". A parallel corpus that involves at the least two texts, the source text and its translation, is called a bilingual parallel corpus. Sometimes a corpus may consist of more than two texts, that is, an original text with more than one translation. Such a corpus is called a multilingual parallel corpus. For example, *Long Walk to Freedom* (Mandela) and its Afrikaans, Sesotho sa Leboa, isiXhosa and isiZulu translations form a multilingual parallel corpus. Parallel corpora can be unidirectional or

bidirectional. Unidirectional refers to a source text in language A and its translation in language B. Bidirectional involves one set of source texts in language A and target texts in language B and another set in language B and its target texts in language A.

Parallel corpora are useful to translation studies because they:

(i)   Give insight into the languages under study

(ii)   Are ideal for comparison purposes

(iii)   Highlight the differences between the ST and TT

(iv)   Are useful for practical application in language teaching, translation studies, lexicography, etc. (Aijmer and Altenberg 1996: 12).

They are also valuable because they present terms in authentic contexts, allowing students and translators to acquire both subject field and specialized target language knowledge. The use of authentic texts when conducting research is very important in corpus studies. Parallel corpora are commonly used to investigate cross-linguistic correspondences and differences in translation texts.

A considerable amount of research has been completed using parallel corpora. Amongst others, mention can be made of McEnery and Xiao (2008) who explored the potential value of parallel and comparable corpora to translation; and Xiao and Yue (2009) who investigated translation universals using English and Chinese language pairs. Moropa (2007) analysed the English-IsiXhosa parallel corpus of technical texts using ParaConc, a computer tool specially designed for analysing parallel texts. In this study, she was able to discover that corpus tools can be resourceful to translators for terminology development. She used parallel texts to investigate the translation of financial texts in the one study (Moropa 2004), while in another Moropa (2009) used ParaConc to verify the lexical simplification strategies used in English-IsiXhosa parallel texts. Nokele (2011) investigated the similarities and differences in the translation of metaphors in Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* from English into isiXhosa and isiZulu by different translators. Parallel corpus is also used to obtain information about the frequency or generality of use of words (Bowker 2003). It is an ideal

resource for establishing equivalence between languages. Neubert (2010) argues that parallel texts can be useful to translators in that they can reveal more about the nature of the original texts and thus provide guidance that would enable them to perform their task satisfactorily.

Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013: 96) are in favour of a multilingual approach to the study of metaphor in translation. They are of the view that this will increase the number and generality of examples available for analysis. They also claim that it creates a platform for the translations to be studied alongside each other, allowing the analyst to view the translation from a universal perspective. Another advantage for a multilingual approach is that the researcher is able to compare the target languages and the behaviour of the translators. This study has added value to the existing knowledge because it adopted the multilingual approach. As it has been explained above, the study examines two translations of the same source text. It also compares the strategies that were adopted by the translators during the translation process. Thus it compared isiXhosa and isiZulu and the behaviour of the two translators. Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013) also highlight the importance of using authentic texts mentioning that authentic translations have hardly ever been used in cross-cultural metaphor research. This study thus contributes towards that end for it has used authentic texts.

As illustrated above, corpus-based studies provide a methodology for investigating translational phenomena. Neubert (2010) views these new developments as revolutionalizing the character of translation studies in general. Alves et al (2010: 114) concur with this idea when they assert that CTS enhances product- and process-oriented research. In this research, it is used to describe the processes and products of translation by examining the translation of metaphors from English into isiXhosa and isiZulu. The type of corpus that is used is a multilingual parallel corpus since it involves three texts, the source text and two target texts.

2.3.1.4   Summary

This section sketched the history of corpus-based research in translation studies. It began by showing the relevance of corpus linguistics in translation studies and how CTS came into existence. The definition of CTS was provided and the three kinds of corpora that are used in translation studies were described. A brief overview of studies that were accomplished in the field, both in the northern and southern hemispheres, was given. From these studies it is clear that CTS enhances research in the translation field.The next section deals with the relationship between translation studies and cognitive linguistics as well as with the treatment of metaphor as a cognitive device.

2.4   The cognitive turn - metaphor and metaphor translation

Over the years, research has shown that translation is an inter-disciplinary field, because it always involves other disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology and psychology. Baker (2011: 4) noted that linguistics could offer the translator insights into the nature and function of language. Supporting this idea Gentzler (2003) advocates for an interdisciplinary approach towards the study of translation. Translation and metaphor are both cognitive phenomena. It was therefore appropriate to approach this present study from a cognitive linguistic perspective.

Cognitive linguistics is a subdiscipline of cognitive science, which, among other things, seeks to answer questions "concerning the nature of the mind and knowledge" (Kertész 2004: 14-15). As Evans and Green (2006: 6) put it, "it provides exciting glimpses into hitherto hidden aspects of the human mind, experience and, consequently, what it is to be human". To this end, cognitive linguists are of the opinion that our cognitive abilities cannot be isolated from our bodies hence they are interested in exploring how our minds, bodies and language work together (Tendahl 2009: 113; Haser 2005). Cognitive linguistics, therefore, transpired as an alternative to formal approaches to the study of language and it has been regarded as one of the most innovative methods for exploring language and thought (Evans and Green 2006). It refers to a set of theories that are concerned with the cognitive dimensions of linguistic

communication and has become an influential theoretical framework for describing language. Cognitive linguistics also recognizes the fact that linguistic abilities are not only based on cognitive abilities, but are also culturally motivated and defined (Hiraga et al 1999: 1). Ideas such as these form the basis for the treatment of metaphor in cognitive linguistics and translation studies.

In the past, metaphor was largely researched as a figurative phenomenon of language. This does not mean that it was never considered as a cognitive device. On the contrary, Otabe (1995) and Radman (1995: 1-4) do attest that metaphor was viewed as a cognitive instrument, an 'organ of reason' as far back as the eighteenth century. Otabe (1995: 7-25) cites Aristotle and Suzler as scholars who viewed metaphor in this way. In his definition of metaphor, Newmark (1988) also mentions that metaphor has both rhetoric and the cognitive aspects. However, the cognitive aspect of metaphor was never properly explored. This resulted in it being isolated from scientific discourse.

Metaphor is a cognitive instrument that we use in communication. It has been defined as:

> a word or expression that is used to talk about an entity or quality other than that referred to by its core, or most basic meaning. This non-core use expresses a perceived relationship with the core meaning of the word and in many cases between two semantic fields. (Deignan 2005: 34).

In isiXhosa there is a common metaphor that is usually used when referring to a man who displays unbecoming behaviour, which is '*Yinja leyo*' (He is a dog). This means that there are certain qualities in that person that the community does not approve of, such as urinating in public or infidelity. These are some of the characteristics of a dog, it urinates wherever and whenever it feels like. It also mates wherever with any dog of the opposite sex it meets if it feels like it. In this example, the positive traits of the dog, such as loyalty, are not taken into account. When considering this example, one may argue that the metaphorical expression is not based on resemblance/similarity, but rather on some

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culturally established attitude towards dogs. Similarly, when Jolobe (1958) in his book *Elundini loThukela* says "*Indoda yingonyama, indoda yingcongolo phezu koThukela*" (a man is a lion, a man is a reed on the banks of the Tugela river), he is highlighting traits such as bravery of the lion and flexibility of the reed that are perceived in a man. This highlights another important fact about metaphor: that it focuses on one aspect of the object and ignores others (Goatly 1997). Lakoff and Johnson (1980a: 10) concur with this assertion when they say that metaphors can hide certain aspects of a concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor. Another characteristic of a metaphor is that, unlike a simile, it does not compare entities explicitly by using words such as 'like' or 'as'; instead, it calls one thing by another. In the above examples it is said '*yinja*' (he is a dog) or '*yingonyama*' (he is a lion) and not '*ufana nenja*' (he is like a dog) or '*ufana nengonyama*' (he is like a lion). From these examples, we can see that metaphor has two parts, one of origin and the other of transference. The qualities of bravery, for example, come from the lion and they have been transferred to man.

The discussion above is in line with the argument led by Newmark (1988) and other scholars that metaphor is based on the perception of resemblance between two phenomena, namely, objects or processes. Sometimes the image may be physical, but often it is chosen for its connotations rather than its physical characteristics, like the dog metaphor cited above. Newmark (1988: 43) then defines metaphor as the "link between the expressive and the aesthetic function … metaphor connects the extra linguistic reality with the world of the mind through language". In this regard, he concurs with cognitive linguists like Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, 1999), Lakoff (1993) and others who purport that metaphor is pervasive in language, thought and action. The examples discussed above are instances of rhetoric or poetic language, of how metaphor was originally used.

Metaphor is not simply a matter of language and meaning but also of thought and knowledge (Dorst 2011: 18). The basic assumption of cognitive linguistic study is that the foundation of metaphor lies in people's conceptual systems. Metaphor is thus regarded as being central in theories of human communication and cognition (Tendahl 2009). This view of metaphor became

popular after the publication of *Metaphors we live by* written by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a). This book made a breakthrough in the study of metaphor. This perception of metaphor is true when one considers that it requires mental processing for one to understand the idea conveyed by metaphor. Otabe (1995: 19-21) outlines the function of metaphor as follows:

(i)   It transforms artificial signs into natural signs.

(ii)   It helps us make sense of obscure ideas through images.

(iii)   It assists in anticipating and leading the progress of reason.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980b), who are the pioneers of conceptual metaphor theory, argue that our conceptual system is metaphoric in nature. To them, the way we think, what we experience, what we do is a matter of metaphor and these metaphorical explanations are communicated through metaphorical constructions. They mention three major aspects of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980b: 486):

(i)   Metaphorical concepts provide ways of understanding one kind of experience in terms of another kind of experience.

(ii)   Different cultures have different ways of comprehending experience via conceptual metaphor. Such differences are reflected in linguistic differences.

(iii)   Metaphor is conceptual and is pervasive in our everyday conventional language.

These views of metaphor form the foundation of this research.

Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) distinguishes between the words 'metaphor' and 'metaphorical expression'. 'Metaphor' refers to the cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system, while 'metaphorical expression' is the linguistic or surface realization of cross-domain mapping (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Deignan 2005 and Kövecses 2010). Deignan and Kövecses use the terms 'conceptual metaphor' for what Lakoff and Johnson call 'metaphor', and 'linguistic metaphor' for what they term 'metaphorical expression'. Traditionally, the term 'metaphor' has been used to refer to the

linguistic or metaphorical expression. According to CMT, conceptual metaphor consists of two domains, that is, the abstract and the concrete domains. The cross-domain mapping refers to the abstract domain that is understood in terms of the concrete domain. The concrete domain is the place of origin, the source domain from which we draw metaphorical expression. The abstract domain is the place of transference, the target domain that we understand through the concrete domain. For example, in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY we understand life, the abstract domain, in terms of journeys, the concrete domain. This means that the structure of a journey is mapped onto the structure of life. An example of a linguistic expression that would make us understand this metaphor is "I have walked that long road to freedom" (Mandela 1994: 751). We can understand this expression in terms of Mandela being on a journey to a destination called freedom. The verb 'walked' evokes the concept of journey. In other words, linguistic expressions are the words or expressions we use in ordinary language that stem from the concrete domain. The conceptual metaphor is usually written in small capital letters to indicate that it is not found in ordinary language but in the subconscious, that is the stance that is adopted in this study as well.

Tendahl (2009) maintains that we conceptualise abstract ideas and thoughts as concrete objects that we can hold, hence we have utterances like 'I could not grasp what he was saying' where understanding is conceptualised as an object one can hold. The conceptual metaphor underlying this expression therefore is IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. These examples illustrate the point that the linguistic expression is the manifestation of the underlying conceptual correspondences between the source and target domains (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernández 2011). The small capital letters as in LIFE IS A JOURNEY are used to indicate that the wording of the metaphor is not found in language use. It is in the conceptual domain underlying the linguistic expressions we use in our daily communication. Therefore, metaphor involves the understanding of one thing in terms of another thing and the realisation of such a mapping through linguistic expression (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a, 1999, 2003; Lakoff 1993). Another characteristic of metaphor, according to Lakoff and Johnson, is that it is unidirectional. This means that the mapping of the domains is from the source domain to the target domain. We can never say A JOURNEY IS LIFE, thus a journey

is life's path. It will always be LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Lakoff and Johnson and other cognitive scholars like Kövecses (2002, 2003, 2010) also purport that these mappings are grounded in everyday experience and knowledge. Tendahl (2009) comments that CMT makes us understand the reason for having the metaphors we use in language.

Deignan (2005) distinguishes between decorative and conceptual approaches to metaphor. The decorative approach is about understanding metaphor as an ornamental device, which has no role in thought. Understanding decorative metaphors is more demanding in that it requires more effort in processing or decoding the meaning. Decorative metaphors are commonly used in literary writings. Deignan concurs with Lakoff and Johnson when she notes that the decorative approach fails to account for the frequency and ubiquity of the metaphor. She claims that many conceptual metaphors go unnoticed because they "are so much the fabric of language" (2005: 4). The conceptual approach to metaphor was developed to address this shortcoming, among other things.

Kövecses (2010: ix) mentions five properties of metaphor which illustrate how it was perceived by traditional theorists:

1. Metaphor is a property of words, a linguistic phenomenon;
2. It is used for artistic and rhetorical purposes;
3. It is based on a resemblance between two entities that are compared and identified;
4. It is a conscious and deliberate use of words and only specially talented people are able to do that – not everybody could use metaphor, it requires a special skill to be able to do that;
5. It is a figure of speech that we can do without; it is used only for special effects, and is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication and thought.

In contrast to this, Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) came with another view. They claimed the following (Kövecses 2010: x):

1. Metaphor is a property of concepts and not of words;

2. The function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or aesthetic purpose;

3. Metaphor is often not based on similarity;

4. Metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by talented people; and

5. Metaphor, far from being a superfluous though pleasing linguistic phenomenon, is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning.

Kövecses, however, agrees with Otabe (1995) cited above, that these ideas presented by Lakoff and Johnson are not new, they were discussed before by other theorists. What is new is the fact that their theory is "comprehensive, generalised and empirically tested" (Kövecses, 2010: xii). Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) argue that linguistic metaphors are proof of the existence of conceptual metaphors.

According to Deignan (2005: 13-25) there are five tenets of conceptual metaphor theory and these are briefly mentioned below:

a) Metaphors structure thinking

Conceptual metaphors function at the level of thought. They are not explicit in speech and/or writings. They manifest themselves as linguistic metaphors. For example, the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH in isiXhosa is realised through the linguistic metaphor *wasamkela ngezandla ezishushu* 'she welcomed us with warm hands'. The domain that is talked about metaphorically is affection, which is abstract. It is referred to as the target domain. Warmth is the concrete domain, the source domain that provides the metaphor. AFFECTION IS WARMTH can never be found in utterances because it is only at the level of thought. Linguistic metaphors are the evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphors.

b) Metaphors structure knowledge

Conceptual metaphors help us understand specialised knowledge or life events. Some aspects of life are made to relate to each other through the structure of a well-known source domain, for example, politics is war or life is a journey.

c) Metaphor is central to abstract language

Some concepts are difficult to talk about without using metaphors. Such concepts are abstract concepts like communication or understanding. It is common among isiXhosa speakers, to say '*ndiyabona*' (I see) when they actually mean 'I understand', thereby realising the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. Understanding is an abstract notion that can be better understood through a less abstract idea. Conceptual metaphors play a major role in the interpretation of abstract topics/themes.

d) Metaphor is grounded in physical experience

We are able to quantify and generalise about abstract topics because of conceptual metaphors that are drawn from everyday experiences. The linguistic metaphor 'she is so down today', is the realisation of the conceptual metaphor SAD IS DOWN which is grounded in the physical expression of feeling sad. When we are sad we tend to slump. It is not uncommon to hear a person say in isiXhosa, "*umzimba wam usezantsi ngathi ndiza kuva into embi*" (my body is so low as if I am going to hear something bad).

e) Metaphor is ideological

Metaphors can be used to present a particular interpretation of situations and events. This means that the same metaphor can be interpreted differently by different people from different backgrounds. By their nature, metaphors hide and highlight certain aspects of reality (Goatly 1997 and Lakoff and Johnson 1980). From the same metaphor, people may choose certain aspects and ignore others in their interpretation, depending on their social standing. A good example of a metaphor that is ideological is that of the European house that is cited by Schäffner (2004) which sparked a hot debate between the English, German and Russian politicians, a debate that stemmed from the manner in which they conceptualised a house.

As illustrated above, Conceptual Metaphor Theory distinguishes between the words 'metaphor' and 'metaphorical expression' or 'linguistic metaphor' (Tendahl, 2009 and Deignan 2005). Metaphor refers to the cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system, while metaphorical expression is the

linguistic or surface realization of the cross-domain mapping (Lakoff 1993). Understanding metaphor takes place in terms of entire domains of experience and in terms of isolated concepts. Each domain is a structured whole within our experience that is conceptualised as an *experiential gestalt* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a: 117*)*. The conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH can be explicated as follows: Love is experienced by the warmth one feels when one is held closely by another when hugging. When a mother holds her baby, comforting her, the baby feels her warmth and interprets it as love. Warmth is the source domain, the concrete idea and love is the target domain, the abstract concept. Therefore, love is understood in terms of the warmth one feels. This also means that conceptual metaphor is understood in terms of an experiential basis. The expression 'She is a warm and friendly person' is a metaphorical expression, which motivates the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH.

Metaphors can be divided into three types according to their cognitive function. They can be (1) structural, (2) ontological/physical and (3) orientational (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a; Kövecses 2010; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibanez and Hernandez 2011).

(1) Structural metaphors provide structure for the target domain. They allow us to understand the structure of the target domain, which is abstract, in terms of the structure of the source domain, which is concrete. Such metaphors are grounded in our everyday experiences. Examples of structural metaphors are:

- Life is a journey (My thoughts can roam as far and wide as the horizons)
- Argument is war (he lost that argument)
- Ideas are food (I have to digest what you are saying)
- People are animals (The state would slaughter the whole liberation movement).

(2) Ontological metaphors do not provide structure as the structural metaphors do. They help us understand our experiences in terms of objects. They allow us to see a structure where there is none. They usually involve the use of concepts from the physical domain hence the

term "physical metaphors" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a). The source domain usually denotes a physical entity while the target domain involves an activity, emotion or an idea. Examples of ontological metaphors are:

- Emotion is pressure in a container (It required all my discipline not to explode at such times) (Nokele 2014)
- Mind is a container (my mind was empty, I couldn't think)
- Emotion is fire (you could see that he was boiling)

Personification is also regarded as an example of ontological metaphor. Here an inanimate object is given human qualities. Examples from *Long Walk to Freedom*:

- Progress was halting, and typically accompanied by setbacks.
- The bank *has eaten* all the money I put in.

(3) Orientational metaphors have to do with spatial orientation like up or down, back or front. This type of metaphor is grounded in our physical experience. They include:

- Happy is up (I can see he is over the moon today.)
- Sad is down (She is depressed.)
- More is up (The petrol price rocketed last month.)

If we look closely at the examples cited above we find that they correspond with the tenets outlined by Deignan, that metaphors are grounded in physical experience (structural, orientational and ontological); central to abstract language (ontological); and they structure thinking (structural). It is also worth noting that although metaphor is divided into three different types, it constantly displays features of one type, that is, structural. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) in the Afterword of their book alluded to the fact that all metaphors are structural and ontological and a number of them are orientational. For the purpose of this study, metaphor has been categorised according to these three types.

Conceptual metaphor theorists distinguish between 'metaphor' and 'metonymy'. Like metaphor, metonymy allows us to understand an entity in terms of another although in a different way. Metonymy is referential. For example if we consider the example, "Prison is designed to break one's resolve", prison is not the building housing prisoners, but it refers to the institution and its systems. "Prison", therefore, is an example of metonymy. In this research no distinction is made between metaphor and metonymy; they are treated in the same way.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory as advocated by Lakoff and Johnson sparked a considerable debate and criticism. There are scholars who claim that Lakoff and Johnson and their co-researchers seem to have studied metaphors in isolation instead of studying them in real discourse. They claim that these scholars depended on their intuition instead of using authentic data. As cognitive linguists, this is understandable because it is only recently, with the advent of corpus linguistics, that the use of authentic data is strongly advocated. Kövecses (2009) addresses this weakness in his article, where he shows that metaphor provides intertextual and intratextual coherence in discourse. Intratextual coherence is achieved when the same conceptual metaphor makes one discourse and intertextual is achieved when the same metaphor is applied in different communicative situations. Taking the discourse surrounding the European unification (Schäffner 2004) as an example, Kövecses also illustrates that conceptual metaphors can be extended to produce novel metaphors.

From the discussion above it can be deduced that metaphor is by its nature a mental facility and a cognitive instrument (Sun 2010) that is essential in language, thought and communication. To this end, Sun argues that metaphor contributes towards vocabulary acquisition, as its nature allows it to be applied in various fields such as social science, natural science, economic science and so on. It is probably because of this nature that Steen (2008) proposed a three-dimensional approach to the study of metaphor. He asserts that metaphor has linguistic, conceptual and communicative properties:

- it fills lexical gaps in the language system (metaphor in language)
- it offers conceptual frameworks for concepts that require indirect understanding (metaphor in thought)
- it produces an alternative perspective on a particular referent or topic in a message (metaphor in communication) (Steen 2008: 231).

Tymoczko (2010: 138-9) acknowledges the fact that conceptual metaphors have been at the centre of translation studies research for reasons having to do with dominance and power. She suggests that researchers should start paying attention to the variety of conceptual metaphors in translation globally in order to tease out "their implications cognitively, conceptually, sociologically and historically". Guldin (2010: 161-3) concurs with Tymoczko when he acknowledges that there is a need to pursue the relevance of metaphor theory for translation studies seeing that metaphor and translation have a similar structure. In fact what these scholars are advocating emphasise Schäffner's (2004) suggestion of applying cognitive metaphor theory to translation theory and practice. This thesis is an attempt to address these suggestions.

Much has been done around the world on metaphor, as shown in the discussion above, but the same cannot be said about Southern Africa. Little research has been done on conceptual metaphor. Mention can be made, however, of some studies. One was accomplished by Thipa (1988) who, having borrowed Lakoff and Johnson's title *Metaphors we live by*, applied their theory to Sesotho and isiXhosa. Using his intuition, he explored conceptual metaphor according to the categories structural, ontological and orientational and compared his examples to those given by them. Although he did not do extensive research, his study has shown that there are metaphors that are similar between English, Sesotho and isiXhosa. He recommended that further research be performed. It would seem no research has been done since in both languages. This study therefore adds value as far as isiXhosa is concerned.

Hendrikse and Mkhatshwa (1993) explored the metaphorical basis of isiZulu auxiliaries. They discovered that tense and aspectual notions differ in their level of complexity. The tense auxiliaries were found to be fewer than aspectual

notions. They also found that not everything that is relevant to the source domain is necessarily mapped onto the target domain, which corresponds with the idea that metaphor hides certain aspects and highlights others. Another interesting study was performed by Hermanson and Du Plessis (1997), who examined the use of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS in isiZulu. Using authentic data they collected from various literary texts, they found that the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS illustrates very well the hierarchical structure of metaphor, ranging from general to specific metaphor. In their study, they cite other studies that were completed on isiZulu metaphor, which were reported in unpublished papers by Magwaza (1993), Nxumalo (1994), a master's thesis by Mkhatshwa (1991) and a doctoral thesis by Hermanson (1995). Taylor and Mbense (1998) explored metaphoric expressions of anger that are used by isiZulu speakers. They employed Kövecses (1986) as their theoretical framework (Taylor and Mbentse 1998: 191). Their aim was to discover "the structure and content of the underlying concepts of anger" (1998: 191). They collected these expressions from the speakers and compared them with English metaphors of anger. They established that there are similarities and differences between the two languages. The similarities could be motivated by the fact that some metaphors are embodied and others have been acquired through interaction between the languages. They found that the differences were culturally motivated. This observation is in line with Lakoff's (1993) assertion that some mappings may be culture specific. Recently Biyela (2014) investigated the use of the animal metaphor in isiZulu adding to the studies conducted by Hermanson and Du Plessis (1997) and Hermanson (2006). It is interesting to note that there are quite a number of studies on conceptual metaphor in isiZulu as compared to studies done in isiXhosa, particularly considering that these are sister languages in the same country. It seems isiZulu researchers heeded the call made by Thipa years ago. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about other African languages.

In considering studies that were done outside South Africa but in the Southern African region, mention can be made of Machakanja (2006) who applied the conceptual metaphor theory and compared conceptual metaphors in Shona, an African language spoken in Zimbabwe, with English. In his study he noticed that there were metaphors that the two languages shared, especially those that

were embodied and those where human experiences were common. There were those that were peculiar to English or Shona and those were culturally motivated metaphors. Smit (2010), from the University of Namibia, explored the effect of metaphors in the understanding of the content of business writing. Her participants were second year university students who were second language speakers of English. She assumed that their level of proficiency in English was intermediate since they started learning in English in grade 4, which may not be necessarily correct. The participants were divided into two groups, each with a different text. She found that one group understood their text better than the other group did. She therefore came to the conclusion that language does not necessarily affect the processing of the metaphors, but the metaphorical framework does. To a certain extent I agree with her, considering that there are many factors involved when processing information. Cultural background and knowledge of the subject, in this case, do play a role. Drawing from my past experience with students who are second language speakers of English and who have been in contact with the language as the language of teaching and learning since primary school, language cannot be ruled out of influencing the processing of metaphors. More research on factors affecting the processing of metaphors used in technical language still needs to be done.

The studies cited above serve to illustrate the amount and scope of research that has been done in Southern Africa and in African languages in particular. It also shows how this study fits within the body of knowledge that exists. It is therefore clear that a lot of research is yet to be performed on conceptual metaphor in African languages. What is noteworthy from these studies is the fact that none mention how the metaphors that were explored were identified. It is assumed that the researchers used their intuition as speakers of the language or they had research assistants who were native speakers of the language under investigation. The present study approaches the use of metaphor from a different angle. It begins by identifying the metaphor first using the metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) and then explores the kind of metaphor and how it was translated later.

2.4.1   Summary

This section provided an outline of the role of cognitive linguistics in the study of language and metaphor in particular. It showed how metaphor gained popularity after the ground-breaking research done by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a). The cognitive aspect of metaphor has been explained. The section concluded by giving a brief review of the research done on metaphor in African languages, situating it within the broad spectrum of metaphor research. It also gave an indication of how the studies that were performed relate to the present study. The next section reviews research that has been carried out on the identification of metaphor.

2.5   Metaphor identification

Black (1955) claims that for each metaphoric expression there is at least one word in a sentence that is metaphorically used, which renders metaphor identification a very important step in metaphor analysis. One would assume that it should be relatively easy to identify such words; on the contrary, it is not especially for non-native speakers of a language. Subsequently metaphor identification has attracted a lot of attention in recent years. This has been so because it is a cognitive phenomenon that is ubiquitous in language. Metaphor analysts have come up with various ways of identifying linguistic metaphors and linking these with corresponding conceptual metaphors. Some developed softwares that could be used to query corpora automatically, and others suggested models that could be applied manually (Steen 1999; Stefanowitsch 2006; Pragglejaz 2007; Steen et al 2010). Mason (2004) developed software called CorMet which could be used to identify words belonging to a certain semantic field. Since this software was designed to query verbs, "it can find mappings constituting many conventional metaphors and in some cases recognize sentences instantiating those mappings" (Mason 2004: 23). Deignan (2009) reported on strides accomplished by metaphor researchers with regards to metaphor identification procedures. Below is an account of a few studies which dealt with metaphor extraction and which provide a foundation for this study's particular research:

Stefanowitsch (2006: 1-6) acknowledged the challenges involved when extracting metaphor from a corpus. He proposed a model that involves:

    i)   Searching for source domain vocabulary

Taking PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor as an example, the researcher would search for all words that are associated with animals and then select only those that are used metaphorically.

    ii)   Searching for target domain vocabulary

Taking the same example of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, the researcher would search for lexical items related to people in the text and then eliminate those that are literal.

    iii)   Searching for sentences containing lexical items from both source and target domains.

The researcher would look for sentences with lexical items that refer to people and animals.

    iv)   Searching for metaphors based on markers of metaphors

This would entail lexical items such as *like* or expressions like *so to speak*.

    v)   Extraction from a corpus annotated for semantic fields

An analyst searching for metaphors in a financial text would tag lexical items that are associated with finance. The CorMet tool would be useful in this exercise.

    vi)   Extraction from a corpus annotated for conceptual mapping.

Steps (i) – (iii) could be useful especially for the researcher who decided in advance which conceptual metaphor he or she wants to study. The process can be performed semi-automatically. Searching for source or target domain lexical items can be fairly easily achieved by using a concordancer like ParaConc or Wordsmith Tools where the researcher would type in the keyword and the concordance would display the search word and the context in which it appears all at once. Or he or she can use the find tool of a wordprocessor, but in this case the key words would be highlighted once at a time. Using a concordancer would yield results much quicker than using a wordprocessor. Thereafter the analyst would have to eliminate those words that were used literally.

Steen (1999) conceived a procedure that distinguishes between literal and metaphorical expressions. This model was further developed into Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) by Steen and his co-researchers (Pragglejaz Group 2007). What is noteworthy about this procedure is the fact that it determines the metaphoricity of a word by contrasting its basic meaning with its contextual meaning. Steen and his colleagues at Vrije Universiteit developed MIP further into MIPVU (Steen et al 2010). This time they included two other steps which considered explicit metaphor markers and cohesive devices such as ellipsis and substitution. This procedure provides an explicit and detailed analysis that would be useful for an analyst using Stefanowitsch's model to eliminate non-metaphorical lexical items. Since MIPVU is adopted for identifying metaphors in this study, it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Steen's (1999) model and MIP were used by researchers to identify metaphors and these proved to be useful. In their attempt to identify linguistic metaphors from two novels, Heywood, Semino and Short (2002) applied Steen's model (Steen 1999). This model allows the researcher to distinguish between literal and metaphorical expressions. It is tedious because it requires that the analyst examine every word in a sentence. Deignan (2009) thus recommends that the analyst extracts a manageable size of the corpora for the exercise to be possible. Heywood and his co-researchers examined two exctracts, one selected from Sara Maitland's novel *Three Times Table* and the other from Salman Rushdie's novel *The Moor's Last Sigh*. They attested that the procedure enabled them to "characterize with reasonable precision the different styles of metaphorizing" in the two texts (Heywood et al 2002: 53). In fact, they confirm that identifying metaphors is a fundamental step towards linking linguistic metaphors to conceptual metaphors. The procedure had shortcomings, however, when applied to annotated corpus. This could be due to the fact that the procedure was still in its infancy. Semino et al (2004) used the same model to analyse metaphors about cancer and they maintained that although the procedure had some weaknesses, it opened avenues for further debate on identification of metaphor.

Gómez-Moreno, Manuel and Faber (2011) conducted a similar yet different study where they identified metaphorical terms in English and Spanish marine biology texts. But theirs was a unique study in that it dealt with specific domain terminology. In their work, they combined Stefanowitsch's (2006) model with MIP (Pragglejaz 2007). They searched for target domain keywords and lexical markers using a manually annotated corpus. The lexical items they identified were nouns. They echoed Goatly's assertion that nouns evoke images more directly than other parts of speech (Goatly 1997 in Gomez-Moreno 2011). The study yielded satisfactory results that showed that the methods they used were "productive and reliable" (Gomez-Moreno et al 2011: 49). Having used Wordsmith Tools and MIP, they were able to provide a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the metaphor.

2.5.1   Summary

The birth of CMT triggered the need for a mechanism that could be used to identify metaphors in authentic texts. This section presented a brief outline of the attempts towards achieving this goal. The development of the five-step procedure (Steen 1999), the model proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006), MIP (Pragglejaz 2007) and the CorMet tool (Mason 2004) indicates the commitment of metaphor scholars towards solving the methodological problem in identifying metaphors. A brief report on the use of some of these models was given. The following section gives an overview of research achieved concerning the translation of metaphor.

2.6   Translation of metaphor

In the past, metaphor was regarded as an ornament and, as a result, little attention was paid to it. It was then realised that it was central to all language forms and therefore deserved attention in translation theory (Dagut 1976: 21). Translation theorists became aware that metaphor presented a translation problem hence the debate on its translatability (Dagut 1976; van den Broeck 1981; Newmark 1981 and 1988; Dobrzyńska 1995; Schäffner 2004). Earlier research was more concerned with the translation of metaphor as an aesthetic device; as a result, this subject did not receive the attention it deserved

(Mandelblit 1995: 485). With the developments in cognitive linguistics and more research on CMT by cognitive linguists, interest in the translation of conceptual metaphor also developed. The pervasive nature of metaphor requires that it be analysed not only from a traditional perspective, but cognitively as well. It is interesting to note that not many studies have been accomplished in the translation of metaphor as a cognitive device, but there is a growing interest in this direction. I will firstly present a brief summary of research conducted on the translation of metaphor as a decorative device and then as a cognitive phenomenon.

2.6.1   Translating traditional metaphor

The translatability of metaphor and how it can be translated has been the key concern in translation studies, as mentioned above. Dagut (1976, 1987) discusses at length the problem of metaphor translation, showing its complexities, and also stressing the importance of the translator's competence and performance. He distinguishes between three types of metaphors:

(i)   those that are ephemeral and disappear without trace;
(ii)   those that are unique semantic creations; and
(iii)   those that are frequently used by speakers such that they lose their uniqueness and become lexicalised.

He adopts a stance that it is easy to translate a metaphor and supports his argument with authentic examples from a Hebrew novel. After a close examination of the translation of metaphor, he comes to the conclusion that "there is no simplistic general rule for the translation of metaphor" (1976: 32). He argues that there are certain factors that should be considered during the process of translating: cultural experience and semantic associations. He considers whether these can be reproduced depending on the degree of overlap between the languages involved. He also emphasises the importance of interlingual comparison and contrast in metaphor research.

Van den Broeck (1981) approaches the question of the translatability of metaphor from a different perspective. He adopts a functional definition of

metaphor 'transferring meaning' because he believes the linguistic definition is irrelevant to translation theory. His argument stems from the fact that this functional definition or description carries more information about its purpose, its effect, and how it manifests itself. He therefore distinguishes between categories, that is, uses and functions of metaphor. Van den Broeck (1981: 74-6) divides metaphor into three categories: the lexicalised, the conventional and the private metaphors. Lexicalised metaphors are those that have become part of the established lexicon of the language (cf (iii) above). These are the metaphors other scholars like Newmark (1988) call dead metaphors. The conventional metaphors are those metaphors that have been 'institutionalised' in literature. The private metaphors are the novel or original metaphors created by individual poets. Newmark (1981: 75) acknowledges the fact that it is sometimes difficult to draw boundaries between private and traditional metaphors. With regards to uses of metaphor, he considers the effect of metaphor in communication as of paramount importance. The question to be asked in this case is whether the metaphor serves any purpose in the communicative act or text. He maintains that the use of metaphor is related to its function. Van den Broeck distinguishes between creative metaphor and decorative metaphor. Creative metaphors are used out of necessity and there is usually a bond between the object that is described as 'tenor' and the object from which the attributes are derived, the 'vehicle'; while the decorative ones have no specific function other than being decorative. He claims that decorative metaphors can be replaced by metaphorical or non-metaphorical expressions and still have the same effect on the target audience.

Van den Broeck (1981: 77) adopts a descriptive approach to the problem of metaphor translation. His point of departure is the descriptive translation studies (DTS) framework where translation theory should describe and explain phenomena. He provides the following 'tentative modes' of translation:

1. Translation 'sensu stricto': the SL tenor and SL vehicle are transferred to TL.
2. Substitution: The SL vehicle is replaced by a different TL vehicle with a similar tenor.

3. Paraphrase: An SL metaphor is rendered by a non-metaphorical expression in the TL.

Like other DTS scholars, he cautions against the disregard of grammatical peculiarities and cultural context of the TL. Adhering to the SL grammatical and cultural systems will obviously create problems and result in rendering absurd translations that are unacceptable to the target audience. This implies that the initial norm expounded by Toury (1980) is as useful a tool in the translation of metaphors as it is in the translation activity in general. Van den Broeck maintains that the theory of translation is concerned with discovering regularities. This premise has been followed by other scholars who investigate the translation of conceptual metaphor.

On his study of metaphor and simile Larson (1984) suggests that the translator must first analyse the item in order to identify the 'topic' and 'image', that is, the propositions that are involved. He also posits five ways of translating metaphor. Three of his strategies are similar to those that were identified by van den Broeck. He added i) translating as a simile, using 'like' and/or 'as'; ii) using the same metaphor plus explanation. Another scholar whose contribution to translation studies is immense, Peter Newmark (1988: 104), acknowledges the fact that metaphor is a translation problem. He defines metaphor as any figurative expression, for example, it could be personification, collocations, polysemous words, phrasal verbs, idioms, proverbs and so on. He claims that metaphor serves two functions, a referential and a pragmatic function. The referential function has to do with the description of a mental process or state, while the pragmatic purpose is to appeal to the senses. These purposes cannot be separated. The referential purpose as can be noted is cognitive, as it deals with mental processing, while the pragmatic purpose is aesthetic as it deals with emotion. This links with what was discussed above about the cognitive aspect of metaphor. Newmark (ibid) divides metaphor into five types, namely, dead (metaphors that are frequently used such that one is no longer conscious of the image), cliché (metaphors that have temporarily outlived their existence), stock, recent and original. The terminology he uses in describing a metaphor includes image, object, sense, metaphor, metonym and symbol. Image refers to the picture conjured by the metaphor; object is what is being described;

sense is the meaning of metaphor; metaphor is the figurative word that is used; metonym is the one word image representing the object; and symbol represents the cultural metonym (Newmark 1988: 104-6). He prescribes the following procedures for translating metaphor:

Dead metaphor: these are not difficult to translate and can be translated literally.

Cliché: can be paraphrased or replaced with another metaphor. He strongly feels that these should not be translated.

Stock: replace SL image with the same TL image that is equally frequent; replace with a similar image that is acceptable in TL culture; replace with a simile to retain the image; replace with a simile plus sense or metaphor plus sense; transference by paraphrase (sense); translation by omission if the metaphor is redundant;

Adapted metaphor: translated by an equivalent adapted metaphor in the TL.

Newmark offers valuable information concerning the translation of metaphor except that he tends to be prescriptive. He uses words like '*should*' and '*must*' when suggesting translation methods, which imply that these are the only ways that these types of metaphors might be translated. It would seem that the translator is not free to employ his or her own strategy.

Another scholar who investigated the translation of metaphor is Alvarez. In her article "On translating Metaphor" (1993), she shares the same sentiments with Van den Broeck, that metaphor has not received the attention it deserves in translation studies. She studied the translation of metaphor in Angela Cater's *The Passion of New Eve* into Spanish. In her study, she discovered that metaphor does not only involve substitution of one domain for another, but that "there are other internal relationships within the larger context of the entire text" (Alvares, 1993: 488). This idea concurs with what Kövecses (2009) noted about metaphor being a coherence device in a text. It is also noteworthy that Alvarez, like Van den Broeck, stressed the importance of the identification of the

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purpose or function of metaphor prior to translating. It is also interesting to note that the modes of metaphor translation that Alvarez identified in her study are similar to those suggested by Van den Broeck:

- Transferring the same image into the target language.
- Adapting the same image in the source text to suit the structure of the target language.
- Re-creating a different metaphor in the target language to suit the culture of the receiving audience.
- Translation by paraphrase.

Dobrzyńska (1995) also acknowledged the fact that it is a challenge to translate metaphor. Her approach to the treatment of metaphor is not different from that of Van den Broek and Alvarez. She also shared the idea that metaphor involves more than just replacing one thing with another. She stressed the question of common knowledge between the speaker or writer and listener or reader. She highlighted that metaphor is an "interpretive problem" because it is "strongly culturally motivated" (1995: 597). She argued that the interpretation of metaphor goes beyond the linguistic level, so it is easier to interpret if speakers share the same language and cultural background. Like Van den Broeck, she emphasised the role and type of text when deciding how to translate the text. With this in mind, she suggested strategies similar to those of Van den Broeck and Alvarez. The three possibilities are:

- Using the exact equivalent of the metaphor;
- Choosing a metaphor that would express a similar sense; or
- Replacing an untranslatable metaphor with a paraphrase.

The difference between Dobrzyńska and the other two scholars is that the paraphrase option is not for 'untranslatable' metaphors, but an open option. Although one can argue that the approach of these scholars is similar, the tone of Alvarez and Dobrzyńska seems to be rather prescriptive because they suggest how the translator should translate the metaphor, while Van den Broeck prefers to describe the translator's choices. One could say they belong

to the same school as Newmark, who also prescribes how metaphor should be translated. It is also worth mentioning that the kind of metaphor examined above is the linguistic metaphor, which is usually used for decorative purposes. However, it is possible to draw some similarities between the ideas shared above and those of cognitive theorists or conceptual metaphor scholars. To cite one example, Van den Broek (1981: 76) shares the same idea with Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) and Steen (2011), that it is possible to use a metaphor and be unaware of it, because some metaphors have become part of our everyday vocabulary. The traditional view of metaphor and its translation has been presented here in order to appreciate the developments in metaphor theory and its translation, as well as to contextualise this study.

2.6.1.1   Summary

In this section a few studies that reported on the translation of traditional metaphor were presented. These studies were selected to show the development of the theory of metaphor translation and to situate the present study. The scholars who were mentioned are some of the leading theorists in metaphor translation. Some suggested techniques that could be useful when translating metaphor, while others avoided being prescriptive and opted for the description of strategies that could be identified in existing translations instead. What has been interesting to note in this overview is the similarity between the translation strategies that were suggested or identified by the scholars. The translation of conceptual metaphor will be sketched in the following subsection.

2.6.2   Translating conceptual metaphor

In his paper published in *Translation and Meaning*, Mandelblit (1995: 486-7) proposes a "Cognitive Translation" hypothesis. He argues that metaphorical language was neglected in translation studies because it was viewed mainly as an ornament. This attitude changed after the introduction of the conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a). Mandelblit puts forward the argument that the cognitive view of metaphor puts more emphasis on the form of conceptualisation and the cognitive function of the metaphor, whereas earlier researchers were more concerned with its linguistic nature. The Cognitive

Translation hypothesis stipulates that metaphor translation is not only a linguistic problem but a cognitive one as well. Mandelblit argues that metaphor translation involves the transfer of linguistic signs and a way of conceptualising realities. The translator, therefore, vacillates between the source language and the target language, trying to understand the meaning of the metaphor in view of the translation. If the target language conceptualises the metaphor differently from the source language, the translator may experience some difficulties in transferring the meaning of the metaphor. This does not mean that the metaphor cannot be translated; rather it means it will take some time before the translator finds the correct target equivalent that will convey the same meaning as the source metaphor. It is also worth mentioning that this can be done only if the translator is competent in the two languages she is working in and if she is familiar with the metaphor she is dealing with. In this respect, Mandelblit concurs with Dagut (1976) who also emphasised the competence and performance of the translator. Tirkkonen-Condit (2001) tested Mandelblit's hypothesis using the think-aloud protocol (TAP). She measured difficulty in the translation of the English metaphor-related words *artwork* and *vulnerably housed* into Finnish. The results they obtained proved the Mandelblit hypothesis to be valid. In her article, she also reports on a similar study done by Martikainen (1999) who came up with similar results.

Christina Schäffner, a well-known scholar in metaphor translation research, acknowledges the important role that CMT can play in translation studies. She believes that CMT can provide valuable answers to the question of the translatability of metaphors. Schäffner (2004: 1258) highlights the importance of considering social and cultural systems that are involved when dealing with conceptual metaphor and not focusing on translatability alone. Schäffner's studies (1997, 2004) show that the linguistic expression may convey different meanings to different audiences. This is caused by their different cultural, political and historical backgrounds. She therefore emphasises the importance of considering these aspects when one analyses metaphor. She illustrates this point by using two examples, namely that of the "common European house" and the term "hard core" from political dialogue between the Eastern and Western Europe. Citing the example of the metaphor EUROPE IS A HOUSE, she revealed that, although there was a common understanding of the word "house" between the English and the

Russian, the structure of the house was perceived differently. From that discourse she deduced that the ST and the TT can have identical conceptual metaphors, but the linguistic expressions and additional information in the TT that express these conceptual metaphors may be unique. This allowed her to conclude that not all instantiations of metaphors in the ST are accounted for in the TT by using the same metaphorical expression. Schäffner (2004) encourages translation scholars to do more research on the profiles of metaphor. She claims that such research could reveal possible cultural differences in the conceptual structures as well. According to Schäffner cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives of translation can contribute a great deal to metaphor theory. She argues that the analysis of parallel texts can shed light on the similarities and differences in conceptual metaphors and their linguistic realisations. Schäffner (2004: 1264, 1267) also states that, "the analysis of texts for metaphors and metaphorical reasoning processes in different languages may reveal possible cultural differences in the conceptual structures". The present study did this by exploring metaphors in the English text and their translations in isiXhosa and isiZulu and by comparing the metaphors of the two languages. Schäffner (2004) and Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013) advocate a multilingual approach to the study of metaphor in translation. Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013: 103) argue that process studies could bring more insights if the texts are produced in identical conditions. Although the conditions under which the translations under investigation were not performed in the same setting as they suggest, the translation of *Long Walk to Freedom* was commissioned by the same publishing company and translators were given the same time limit to complete the task. The book was translated into four South African languages. Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013) also highlighted the fact that research that has been accomplished concerning cross-cultural comparison has not been performed on authentic texts. The use of multilingual texts will illuminate the differences in the treatment of metaphor by the two translators. This study adds value in this regard.

Moving from the premise that metaphors are untranslatable, Al-Hasnawi (2007) investigated the translation of metaphor from English into Arabic and vice versa using examples that are deeply embedded in culture and religion. His data was taken from authentic texts including the Holy Qur'an. Applying Mandelblit's (1995) hypothesis, his study confirmed the fact that the process of translating requires

conceptual mapping on the part of the translator in order to find an appropriate 'cognitive equivalent'. The process of reconceptualising in the target language revealed that metaphors of similar mapping conditions were easier to deal with than metaphors with different mapping conditions. Al-Hasnawi (2007) identified three ways in which metaphors could be translated:

(1)   Using metaphors with similar mapping conditions;

(2)   Using metaphors with similar mapping conditions but different lexical items; and

(3)   Using metaphors of different mapping conditions.

These conditions confirm the fact that there are experiences that are common to the human race and there are those that are different because of different cultural practices (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980b).

Waldau (2010) studied the use of metaphor and simile in children's books. The books originally written in Swedish by Lindgren, *Pippi Långstrump* and *Alla vi barn i Bullerbyn*, were later translated into English as *Pippi Longstocking* and *The Six Bullerby Children,* respectively. In her analysis, Waldau grouped the metaphors into three categories: structural, orientational and ontological. She had two groups of similes: same image and similar image. When she compared the STs and the TTs she found that there were more metaphors in the STs than in the TTs. What was also interesting for her to note was that none of the metaphors were rendered as a different category in the target text and the ontological metaphors seemed to be more popular than others. Although there was no change in the categories, she noticed that there were changes in the actual expressions. Some of the metaphors were rendered as idiomatic expressions, but with the same meaning. Her findings showed that the ST had more metaphors than the TT. She argued that this did not have much significance because there was little difference between the two languages and she attributed this to the fact that they are similar.

In his doctoral thesis, Schmidt (2012) performed a similar study where he applied the CMT on metaphor translation. He did a comparative analysis of the English source text and three Croatian target texts. The Croatian translations were done by three different translators. The translations were published in different periods,

1920, 1953 and 1987. He shared the same idea with Schäffner that CMT can contribute to the ongoing debate on metaphor translation. In his analysis, he identified ten procedures that were in four main categories of translation strategies used by the translators, three of which are similar to those identified by Al-Hasnawi (2007):

- Conceptual metaphor translated by the same conceptual metaphor;
- Conceptual metaphor translated by a different conceptual metaphor;
- Conceptual metaphor translated by a non-metaphoric paraphrase; and
- Conceptual metaphor translated by deletion.

When he analysed the distribution of metaphors in the TTs he discovered that most of the original metaphors were retained; 77% from the same domain and 5% from a different domain. Metaphors that were paraphrased constituted 17%. The reasons for choosing a particular translation strategy were found to be complex, involving subjective and objective motivations. He also observed a high degree of similarity in the treatment of metaphor by the translators. He attributed this to the influence of previous translations and to the fact that some metaphors in the ST were universal. He therefore concluded that the combination of CMT and translation theories proved to be useful in describing translation strategies.

Metaphor has been widely studied in the European languages as can be seen from the studies cited above. On the contrary, the same cannot be said with regard to Southern African languages. Looking at the African languages of South Africa, for example, a literature search yielded more results on studies conducted in isiZulu than in other languages. Only one result could be found on isiXhosa and Sesotho and this was a study done by Thipa (1988). There is also limited research on the translation of metaphor, either as ornamental or as cognitive devices. As noted by Nokele (2014: 75), a literature search showed one study that was achieved by Hermanson (2006), which was two-fold. In the first part of his book he examined conceptual metaphor in isiZulu and in the second part he compared the Hebrew metaphor with the existing isiZulu version. He extracted a few metaphors from the *Book of Amos* and studied their translations in isiZulu. Hermanson (2006: 174-175) observed the following:

- The conceptual metaphor theory can be applied in isiZulu as shown by research done before him.
- Metaphors that were identified according to CMT increase the empirical basis for the theory.
- The analysis of conceptual metaphors assisted in unravelling the implicatures of the source text, which made them easy to translate.
- Understanding the conceptual framework within which the metaphor is formed in one language helps to identify the implicatures it contains, which in turn makes it easier for the translator to invoke the same implicatures in the target language.

The last point corresponds with Nord's (1991, 1997) text analysis strategy, which enables the translator to decode and encode the text for the benefit of the target reader. What is noteworthy in his conclusion is the emphasis he puts on receptors' ability to recover the intended implicatures. The translator may succeed in conveying the intended implicature but there is no guarantee that all readers will be able to recover it.

2.6.2.1 Summary

The studies cited above confirm the developments in the translation of metaphor. They reveal the approaches adopted by scholars; some are prescriptive while others lean towards descriptiveness. It is interesting to note the emphasis that is placed on the competence of the translator and her ability to convey not only the meaning of the metaphor but its effect as well. What is also fascinating is the comment made by Hermanson that it may not be possible for the target audience to recover the implicatures conveyed by the metaphor even if the translator conveyed them perfectly. His argument is based on the fact that even speakers of the language sometimes fail to understand the implications invoked by the metaphor. The review has also displayed some similarities in the findings of studies performed in different language combinations; for example, the investigation done by Al Hasnawi (2007) and Schmidt (2012). In their studies, they identified similar strategies that were employed by translators when translating conceptual metaphors. What is also significant is the fact that the studies that are

presented here were conducted using actual texts thereby reflecting discourse in reality.

The present study is similar to the studies reviewed above in that it also explores the translation of conceptual metaphor. It is approached from a descriptive point of view, like those of Schäffner (2004), Al-Hasnawi (2007) and Schmidt (2012). It therefore fits in with and enlarges upon the empirical basis for the theory of metaphor translation.

2.7　Conclusion

This chapter gave a brief contextual outline of the trends in translation studies. It showed how translation studies shifted from the prescriptive approach to the descriptive tactic. For a long time theories of translation were equivalence-based, which meant that the target text was expected to resemble the source text in detail. The translations were placed on a good or bad scale. This approach changed later with the emergence of target-oriented theorists. Scholars like Vermeer, Reiss, Nord, and others who were the proponents of functionalism, preached the importance of the function of the text, the *skopos*, a term that was introduced by Vermeer. Nord introduced source text analysis that would assist in understanding the gist of the source text and identify the function of the text thus making it easier to translate. Other target-oriented schools of thought, the polysystems and DTS, emerged at about the same time as the functionalist theorist school. These theorists highlighted that translation takes place under socio-, cultural and historical conditions, which should be considered when looking at the actual product. They also emphasised that translation is a norm-governed process, that the strategies adopted during the translation process are guided by these norms. In addition to this, it became clear that the procedures translators opt for revealing the decision-making process which characterises the translational act. DTS provided a qualitative framework that could be used when describing translation, namely, the product-, process- and/or function oriented methods. In this study, DTS principles were applied in the description of the translation process and product.

This chapter also demonstrated the interdisciplinary nature of translation and how it incorporates corpus linguistic methods in its enquiries. The use of corpus linguistics in analysing translation phenomena was pioneered by Mona Baker, hence Corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS) can be viewed as the 'icing on the cake' when it is combined with DTS. While DTS provides the qualitative framework, CTS on the other hand offers a quantitative analytical tool. CTS emphasises the importance of using authentic texts, which implies that there needs to be a corpus first. It also encourages the use of computer tools such as concordancers to query the corpus. The type of corpus that is used mostly for translation investigations is the parallel corpus. In order to contrast the source text and its translations, corpus tools were used. A concordancer called ParaConc was used to align the source text with its target texts, to run frequency lists and identify the strategies employed in the translation process.

As mentioned in the discussion, translation and metaphor, by their nature, involve cognition, implying that they should be approached from a cognitive perspective. The introduction of conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) encouraged translation scholars to adopt a cognitive approach to the treatment of metaphor and its translation. This chapter displayed how the CMT was applied to metaphor translation. It also illustrated how cognitive linguistics could be useful to provide answers concerning the linguistic matters involved in translation (Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013), by providing a framework for the description of cognitive processes and motivating for the choices made by the translator (Fernández, 2013). Apart from DTS and CTS, the investigation of the translation of conceptual metaphor that is carried out in this study relies on the CMT presented above.

The discussion above echoes the assertion by Shreve and Danks (1997: xiii), about a general consensus in translation studies, that translation is a complex phenomenon which can be partially explained by models from various disciplines such as, cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics and psycholinguistics. These disciplines offer theories that can be used in understanding the translation process.

The following chapter will sketch the procedures followed in the compilation of the corpus and analysis of data.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter, the focus was on theoretical issues such as the development of translation studies from prescriptive to descriptive approaches, and the various views on metaphor, metaphor translation and corpus-based translation studies. Issues such as the identification and categorising of metaphor, the classification and use of corpora, which inform the analytical framework of this study, were highlighted. This chapter presents the methodology of the current study. Section 3.1 explains the importance of this research. In section 3.2, the research methods that were adopted are presented. The research design is outlined in detail in section 3.3.

3.2   The rationale

Much research has been conducted on conceptual metaphors and their translation into English and other Germanic languages. On the contrary, very little research has been done in African languages, as has been illustrated in the previous chapter. Nokele (2014) highlighted this by revealing some of the studies that have been performed in Southern Africa. She cited research done by Machakanja (2006) on conceptual metaphors in Shona, an African language spoken in Zimbabwe. In his study, Machakanja compared Shona and English conceptual metaphors, looking for similarities and differences. Nokele also mentions studies that were conducted in the South African context by Mkatshwa (1991), Hendrikse and Mkhatshwa (1993), Nxumalo (1994), Hermanson and Du Plessis (1997), Taylor and Mbense (1998), Hermanson (2006). The most recent publication is that of Biyela (2014) who explored the use of animal metaphor in isiZulu, representing the image of King Shaka. These were studies done in isiZulu. Only one study was reported that explored isiXhosa and Southern Sotho conceptual metaphors, and this was conducted by Thipa (1988). In this study, Thipa tested the conceptual metaphor theory and he discovered that it is applicable to the two languages. Although his findings cannot be refuted, his research was based on a few examples that were not taken from authentic texts. The recent study done by

Nduneni (2003) is an exploration of metaphor as a poetic device in Tshaka's *Iintsika zentlambo yeTyhume*. The scarcity of research on conceptual metaphor and its translation can be attributed to the fact that researchers concentrated on metaphor as a poetic device. This could also be ascribed to the manner in which metaphor was taught at schools in the past. Teachers tended to emphasise the use of figurative expressions, including metaphors, in order to beautify essays. Even when analysing literary works, the emphasis would be on the decorative nature of metaphor. It was only after the seminal work by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) that this perception changed and conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) gained popularity, as already mentioned. Metaphor was now viewed as a cognitive phenomenon. This theory teaches us that metaphor is not just about comparing entities; it also helps us to understand and communicate our experiences better. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) put it, "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another". They claim that we think in metaphors. This is new to ordinary people because most people view metaphor only as a figure of speech that can be used in creative writings. The fact that metaphor is pervasive in language (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) is a good reason for it to be studied in translation as well. In this research, the use of metaphor as a cognitive device and how it has been translated from English into isiXhosa and isiZulu is explored.

This study aimed to help us understand how conceptual metaphor works and how it can be translated. As has been illustrated above, the translation of conceptual metaphors is not a new subject, but it has not been widely explored in African languages, especially in isiXhosa. The identification and analysis of metaphors using MIPVU in these languages is thus also the first of its kind. This study is unique in that it has combined new and old approaches to research, namely descriptive translation studies (DTS), corpus-based studies and the MIPVU procedure. It therefore brings fresh evidence with regards to metaphor identification methods and CMT that has until now been done largely on European languages. It also contributes to the understanding of conceptual metaphor translation in African languages. Another reason for doing this study is that the study accomplished by Honey (2006) on the translation of this autobiography was on the Afrikaans translation only. It concentrated on how Antjie Krog, the translator, manipulated the text and the effects of her manipulation. Honey's

purpose was to show that it is difficult to translate an autobiography without changing the author's voice. In her conclusion, Honey concurs with Rooke that an autobiography poses a challenge to the translator. Consequently, she argues that Krog produced, not Mandela's autobiography, but a 'version' thereof. What is crucial for this study, as far as the translation of autobiographies is concerned, is the rendering of the conceptual metaphors in isiXhosa and isiZulu, keeping in mind that the translators are the mouthpiece of the author. In the next section, the methods that were adopted in the study are presented.

3.3   Research method

This study is conducted within the context of mixed methods research in that it has combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative research puts emphasis on describing and understanding phenomena. The researcher is the key instrument and enters the research with an open mind. Data analysis tends to be subjective and allows flexibility. This study dealt with the examination of existing documents, that is, Nelson Mandela's written autobiography and its translations. This renders this material authentic and reliable. Autobiographies, as part of personal documents, are useful in and add value to the investigation of phenomena and theory development and verification (Babbie and Mouton, 2001 in De Vos et al 2011). The technique employed in this study is a combination of content analysis and linguistic analysis. Content analysis is a scientific method of data collection that can be used in both quantitative and qualitative research. It is a method used in analysing the content of written, verbal or visual communication (Anderson 1997; Sarantakos 1998). It can also be used for quantifying the frequency of elements within texts (Strydom and Delport 2011). It allows the researcher to enhance understanding of data. According to Krippendorff in Elo and Kyngas (2007: 108), content analysis is used, "for making replicable and valid inferences from data in their context with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action". Sarantakos (1998) distinguishes between two kinds of content that the researcher may choose to analyse. These are manifest content and latent content. Manifest content relates to visible text as manifested in the document, for example, words, sentences, paragraphs and so on. The analysis of these may include counting of frequencies. Latent

content is the underlying meaning conveyed through the document. Although the researcher was looking for implied meanings, the focus in this research was on the words through which these meanings were made manifest. Linguistic analysis concerns the exploration of the use and meaning of words and phrases in the text (Strydom and Delport 2011). The metaphor identification and analysis that was employed is a form of linguistic analysis.

Quantitative research aims to establish validity and allows researchers to measure variables objectively. It uses numerical data collection, for example, how many metaphors were identified in the target texts as compared to the source text. By employing content analysis, the researcher was able to quantify the metaphors that were identified in the text. It was also possible to find out which words had the highest frequency in all three texts. By approaching this research from a qualitative and quantitative perspective, it contributes to the development of metaphor theory within translation studies.

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (par. 1.4), the aims of the research were as follows:

> ➢ To determine which conceptual metaphors have been used in the source text and to explore how these were rendered in isiXhosa and isiZulu;
> ➢ To contrast the strategies employed by isiXhosa and isiZulu translators in order to determine whether they are similar or different;
> ➢ To determine what could have motivated the translators' decision-making; and
> ➢ To show the range of possibilities for translating conceptual metaphor.

The aim of this chapter is to set out the analytical framework and procedures followed to address these aims. The following section outlines the research design.

3.4   Research design

The following are the steps followed in this research design:

3.4.1   Research questions

The research questions are as follows:

- Which metaphors can be found in the source text?
- How have these metaphors been rendered in the target texts?
- How are the translations similar or different?

3.4.2   Designing a corpus

In order to address the aims of this study it was imperative that a corpus be designed. Corpus design enhances the validity and reliability of the results (Kennedy in Olohan 2004: 45). Kenny (2001: 23) argues that compiling a corpus presupposes a set of criteria, it is not assembled randomly. In line with this assertion Bowker and Pearson (2002) provide guidelines that can be useful when designing a corpus for specific purposes, namely, the size of the corpus, number of texts, medium, subject, text type, authorship, language and publication date. Although these are meant for language for specific purposes, they were useful and applicable to this study and were therefore adopted. The steps that were followed in designing the English-IsiXhosa-IsiZulu corpus are outlined below.

3.4.2.1   Size of corpus

Bowker and Pearson (2002: 45) maintain that although a corpus is defined as a 'large' collection of texts, 'large' does not necessarily mean big. They argue that the researcher's decision on the size may depend on the needs of the project at hand, the availability of data and the amount of time available. The corpus that was queried in this study comprises three texts, one source text in English and two translations, one in isiXhosa and the other in isiZulu. For the purpose of this study, only extracts of the book were taken for investigation, that is, Parts Eight and Nine of *Long Walk to Freedom* and not the full text. The size of the parallel corpus is

given in terms of the individual texts and the total number of words in each text. The English-isiXhosa-isiZulu parallel corpus comprises 51 149 English words, 38 077 isiXhosa words and 36 491 isiZulu words. The difference between the number of words in the source text and the target texts is due to the agglutinating nature of isiXhosa and isiZulu languages. For example, three words in English could be written as one word in isiXhosa and isiZulu. Example from the corpus:

ST: It was an attempt to crush our spirits. (Eight words)
TT1: Yayililinge lokutyumza imixhelo yethu. (Four words)

The phrase *it was an attempt*, consists of four words and its isiXhosa equivalent is one word. The lexical items *it, was,* and *an*, are represented by formatives or morphemes ya- (past tense) + -yi- (subj concord) + -li- (copulative formative) attached to the noun *ilinge*.

The following table illustrates texts used in the English-isiXhosa-isiZulu parallel corpus.

Text and author /translator	**Section**	**Size**
Long Walk to Freedom- Mandela	Robben Island: The dark years Robben Island: Beginning to hope	27 386 23 763 (51 149)
Indlela ende eya enkululekweni - Mtuze	ISiqithi: Iminyaka Yobunzima ISiqithi: Ukuqala kwethemba	20 522 17 555 (38 077)
Uhambo olude oluya enkululekweni - Ntuli	ERobben Island: Ifu Elimnyama ERobben Isand: Kuyantwela Ezansi	19 777 17 405 (37 182)
	Total	51149/ 38077/ 37182 (126 408)

The structure of the text and its translation can be illustrated as follows:

Xhosa translation Indlela ende eya enkululekweni	English Original Long Walk to Freedom	Zulu translation Uhambo olude oluya enkululekweni
ISiqithi: Iminyaka yobunzima / ISiqithi: Ukuqala kwethemba	Robben Island: the dark years / Robben Island: Beginning to hope	ERobben Island: Ifu elimnyama / ERobben Island: Kuyantwela ezansi
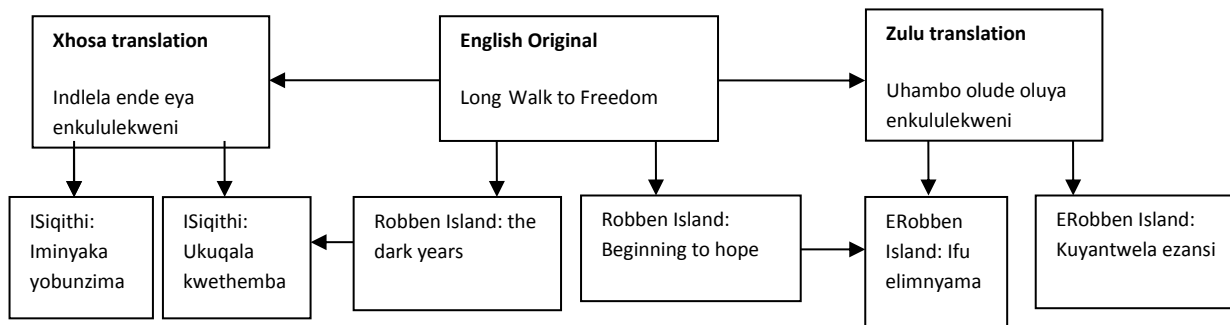
Table 3.1 English-isiXhosa-isiZulu corpus

3.4.2.2 Number of texts, medium, text type, subject, language and publication

To answer the research questions given above, I needed a parallel corpus of a source text and its translations. The corpus I chose is Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom* and its isiXhosa and isiZulu translations. This text was chosen because it is a story about a historic figure, a world icon and the first black president of South Africa. The book was published by Little Brown Company in London in 1994 and was later translated into four South African languages, namely, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu and Sesotho sa Leboa. All these translations were published in 2001 by Vivlia Publishers and Booksellers, who happen to be the commissioner of the translations. The isiXhosa and isiZulu translations were selected because these languages belong to the same language family, the Nguni language group, although their cultures may be slightly different.

3.4.2.3 Authorship

Bowker and Pearson (2000: 51) assert that to ensure that the selected corpus contains authentic material, the author of each text should be an acknowledged subject-field expect. Although *Long Walk to Freedom* is not a text containing specialised language, it is a special text by virtue of being an autobiography written by Nelson Mandela, the first black president of South Africa who was imprisoned for 27 years for fighting oppression. It is also important because it

contains valuable information about the history of the country. The isiXhosa and isiZulu translations were done by reputable translators. Prof PT Mtuze, the isiXhosa translator, and Prof DBZ Ntuli, who did the isiZulu translations, are well-known writers and translators in their respective languages. Prof Mtuze authored over 30 books and is acknowledged for his contribution to the isiXhosa literature by the Eastern Cape provincial and national government. Both translators were nominated for the SATI Award for Outstanding Translation in 2003 for translating *Long Walk to Freedom*. The prize was awarded to Prof Ntuli. Ntuli also received numerous awards for his contribution to isiZulu literature (Nokele 2011: 328). In addition to comparing the translations with the original text, the target texts were compared with each other. This was done in order to find out how these texts were similar or different.

Initially, my aim was to study the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor as suggested by the title of the book. In this case, I would search for source domain vocabulary, as suggested by Stefanowitsch (2006), such as *walk, run, travel, path, road*, and so on. The search would be done automatically, using ParaConc concordancer. Using Key Word in Context (KWIC) searching mechanism of ParaConc would be much quicker because all the key words and the context in which they are used would be displayed immediately. Obviously not all expressions found would be metaphorical. Those that are not metaphorical would be eliminated by applying the MIPVU procedure that is designed for identifying metaphors. This procedure is done manually. I then decided not to restrict myself to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and searched for any metaphor I could find instead and then analysed each one to find out what kind of a metaphor it was. Considering the volume of the book, I decided that identifying metaphors by using MIPVU would be a daunting task and there would be limited space. For this reason, the best option for me was to select a chapter and analyse it. I chose Parts Eight and Nine because they portray Mandela's life on Robben Island. I was interested in exploring these chapters to find out which metaphors could be found. MIPVU requires that one work with a manageable sample of a corpus, as a result of which I opted for the selection of at least one sentence from each page across the selected chapters, instead of taking one page and examining every word in it. Because of the nature of the procedure, I could not examine every lexical item in a sentence; instead, only those words that were regarded as potentially metaphoric were scrutinised.

A study was done on Part Eight of the book and the focus was to find out whether metaphors of hardship and captivity would dominate as suggested by the title 'Robben Island: The dark years'. The results were reported in the form of an article (Nokele 2014) and they showed that there were such metaphors in the source text and target text. However, whether they dominated in the text could not be concluded because only a small sample of metaphors was identified and analysed for the purpose of that study. As mentioned above, one of the aims for this study was to identify metaphor-related words and then analyse them to find out what kind of conceptual metaphors underlie them and how they were translated. All three texts were scanned and cleaned so that they were available electronically for alignment purposes.

The next section outlines a description of how ParaConc can be used in analysing parallel texts and screenshots are provided.

3.4.2.4 Using ParaConc in analysing English-isiXhosa-isiZulu parallel corpus

ParaConc is computer software that was created by Michael Barlow as a tool that could be used for linguistic research. It is a concordance tool used to query parallel corpora. It is a very useful tool for research in translation studies because it allows the researcher to perform a variety of cross-linguistic investigations (Barlow 2001). Corpora are firstly uploaded in the concordance tool and are then aligned with each other to enable the researcher to conduct his/her investigation. The programme can take texts in more than two languages although the researcher can only compared two languages at a time. When searching for a certain word, the concordancer will show two windows with the key word in one language (usually the source text) on top and in the corresponding language below. The word will be displayed with its context in both languages. Although it is possible to do this manually, it would be cumbersome to do so. ParaConc also allows the researcher to draw word lists from the corpus. The word lists permit the researcher to determine and compare the frequency of words in the parallel corpus.

Since all three texts are printed copies, the first task was to scan the texts so that they were in electronic form. Once they were scanned, they were in pdf format (figure 3.1) and not ready to be used. The next step was to convert them to MSWord text format before they could be uploaded to ParaConc and be usable. After being converted to a Word document, they needed to be edited, to correct spelling mistakes or strange words or characters that resulted from conversion (figure 3.2 and figure 3.3). After the texts were cleaned they were then saved as plain text (*txt) (figure 3.4). Before they are uploaded, they need to be checked again to make sure they were clean. For instance, in this study it was discovered that the text needed cleaning again. In the isiXhosa and isiZulu texts, some words had the capital letter *I* converted as small letter *l*, the word *wam* was *warn*. In other cases, the small letter *l* appeared as *t.* and the capital letter L was written as small letter. There were also instances where punctuation was incorrect. There would be a full stop instead of a comma or a full stop instead of a hyphen. If texts are not properly cleaned, they will not yield good results when they are uploaded and aligned.
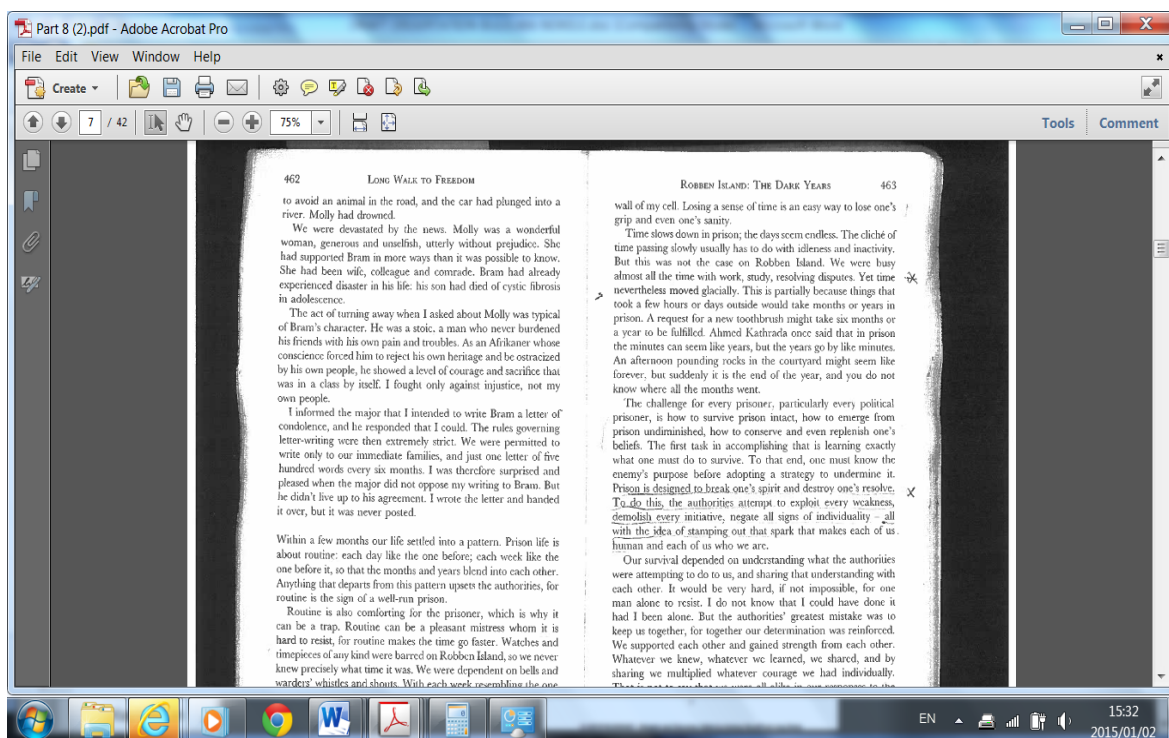
Figure 3.1 Showing scanned English text in pdf format
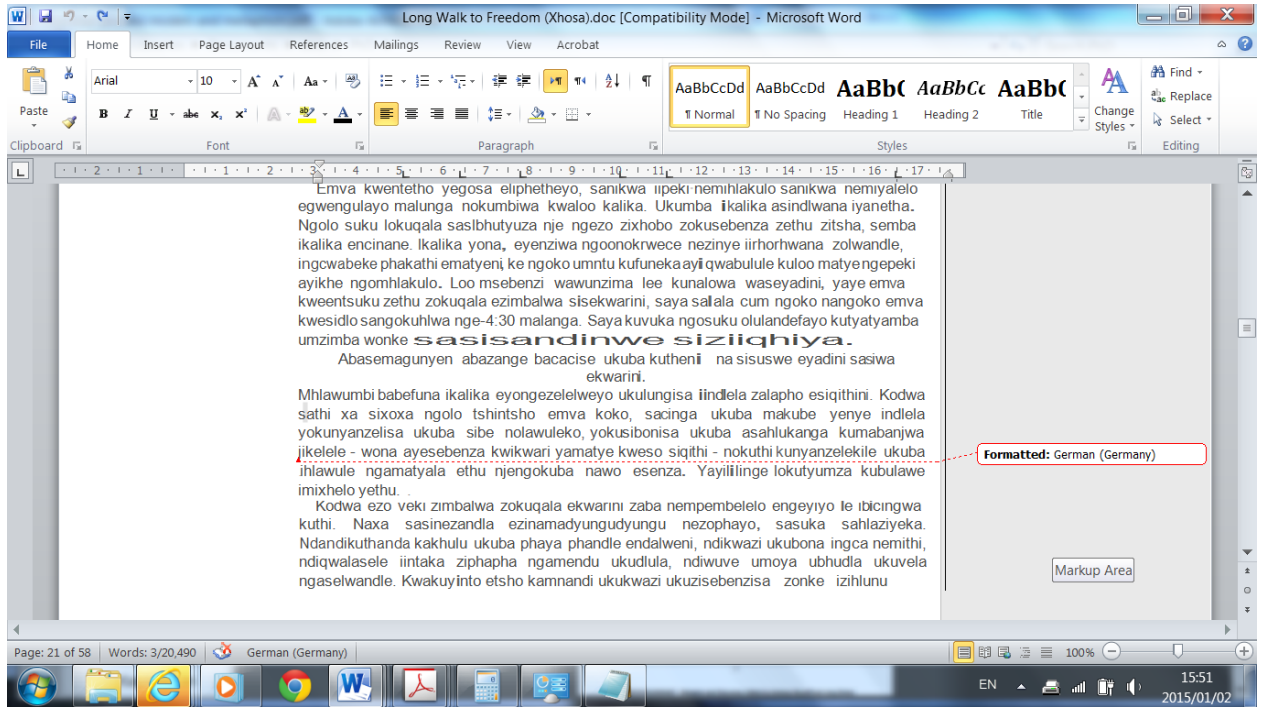
Figure 3.2 Showing isiXhosa text in MSWord with errors to be edited
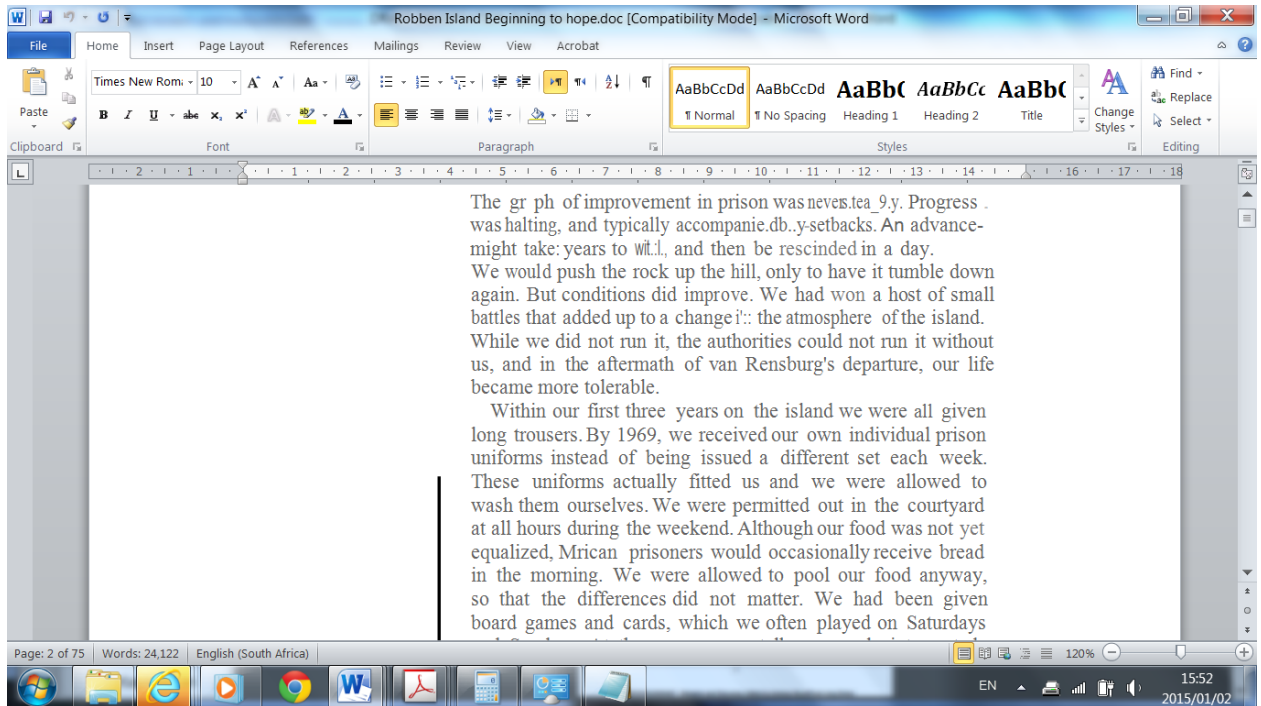
Figure 3.3 showing English text in MSWord with errors to be edited
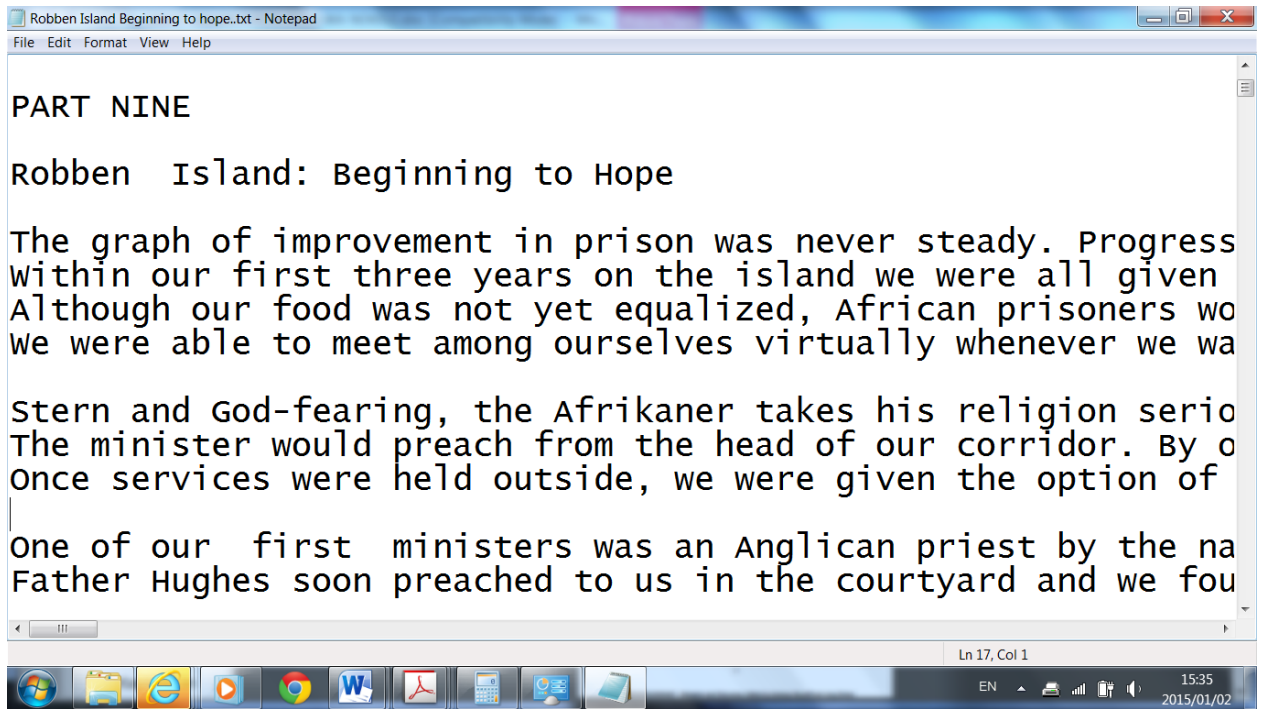
Figure 3.4 Showing English text in plain text format ready to be uploaded into ParaConc

3.4.2.5   Loading texts

To load the texts, the first step was to open a ParaConc file that looks like the picture in figure 3.5. To load the corpus one must click on File Menu on the top left corner of the window. A drop down menu with 'load corpus' on top appears (figure 3.6). Once this button is selected, a screen like the one shown in figure 3.7 appears. Before uploading the texts, the researcher selects the number of the texts to be used and the language of each text. For this study, three texts were queried: the source text in English, one translation in isiXhosa and the other one in isiZulu. Afrikaans was selected as a label for the isiXhosa text, and Swedish for isiZulu text, because these languages are not included in the list displayed in the drop-box. The corpus is loaded by clicking the add button. Once the files are uploaded, the top menu bar displays File Search Frequency Info. At the bottom left corner of the window it shows the number of files that were uploaded and at the bottom right corner it shows the size of each file in the order English/Afrikaans (IsiXhosa)/Swedish (IsiZulu). After the texts were uploaded, they were saved in a workspace created in ParaConc. Saving in workspace allows the researcher to use the corpus at any time without reloading each time. Then the three windows

with the different texts can be viewed (figure 3.4.6). Although up to four texts can be uploaded, one can only work with two parallel texts at a time.

The process of uploading texts into ParaConc is illustrated in the figures below.
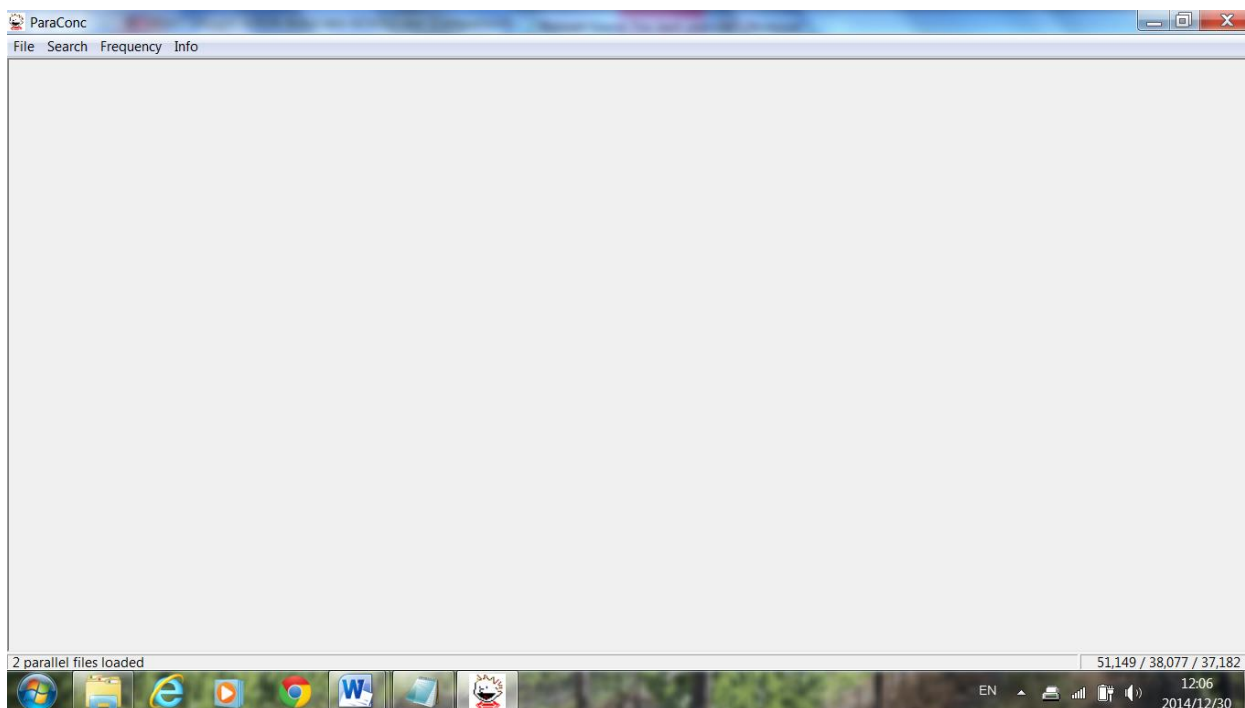
Figure 3.5 ParaConc window with no files
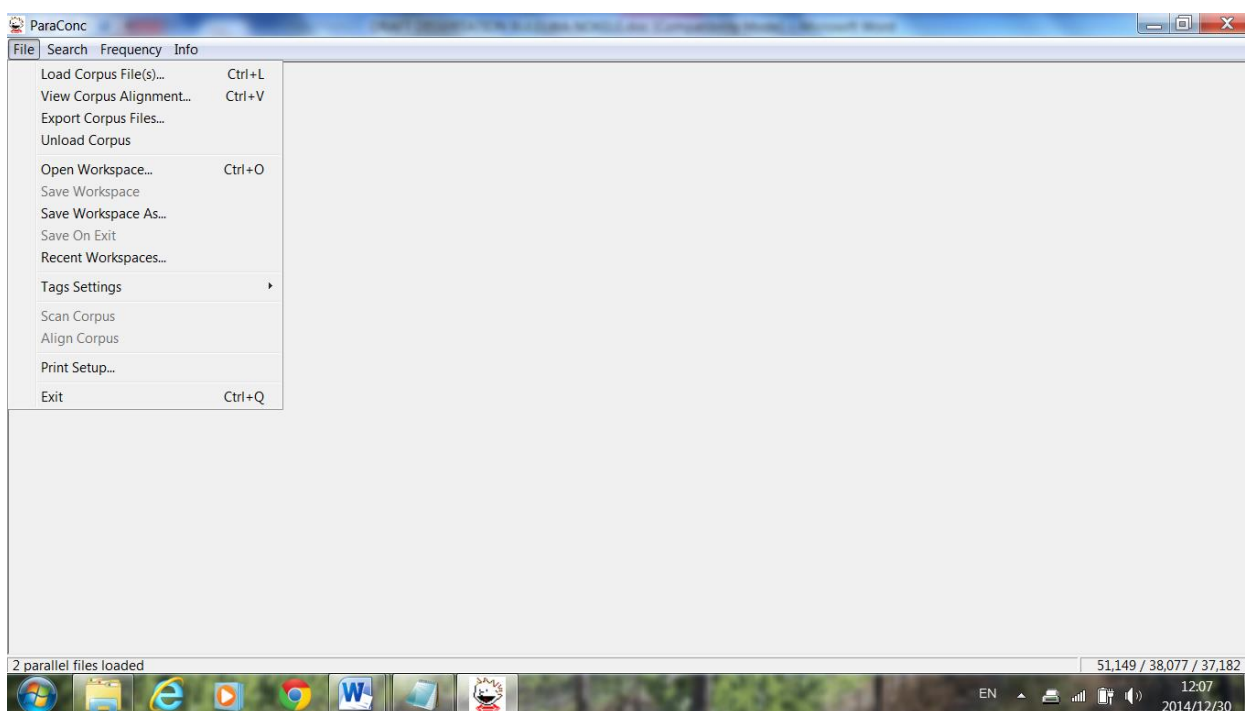
Figure 3.6 Showing loaded corpus files
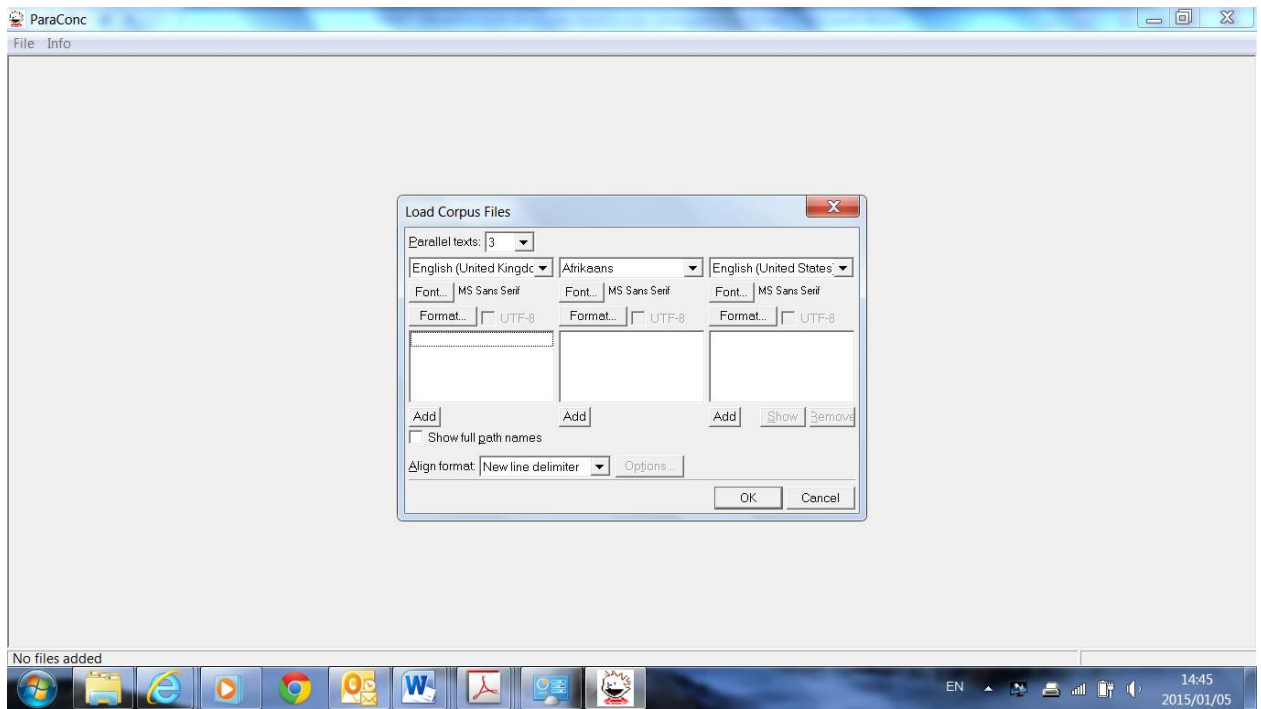
Figure 3.7 Window showing workspaces for three texts to be uploaded
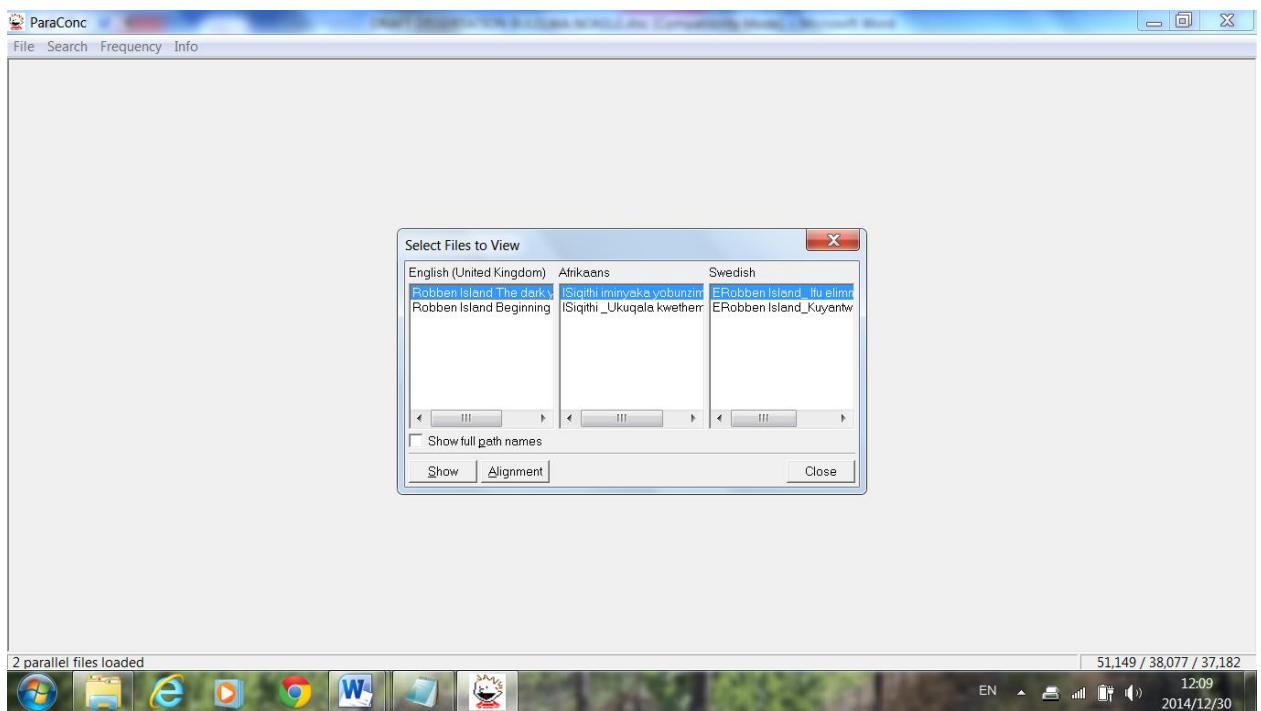
Figure 3.8 Showing three windows with two files in each:

1st file: Robben Island: The dark years – Isiqithi: Iminyaka yobunzima – Isiqithi: Ifu elimnyama

2nd file: Robben Island: Beginning to hope – Isiqithi: Ukuqala kwethemba – Isiqithi: Kuyantwela ezansi.
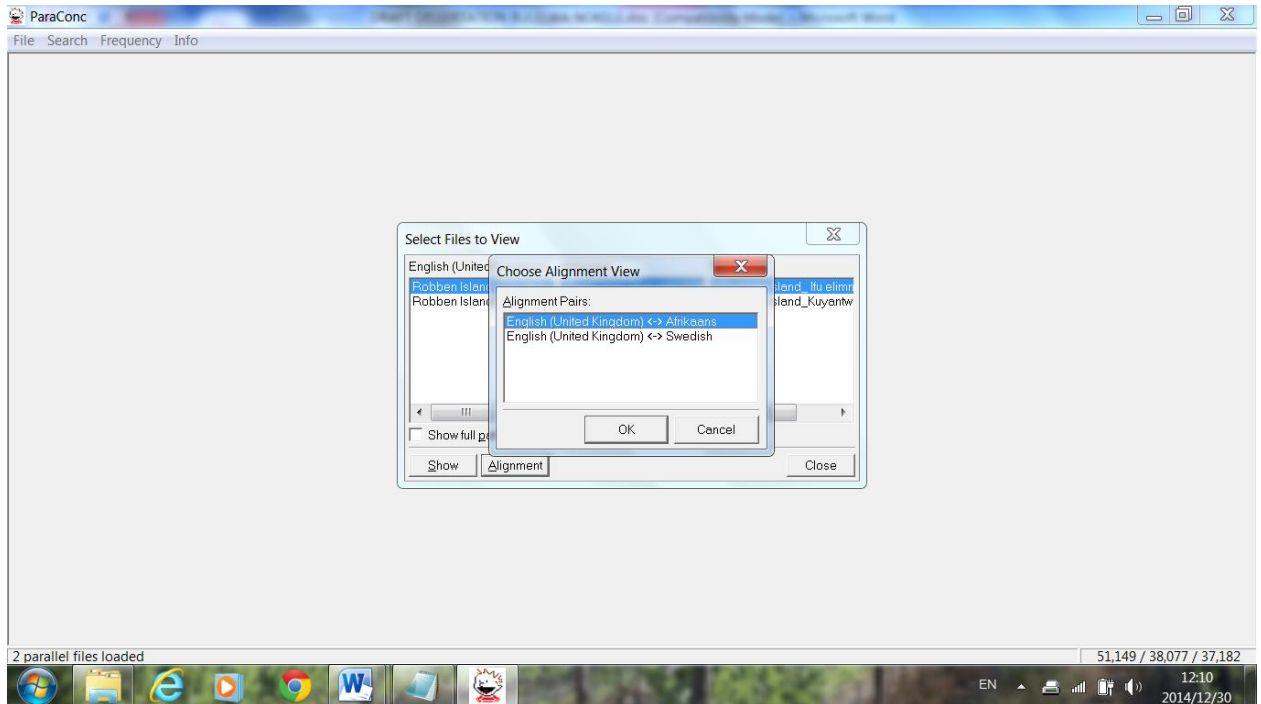
Figure 3.9 Showing alignment pairs: English > Afrikaans (IsiXhosa) and English > Swedish (IsiZulu)

After the files have been uploaded, the analyst can start aligning the source text with each translation. The smaller window shows the language pairs. Although there are three files that have been uploaded, one can only align two files at a time. Aligning the texts means that each sentence in the original text should be in the same line as the corresponding sentence in the target text. ParaConc does this automatically, but sometimes the researcher must do it. This usually happens in instances where a sentence in the source text is rendered as two or more sentences in the target language. This is not uncommon in African languages, where the translator would simplify a complex sentence by breaking it down into manageable chunks. The uploaded text appears in segments. It happens that there is an empty segment in-between that needs to be filled. To fill this segment one has to double click on the first word of the sentence below the segment. A dialogue box (see figure 3.10) with options allowing one to merge the segments appears and the appropriate option is then selected. It also happens that a sentence in the source text is transferred as two sentences in the target text and the second sentence appears in the next line. In that case, the sentences must be merged so that both sentences are in the same line as the sentence in the original.

Some of the punctuation marks have to be merged as in the case of sentences in direct speech, where the closing inverted commas sometimes appear on their own in the next line or as part of the following sentence. After the editing is completed, the texts are ready to be analysed. One notices that the sentences are colour coded; the corresponding sentences appear in the same colour as the original counterpart. Figure 3.11 and figure 3.12 illustrate aligned sentences in the two corpora.
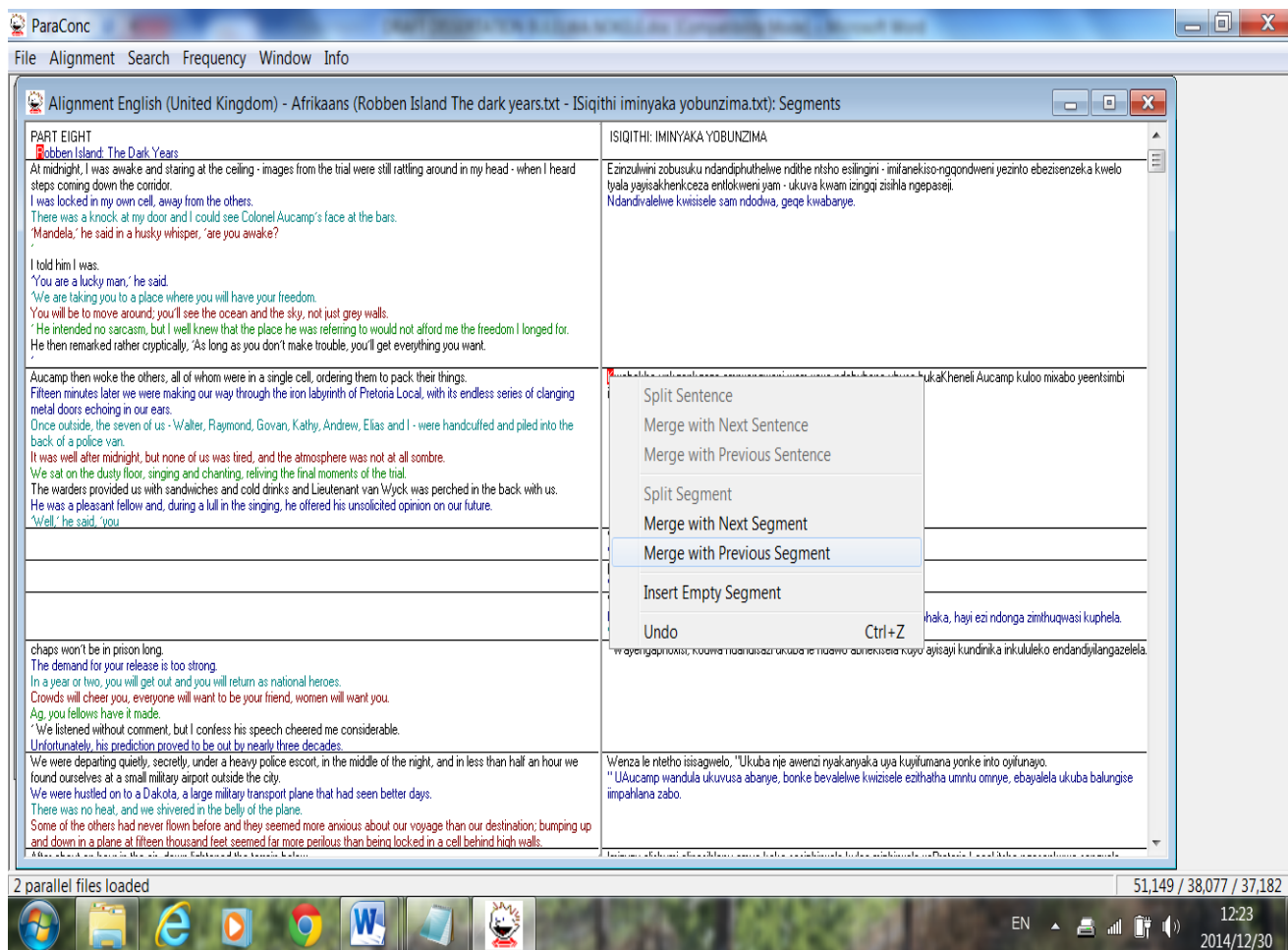
Figure 3.10 Showing alignment process
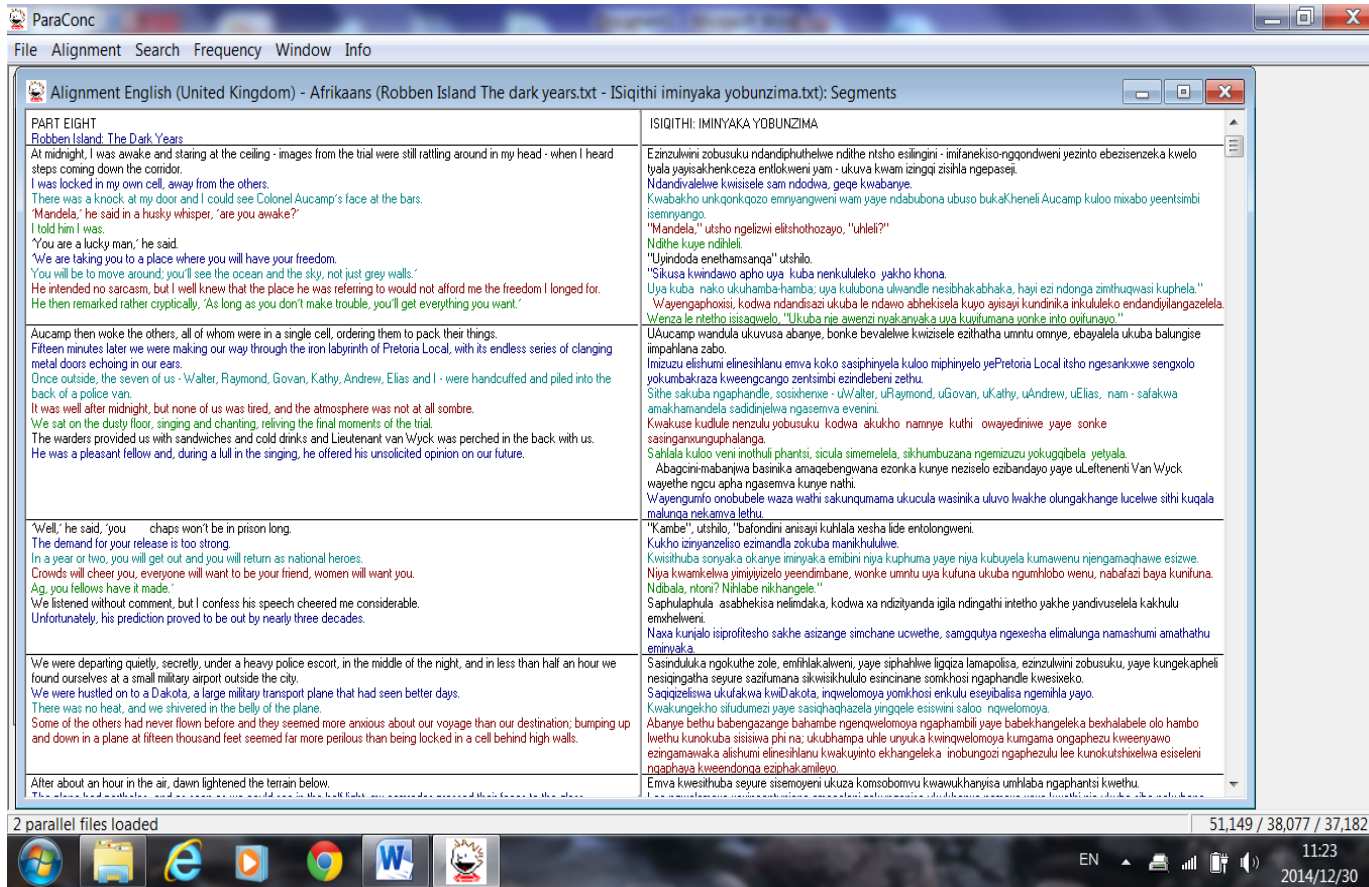
Figure 3.11 Showing aligned English-isiXhosa sentences
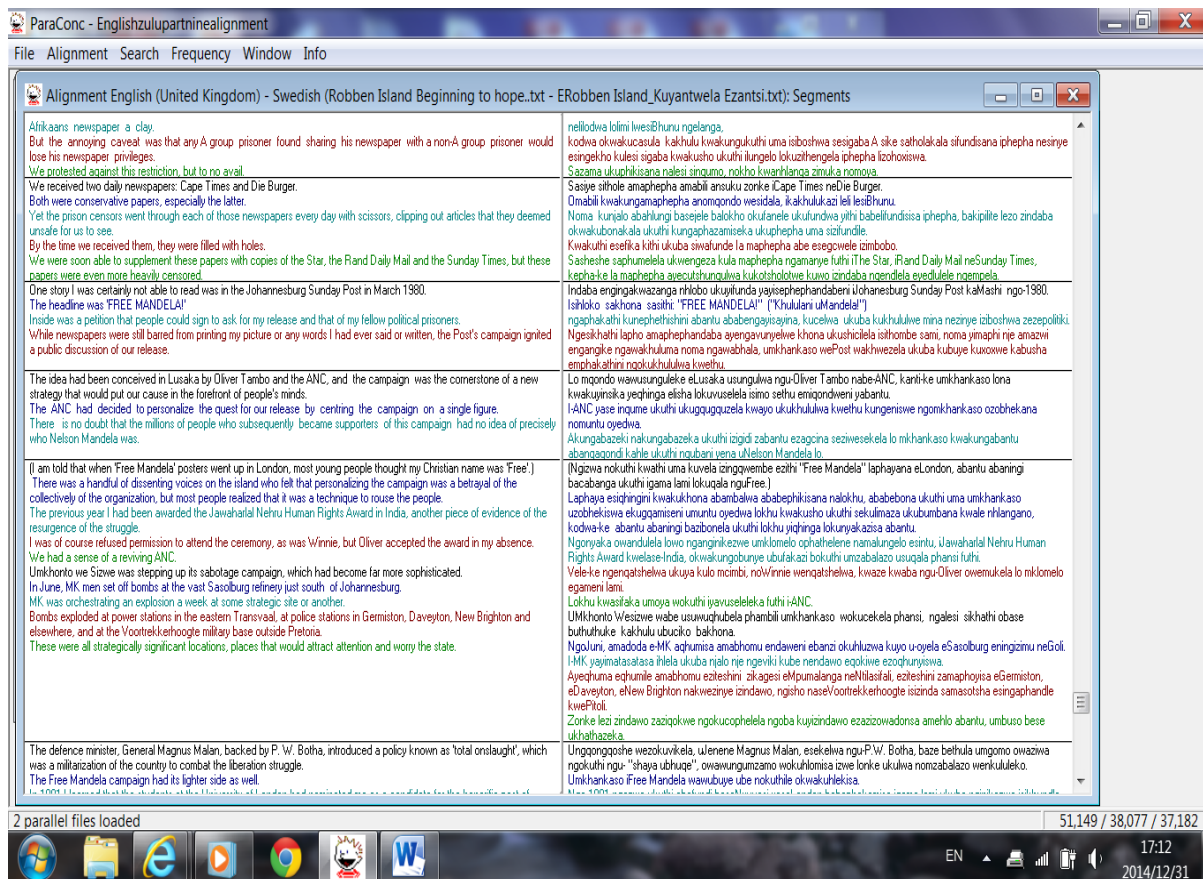
Figure 3.12 English-isiZulu aligned parallel corpus

3.4.2.6 Creating word lists

A word list can be created once the texts have been uploaded in the workspace. The frequency tab on the main menu allows the researcher to create a word list for the parallel texts and the results are displayed in three parallel windows. Frequency lists provide the analyst with hints about the subject of the text. The lists can be arranged according to the order of frequency (figure 3.13) or alphabetically (figure 3.14). In the English list for 'Robben Island: The dark years', the word with the highest frequency is *the,* with 3308 occurrences (6.4674%). In isiXhosa it is *ukuba* with 898 occurrences (2.3584%. In isiZulu it is *ukuthi* with 665 occurrences (1.7885%). It was interesting to notice the difference between isiXhosa and isiZulu, where one would expect that the frequency of *ukuba* and *ukuthi* would be equal or would have a close margin since these languages are related. It was also exciting to note the occurrence of *prison* (figure 3.15) since the extract is about Mandela in prison. *Prison* occurs 170 times, *entolongweni* apprears 78 times and *ejele* 67 times.
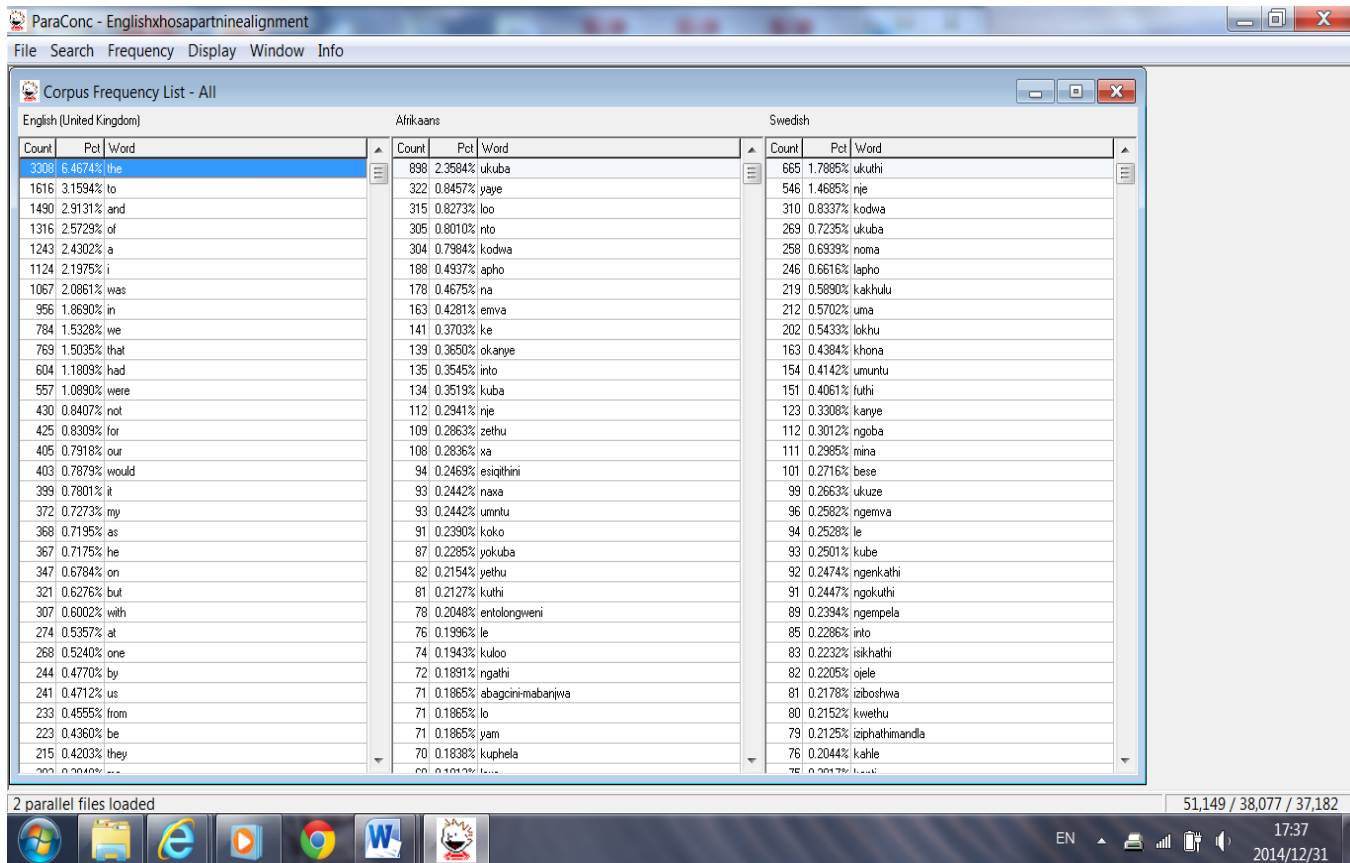
Figure 3.13 Word list from Part Eight 'Robben Island: The dark years', in order of frequency
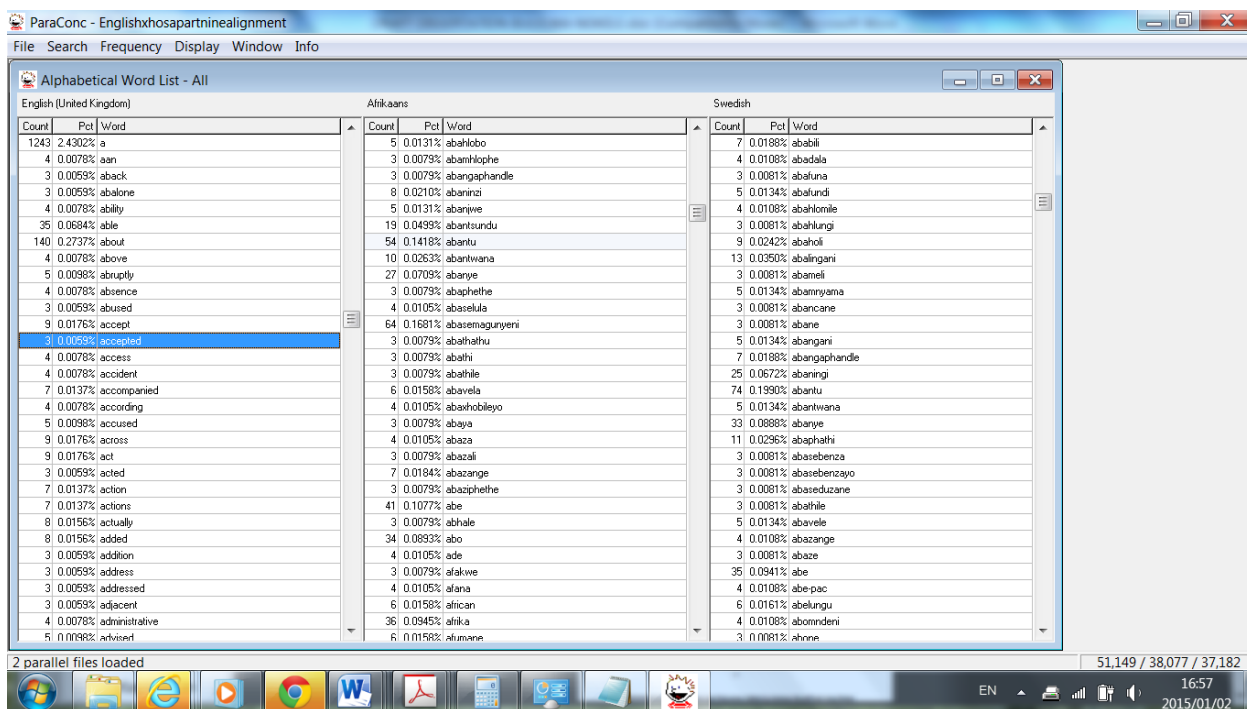
Figure 3.14 Alphabetic word lists
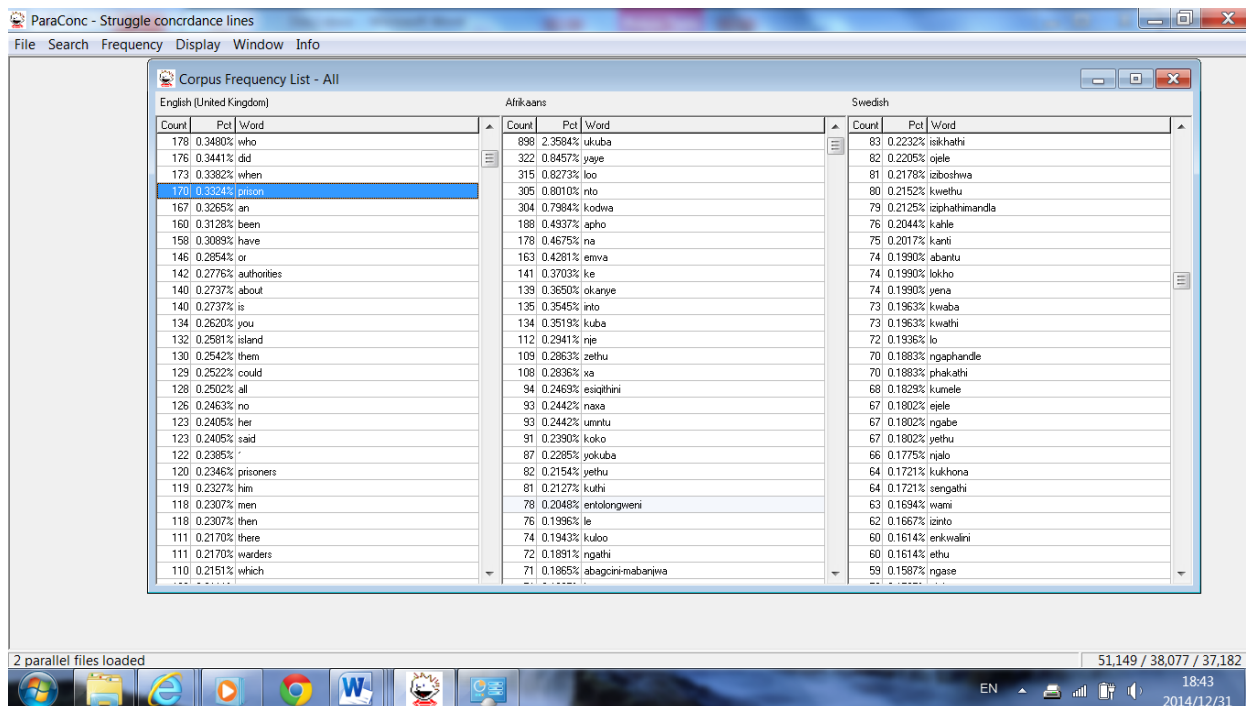
Figure 3.15 Word list showing frequency of *prison, entolongweni* and *ejele*

3.4.2.7   Concordance lists/ KWIC

To create a concordance list one has to click on the search button on the main menu. A drop-down box with a variety of options appears (figure 3.16). When one clicks on the search option another dialogue box (figure 3.17) comes up where one enters the word one wants to look for and then clicks on *ok.*
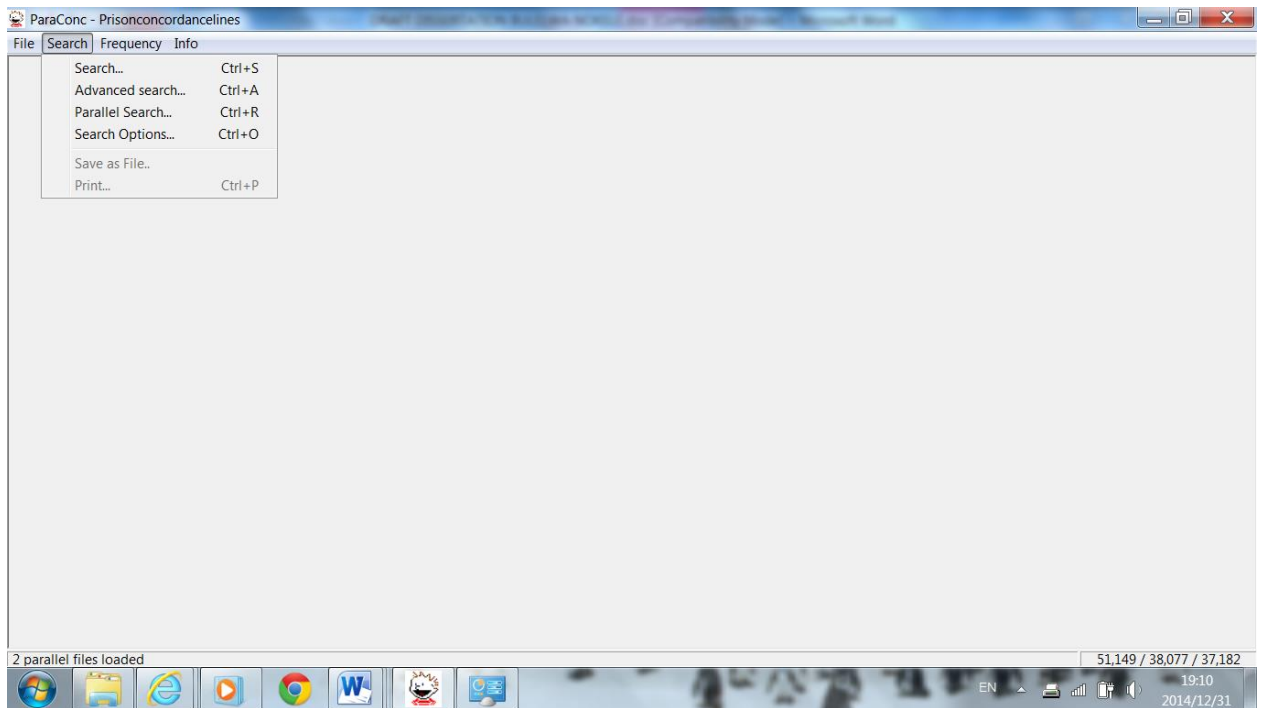
Figure 3.16 Showing the search options
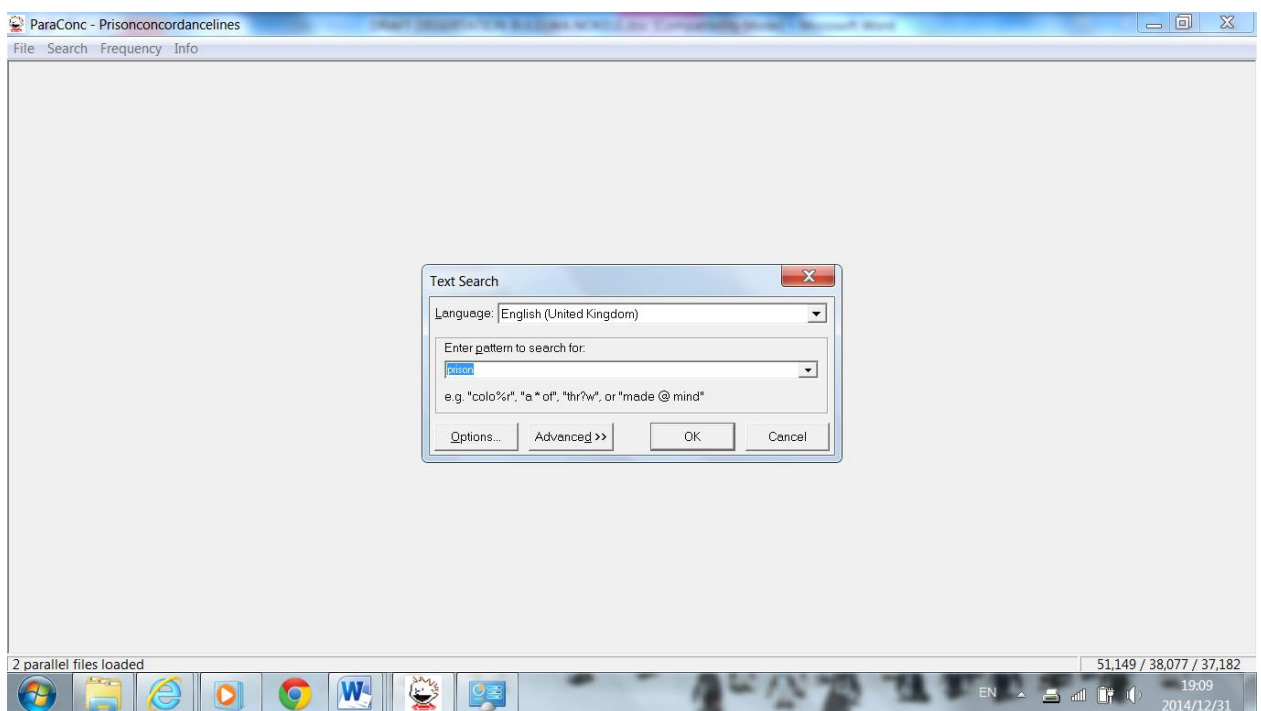
Figure 3.17 Showing a search box

Once the word has been entered a picture like the one in figure 3.18 with the results is displayed. The top window displays the results of the source text. The target texts are shown below. The search word is highlighted in the centre. The

results are then saved in the workspace so that the analyst can analyse them later and perform other searches. The figure below displays the results of the search for the word *prison*. The search query is performed to locate possible translation equivalents in the target language.
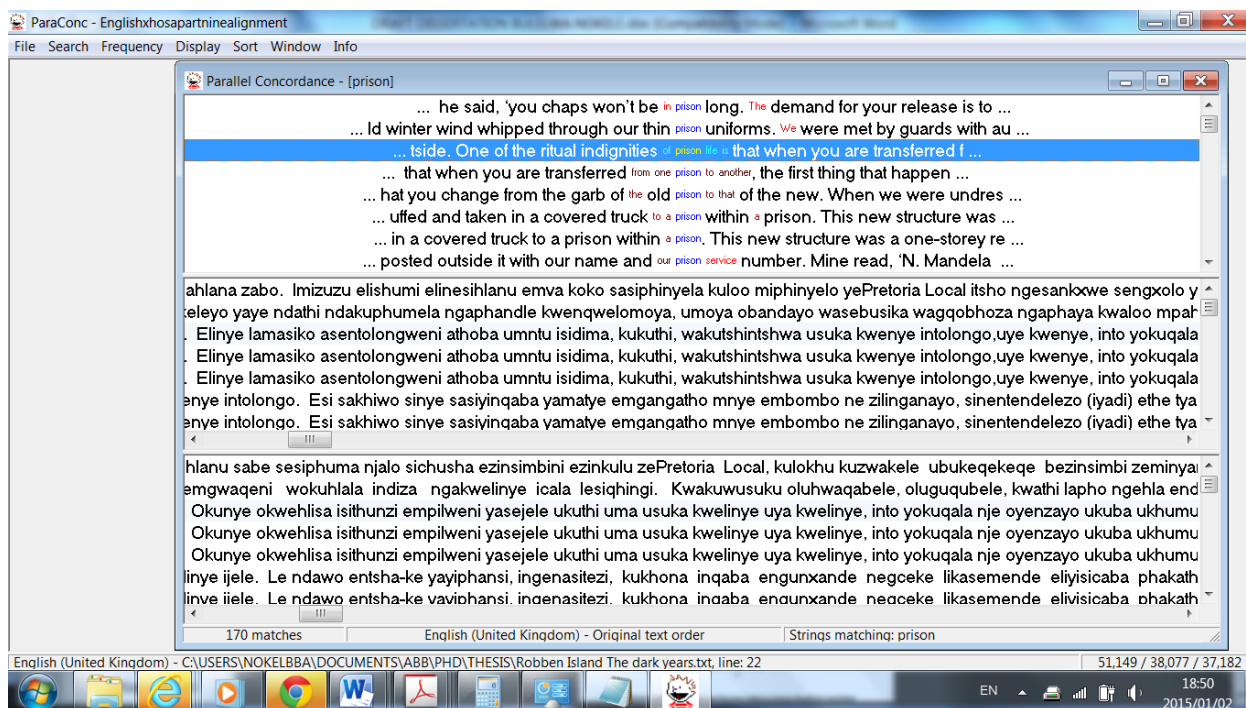
Figure 3.18 Showing search results with *prison* concordance lines

From the window one can see that the translation options for the word *prison* in IsiXhosa can include *intolongo*, *asentolongweni*. The options for the isiZulu rendering include i*jele*, *yasejele* as shown in the window, depending on the context in which the word is used. At the bottom left corner of the window it shows the number of strings that match *prison* which corresponds to the number of occurences across the text. There are 170 matches and these correspond with the number of occurrences shown in figure 3.19.
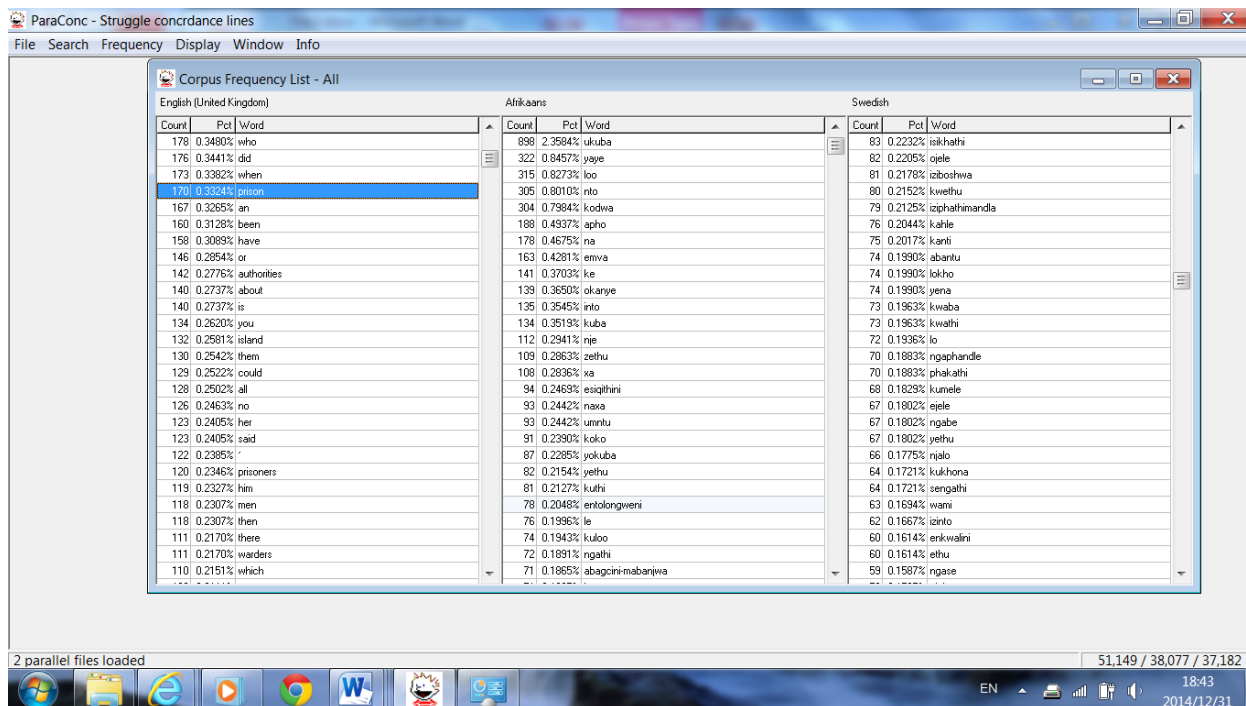
Figure 3.19 Showing the number of occurrencies for *prison*

3.4.2.8   Hot words

ParaConc can be used to locate collocations, that is, words that usually co-occur. Such words are called 'hot words'. To get hot words one puts the cursor in the window of the target text and then right clicks. A drop-down box pops up with a list of options to choose from (figure 3.20). When the option for hot words is selected, another dialogue box appears with a ranked list of hot words (figure 3.21 & 3.22) The ranking numbers illustrate how frequently they appear in relation to the headword. Depending on the researcher, all or some of the words may be selected and then click on *ok*. The selected words will be highlighted in the results and can be further analysed. One can get a list with the minimum (figure 3.23) or maximum number (figure 3.24) of hot words. The simple search described above provides results with the minimum number of hot words. Figure 3.22 illustrates hot words with the minimum of five and maximum of ten words. The hottest word in this list is *entolongweni* (26.47 hits).
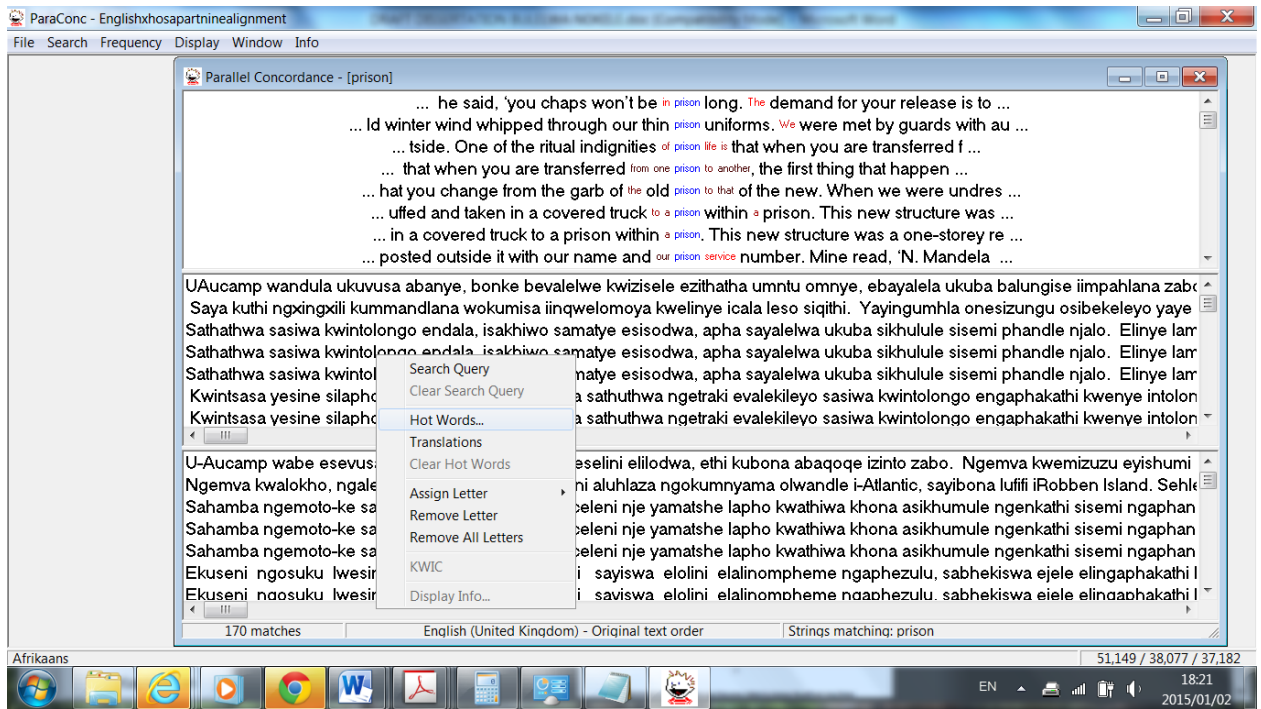
Figure 3.20 Showing hotwords option box
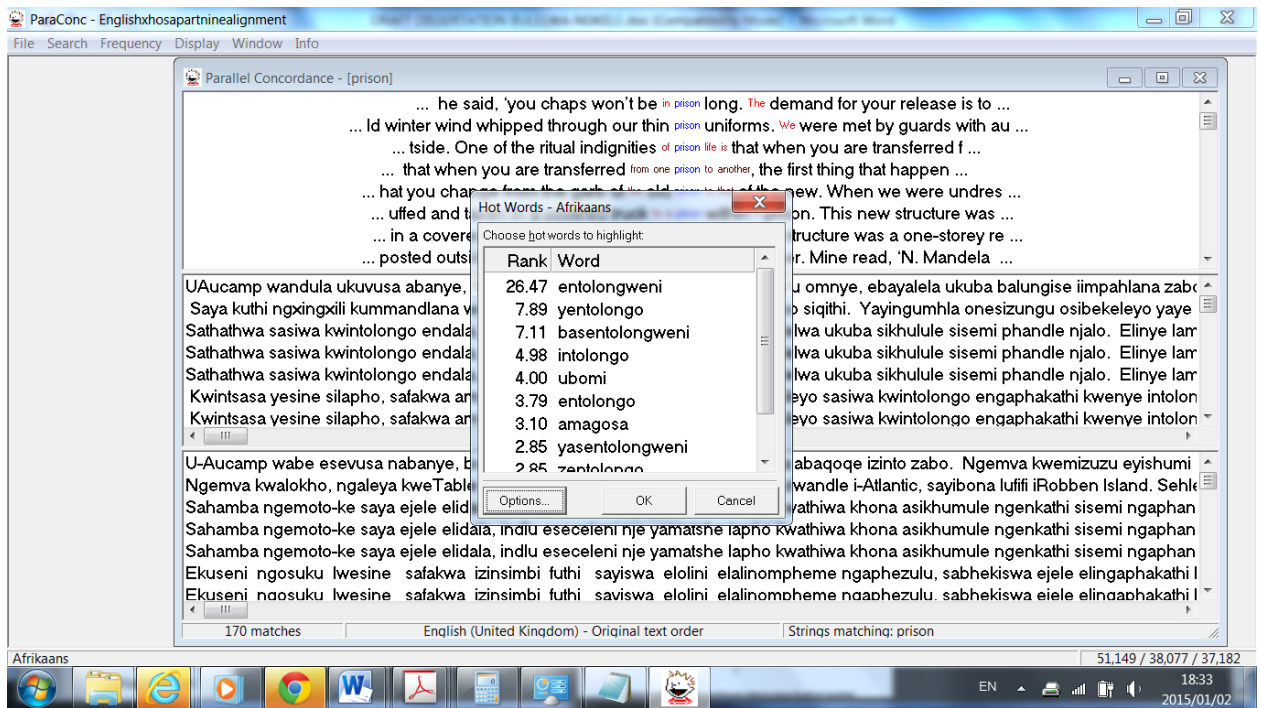
Figure 3.21 Showing minimum number of hotwords associated with *prison* in isiXhosa
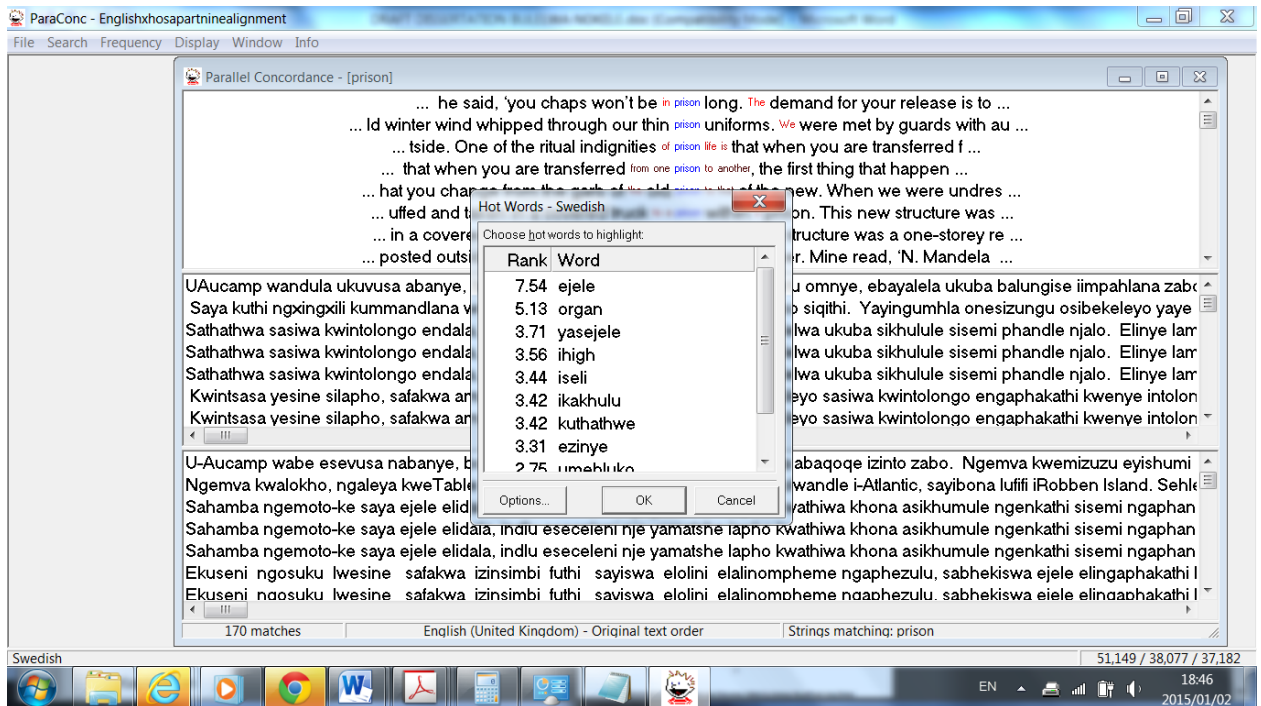
Figure 3.22 Showing minimum number of hot words associated with *prison* in isiZulu
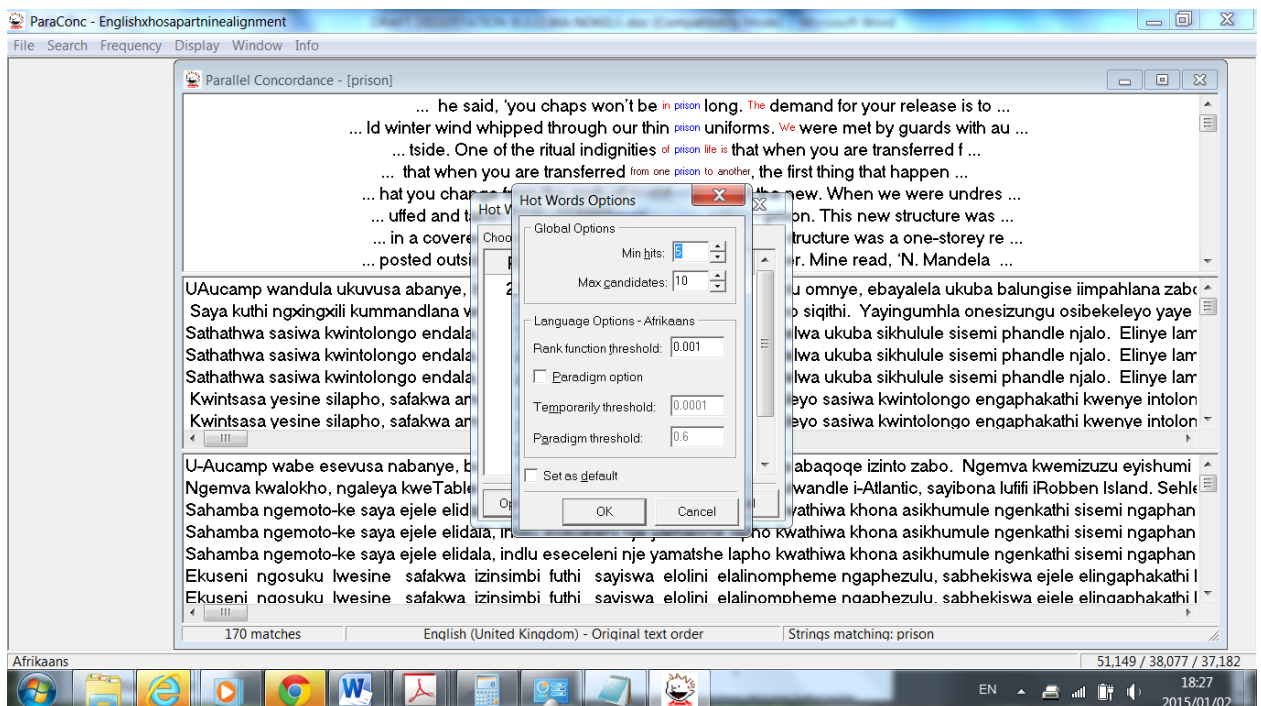
Figure 3.23 Showing hotwords option box with minimum hits

To get results with a larger number, one clicks on the option button at the bottom of the hot words dialogue box. Another dialogue box appears where one must select the paradigm button and increase the number option. For example, figure 3.24 shows the checked paradigm box and the minimum number of candidates

increased to ten and the maximum to twenty. Figure 3.26 illustrates three candidates ranking as the hottest words with 35.24 hits, *intolongo*, *entolongweni*, *entolongo*. In isiZulu the words that rank the highest are *ejele* and *ijele* with 9.94 hits. Note that the list of words are higlighted in red.
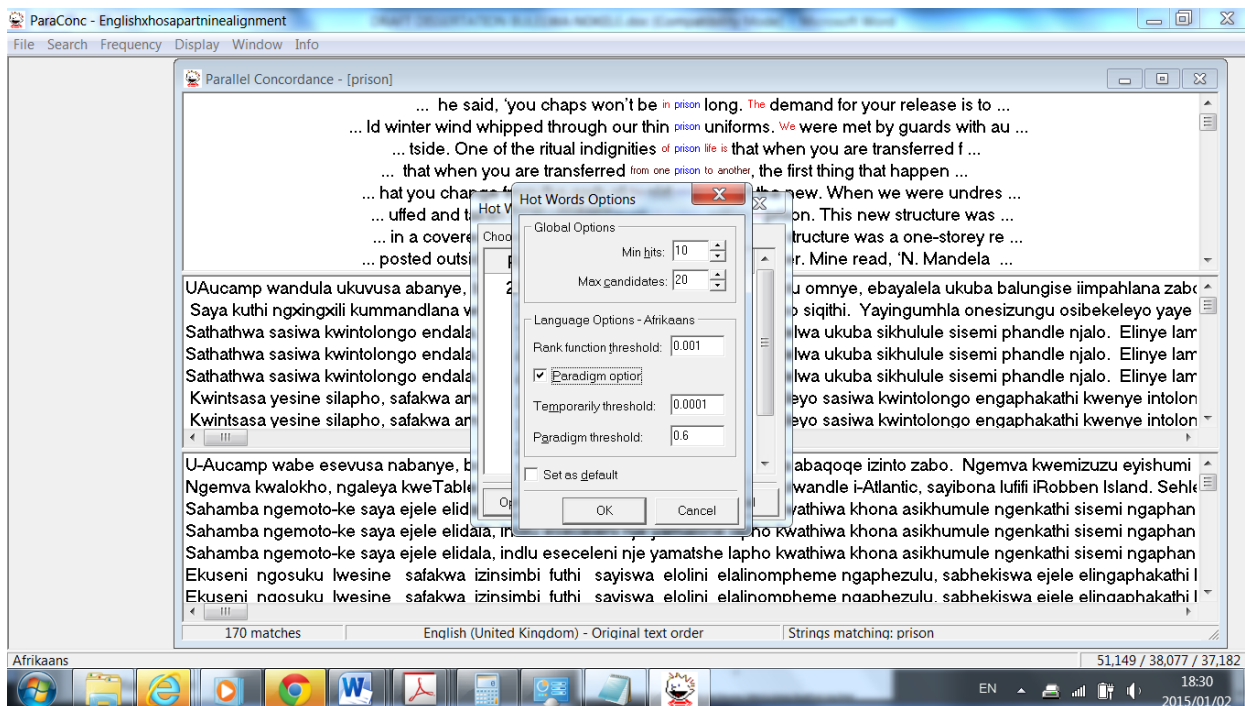
Figure 3.24 Showing paradigm option with increased minimum and maximum hits
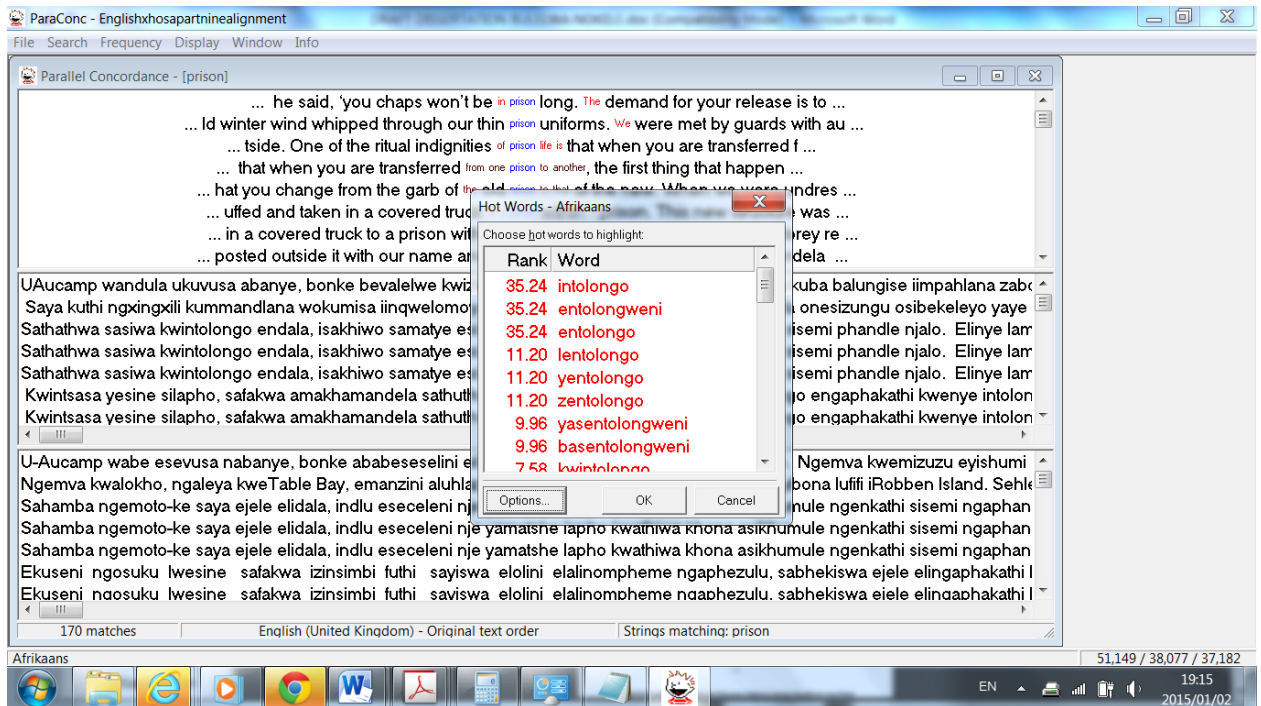
Figure 3.25 Showing maximum number of hotwords associated with *prison* in isiXhosa when using the paradigm option
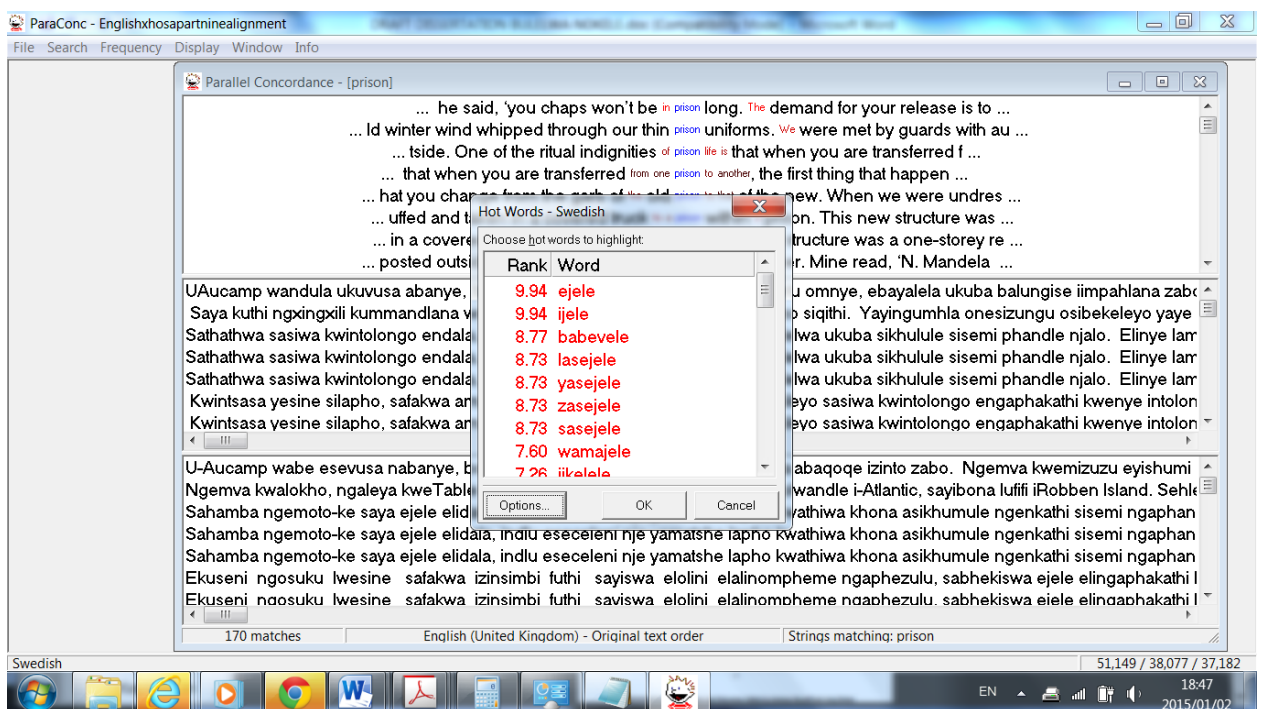
Figure 3.26 Showing hot words in isiZulu when using the paradigm option

The hot word tool is also useful in identifying possible equivalents for the particular keyword in the target language. It is especially helpful for isiXhosa and isiZulu since these languages are written conjuctively. For example, the word *prison* stands alone in the phrase *in prison*, whereas in isiXhosa and isiZulu the phrase is written as one word *entolongweni* and *ejele* respectively.

3.4.2.9   Distribution

The distribution of hot words can be illustrated graphically as in figure 3.27 below. To get an idea of the distribution of a certain word in the corpus, one must click on DISPLAY in the menu bar. A drop-down menu with *Distribution* at the bottom will appear. Once the distribution button is selected a picture like the one in graph 3.1 is displayed.
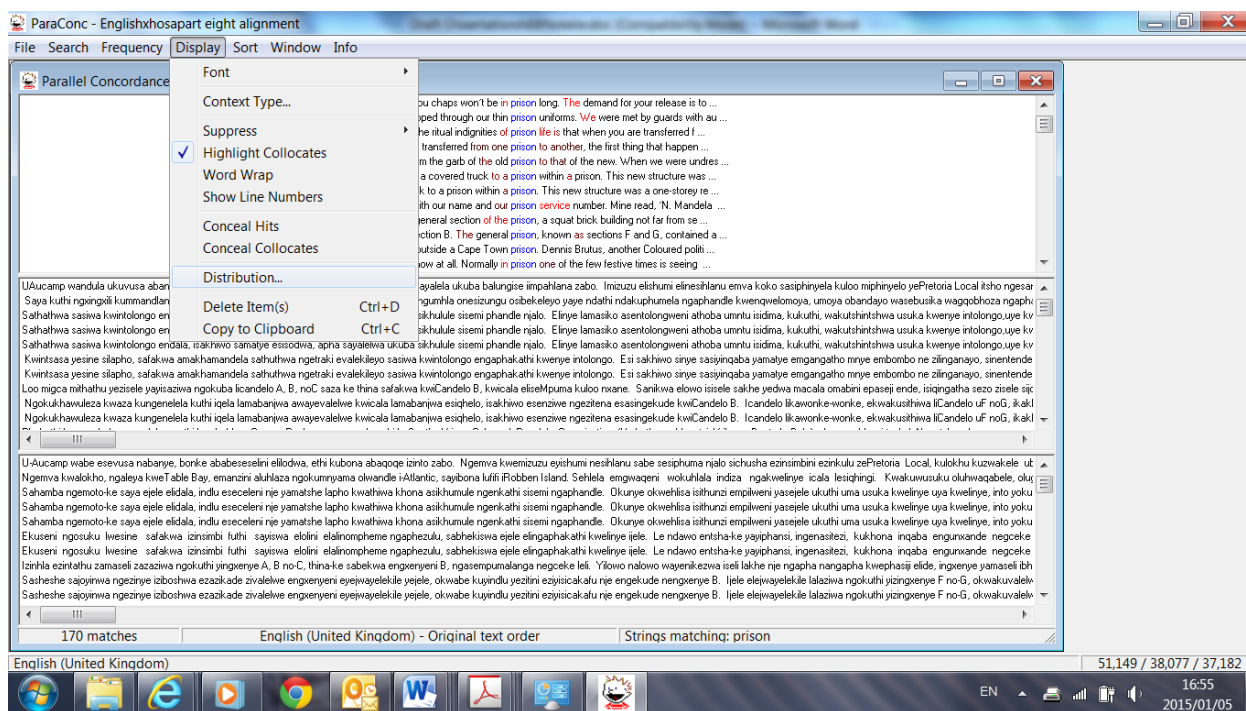
Figure 3.27 Showing *Distribution* option
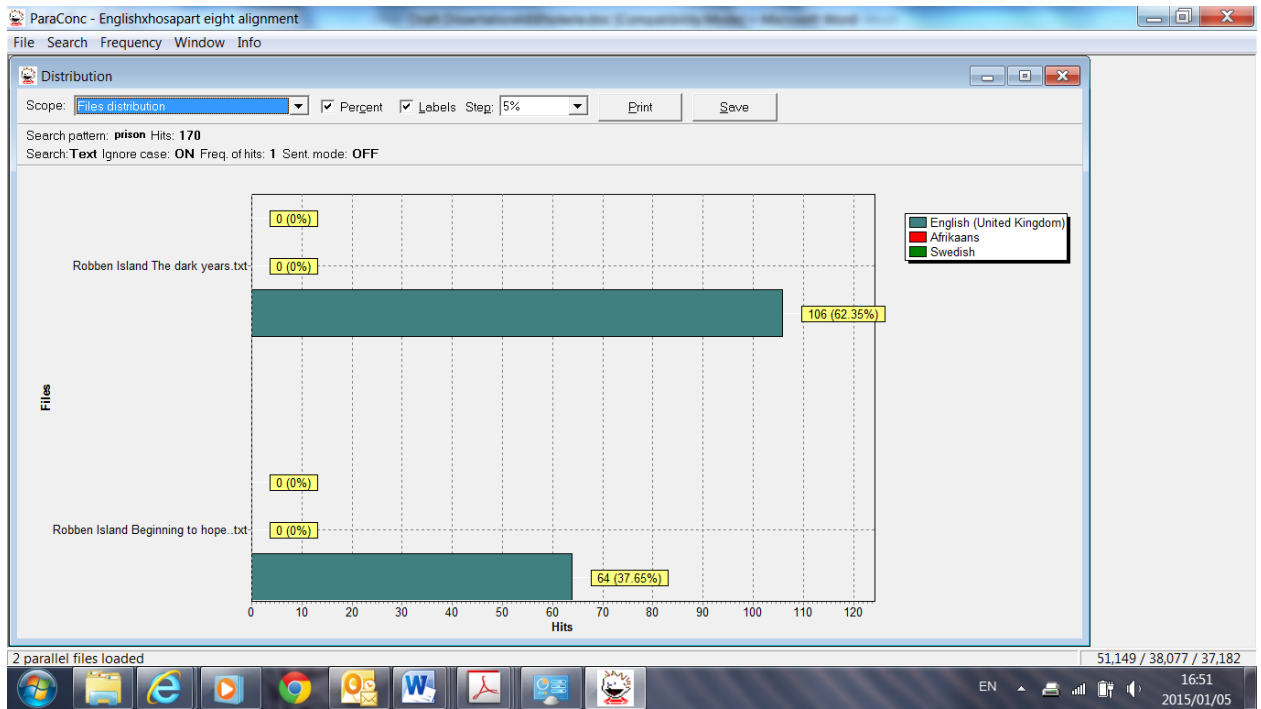
Graph 3.1 Showing the distribution of the word *prison* in the corpus
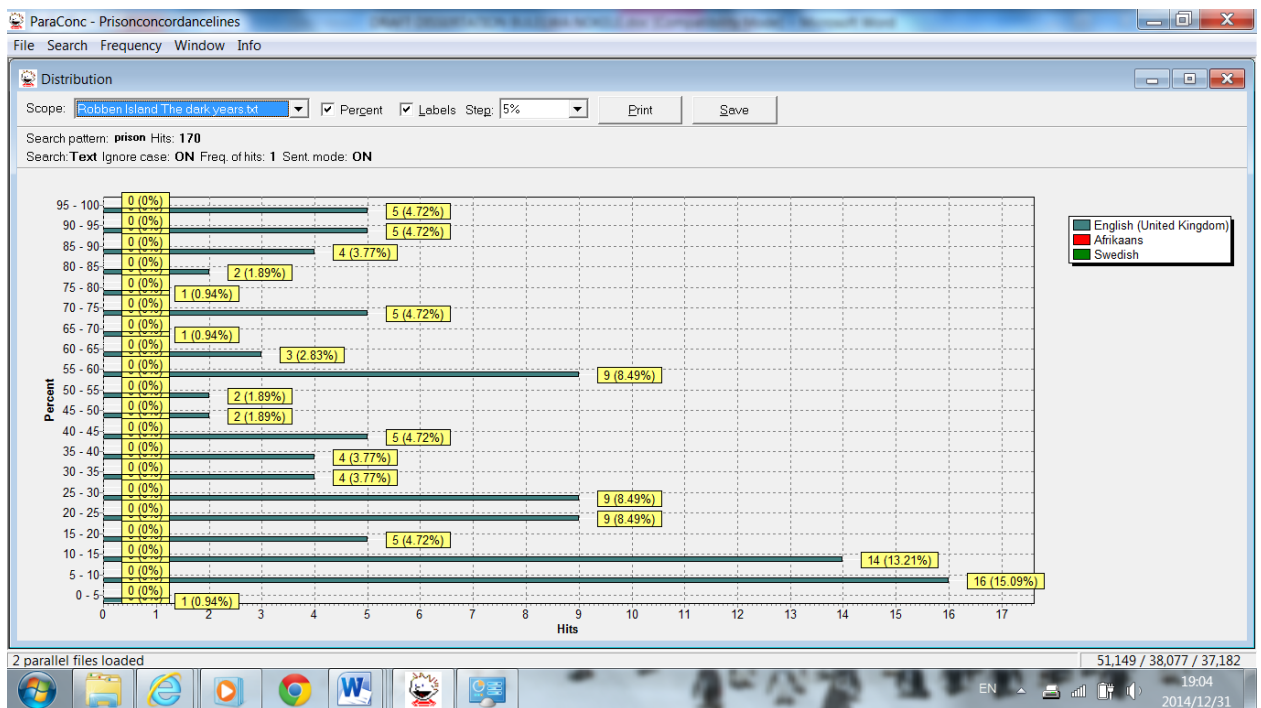
Graph 3.2 Distribution of *prison* in Part Eight – 'Robben Island: The dark years'
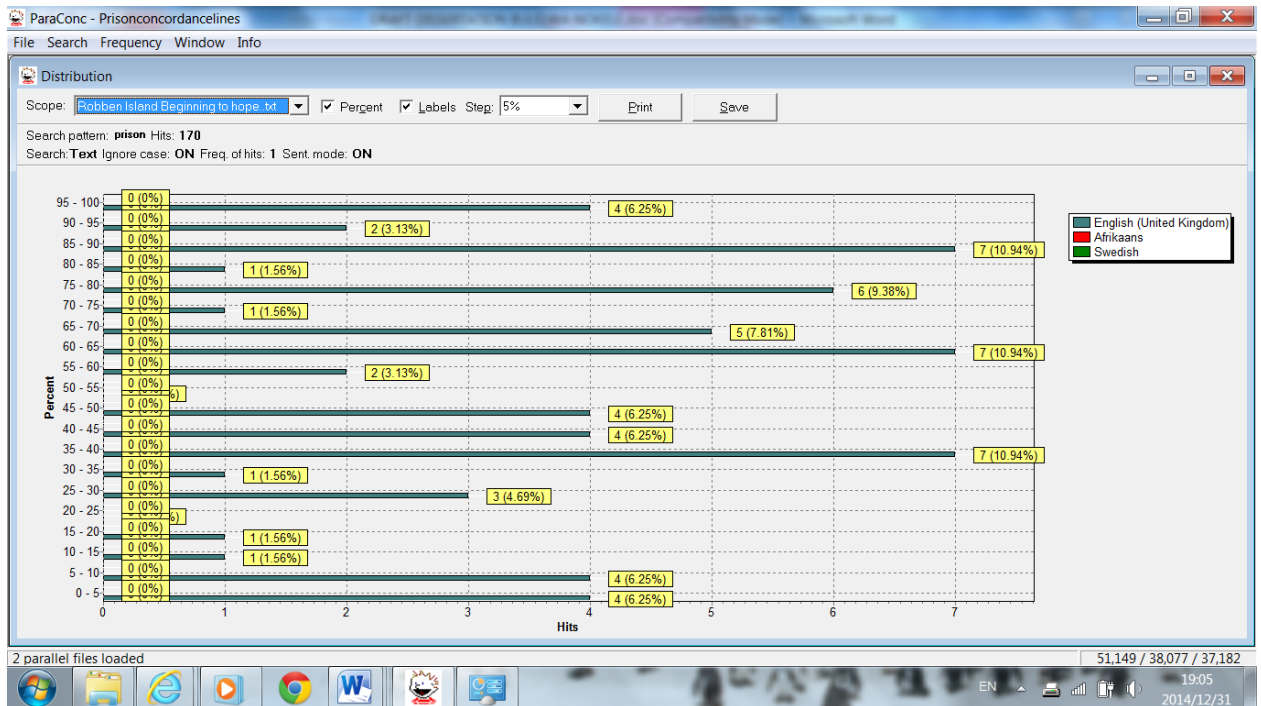
Graph 3.3 Distribution of *prison* in Part Nine – 'Robben Island: Beginning to hope'

Graphs 3.2 and 3.3 show a detailed distribution of the word *prison* in Parts Eight and Nine. In Part Eight *prison* appears sixteen times in the first five to ten pages and the number of occurrences decreases as the story progresses. In Part Nine it appears four times and it increases between pages 35-40, 60-65 and 85-90. The first ten pages of Part Eight have the highest number of occurrences. This could be attributed to the fact that these pages deal with Mandela's arrival at Robben Island and there are instances where he recounts previous times he was arrested. If one compares Parts Eight and Nine, Part Eight has 106 of the 170 hits that translate into 62.35%, whereas Part Nine has 64 hits that make up 37.65%. The title of Part Eight is *Robben Island: The dark years* and this is reflected in the distribution of the word *prison* in the window for *scope*. As the title of Part Nine suggests hope, the occurrences of *prison* decreased. The graphs below illustrate the distribution of *entolongweni* (in prison) in isiXhosa, and *ejele* (in prison) in isiZulu as possible translations of *prison* in these languages.
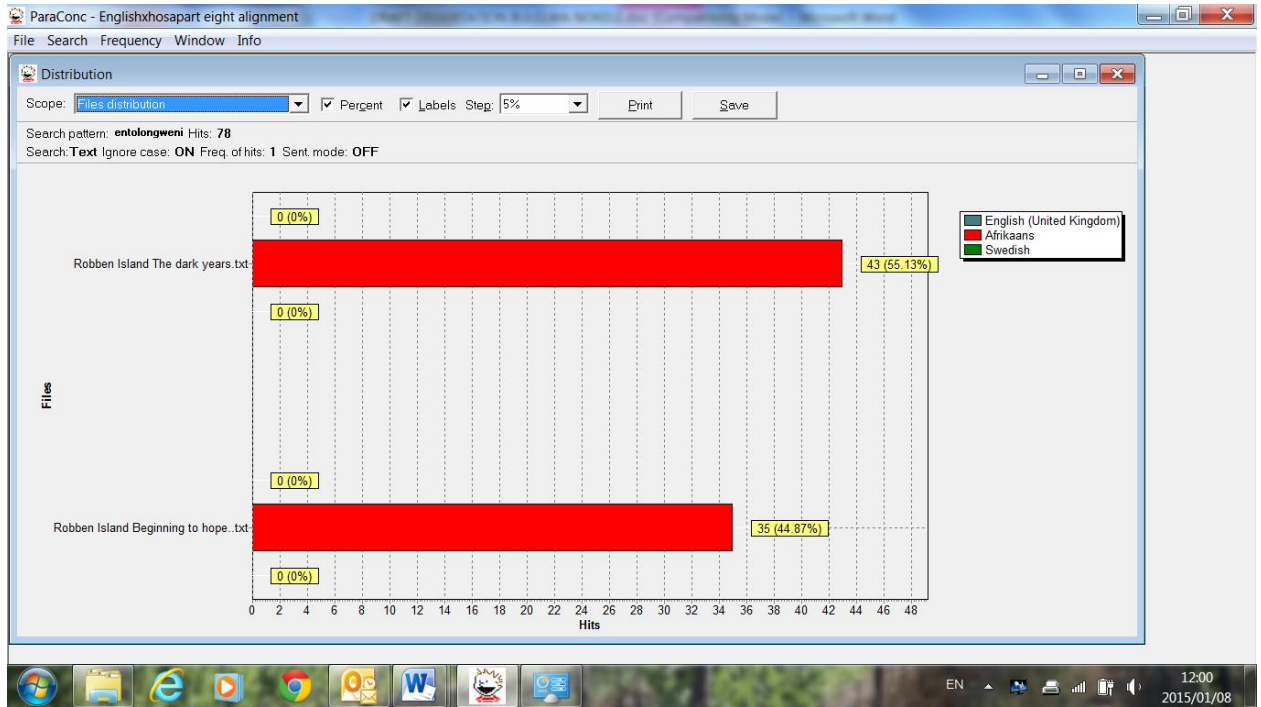
Graph 3.4 Showing the distribution of *entolongweni* in Parts Eight and Nine of the isiXhosa text
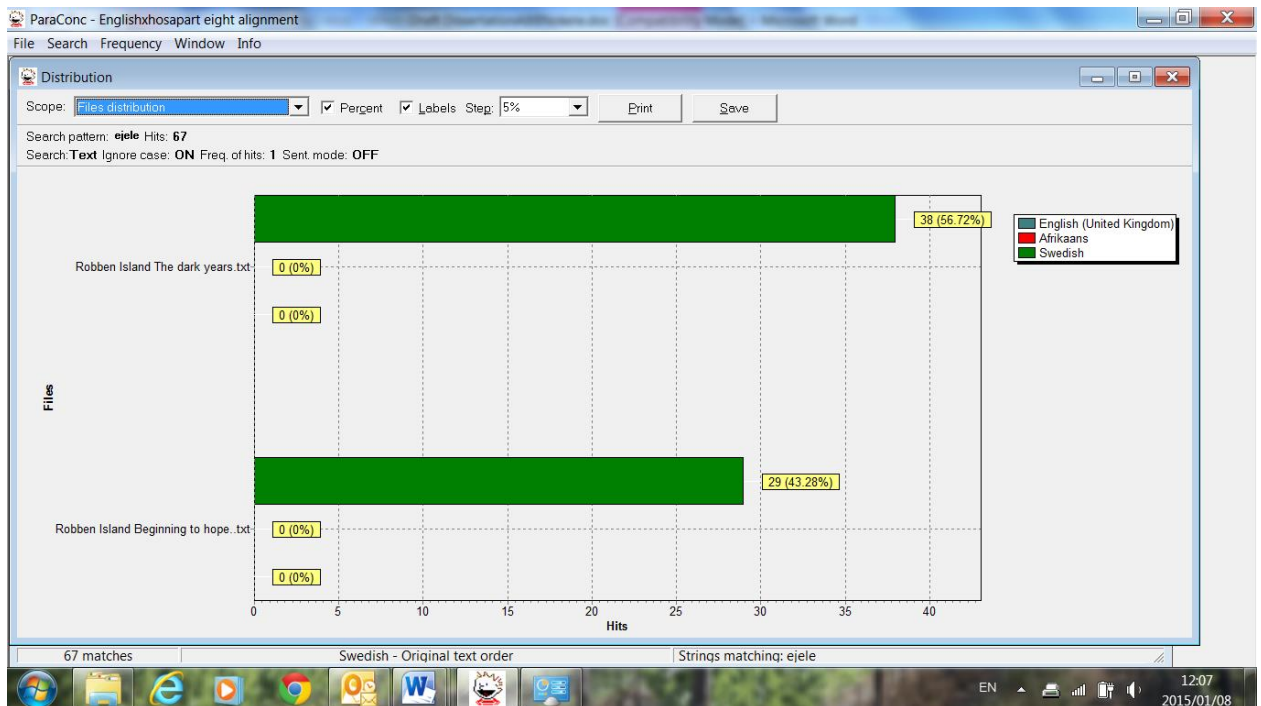
Graph 3.5 Showing the distribution of *ejele* in Parts Eight and Nine of the isiZulu text

3.4.3   Summary

In this chapter, the research questions that guided the study were restated. Since the study is performed within the framework of CTS, a corpus had to be created and the corpus design procedure was outlined. The steps that are involved when working with a printed corpus and making it available electronically were described in detail. The alignment process on the ParaConc concordancer was also presented. The following section outlines the procedure that was followed in identifying the metaphors in the source text and its translations.

3.5   Metaphor Identification and analysis

In this section I identify metaphors applying the metaphor identification and analysis procedure (MIPVU) developed by Steen et al (2010: 25-42). The book is a result of individual researches conducted by authors for their doctoral qualifications. Before the identification procedure is explained, I present a brief background to MIPVU.

3.5.1   Background to MIPVU

The introduction of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) sparked a lot of debate. Linguists expressed concern about how metaphors could be identified. Corpus linguists like Deignan (2005) and Stefanowitch (2006) and other metaphor researchers acknowledged the fact that it is not easy to identify and extract metaphors from the corpus, as it would be with grammatical words. Stefanowitch (2006: 2-6) proposed the following strategies:

- Manual searching where the researcher would read through the corpus and extract all metaphors encountered;
- Searching for source domain vocabulary;
- Searching for target domain vocabulary;
- Searching for sentences containing lexical items from the source domain and the target domain;
- Searching for metaphors based on 'markers of metaphors';

- Extraction from a corpus annotated for semantic fields;
- Extraction from a corpus annotated for conceptual mappings.

Although these strategies provided solutions to the problem of metaphor identification, they had some limitations:

- The process of identification is tedious and time-consuming;
- It could be limited to particular contexts;
- Human annotation could miss some examples;
- Post editing is required to get rid of false hits;
- There is no existing corpus that is annotated for conceptual mappings.

Apart from these limitations, searching for the source or target domain vocabulary does not guarantee that such words would be metaphorical. A mechanism would still be required to eliminate those words that are not metaphorical. Stefanowitsch's model does not offer this solution.

Another concern raised by the scholars was that the examples employed by Lakoff and Johnson in their research were not authentic. The scholars claimed that Lakoff and Johnson used examples from their intuition and experiences. To support the claim that metaphor is ubiquitous in language, there was a need to identify metaphor in authentic discourse. Steen (1999) introduced a model which was to be adopted by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The name 'Pragglejaz Group' was coined after the initials of the members' first names. Below is the list of their names and the institutions they came from:

Peter Crisp, Chinese University, Hong Kong, China.
Ray Gibbs, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA.
Alan Cienki, VU University, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
Gerard Steen, VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
Graham Low, University of York, UK.
Lynne Cameron, The Open University, UK.
Elena Semino, Lancaster University, UK.
Joseph Grady, Cultural Logic LLC Washington DC, USA.

Alice Deignan, University of Leeds, UK.

Zoltán Kövecses, Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest, Hungary.

These scholars formulated a reliable and valid tool called the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). MIP was developed to establish whether each lexical unit used in a sentence in a particular context was metaphorical (Pragglejaz 2007). The procedure does not look at whether the speaker intended the particular word to be metaphorical or not, or whether the addressee understands it as such. It also does not concern itself with relating the identified metaphoric word to possible underlying conceptual metaphor. Both these are topics that could be further researched. It is not the only method that can be used for identifying metaphors, but it was the only tested method before the introduction of MIPVU (Steen 2010).

The basic steps for metaphor identification as outlined in MIP are as follows (Pragglejaz, 2007: 3):

1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

   (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be

   - More concrete [what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste];

   - Related to bodily action;

   - More precise (as opposed to vague);

   - Historically older;

   Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

   (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual

meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

These steps can be explained briefly as follows:

The researcher must read the entire text and understand it. He or she then decides on the portion to be analysed. The next step is to demarcate every lexical unit. This makes it easier to establish the basic and contextual meaning. This is done by consulting the dictionary. The most concrete, precise and human-oriented sense is taken as the most basic meaning. The contextual meaning is also looked up in the dictionary, taking into account the context in which the word is used. The basic meaning and the contextual meanings are then compared to establish if they are sufficiently distinct. This means that the researcher establishes whether the contextual meaning and the basic meaning are listed as separate senses in the dictionary. If they are included in the same sense description, they are considered as being not distinct. In this case, they cannot be compared because their meanings are identical. If they are listed separately, each with its own number, then they are considered to be sufficiently distinct and they can then be compared. Sometimes the researcher finds that the basic meaning and the contextual meaning are conflated in the dictionary. If that is the case, another dictionary should be consulted. If the second dictionary presents the words as separate entities, then the second dictionary is used. The researcher then establishes whether the contextual meaning can be understood in terms of the basic meaning. If the answer is yes, then the lexical unit is considered as being metaphoric. If the answer is no, as when the basic meaning and the contextual meaning are the same, then the lexical unit is considered as not being metaphoric.

These steps could be illustrated in the following example taken from *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994):

He paused in search for the right word and then **stumbled over** it.

1. After reading the text, establish understanding (In this chapter Mandela is narrating his experiences when he was young at Mqhekezweni. He would listen to deliberations by men in the regent's kraal. Some men would talk fluently and some not so fluently).

2. Determine lexical units: He/ paused/ in/ search/ for/ the/ right/ word/ and/ then/ stumbled/ over/ it.

3. Apply step 3 to the lexical unit *stumbled over* to check whether it is metaphorical:

   The contextual meaning of *stumble over* is 'to stammer, not speak smoothly – does not flow as if not sure', 'to make a mistake when you are speaking' (sense 2 in the *Macmillan Dictionary*). The basic meaning of *stumble over* is 'fall or almost fall while you are walking or running (sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary*). The contextual meaning and the basic meaning can be contrasted – the basic meaning is concrete and physical while the contextual meaning is abstract and verbal. The contextual meaning can be understood in terms of the basic meaning as we understand verbal pauses in terms of pausing whilst walking and then start over again.

4. The lexical unit *stumble over* is therefore metaphorically used in the sentence.

It is noticeable that some of the concerns emanating from Stefanowitsch's strategies can be addressed by applying MIP. The Pragglejaz Group, however, also acknowledged that this procedure had shortcomings. It would fall short in determining lexical units in spoken discourse because speakers sometimes make false starts or do not complete their words. It can be problematic to determine contextual meaning when dealing with non-standardised texts. The procedure did not take into account the analysis of multiword expressions like compound nouns, phrasal verbs, prepositional phrases and idioms. It also ignored the grammatical categories of lexical items. The historical metaphor was also not considered. The Pragglejaz Group raised these issues and pointed out that they would need to be considered and managed when researchers do their analyses.

Gerard Steen and his colleagues from the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam conducted a project called *Metaphor in Discourse* in order to address the concerns

highlighted above. They extended the original MIP and developed it into MIPVU, MIP plus VU, which stands for the name of the university.

The procedure is as follows (Steen et al, 2010:25-6):

1. Read the text word-by-word and find metaphor-related words (MRWs).

2. When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).

3. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).

4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).

5. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (Mflag).

6. When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5.

3.5.2   Identifying metaphors in the source and target texts

The following section demonstrates the application of MIPVU to extracts from Parts Eight and Nine of the ST *Long Walk to Freedom* and its isiXhosa and isiZulu translations, *Indlela ende eya enkululekweni* and *Uhambo olude oluya enkululekweni* respectively. For reasons of space, the focus was only on key words that were identified using ParaConc as being metaphor-related. Each sentence was divided into lexical units by means of forward slashes. The English and isiXhosa examples that appear in this section were taken from Nokele (2014).

(1a) ST: Once/ outside,/ the/ seven/ of/ us/– Walter,/ Raymond,/ Govan,/ Kathy,/ Andrew,/ Elias/ and/ I/ – were/ handcuffed/ and/ piled into/ the/ back/ of/ a/ police van (p. 453).

There are 23 lexical units in this sentence, only one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the phrasal verb *piled into*.

Piled into

Contextual meaning: The *Macmillan Dictionary* categorises *piled into* as a phrasal verb that means 'to get into a place or something such as a car, especially in large numbers or in a way that is not organised', e.g. a number of people into the back of a van where they would sit uncomfortably due to limited space.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is the same as the contextual meaning 'to get into a place or something such as a car, especially in large numbers or in a way that is not organised'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) lemmatises *pile* as a verb which usually goes with *in*, *into*, *on*, *off*, *out of*. The meaning is the same as found in the *Macmillan Dictionary* '(**pile into/out of**) (of a group of people) get into or out of (a vehicle) in a disorganized manner'.

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual and the basic meanings are the same: they refer to a number of people getting inside a vehicle in a disorganised manner. The difference in this instance is that the people were forced to get into the police vehicle; they did not do so voluntarily. Note the phrase 'were handcuffed and piled into'. This suggests that the people were not treated as people but objects in which case *piled into* can be annotated as metaphor-related.

Comparison: We can understand the manner in which Mandela and his colleagues were reduced to objects.

Decision: The lexical unit *piled into* is related to metaphor.

Type: Structural (HUMANS ARE OBJECTS)

(1b) TT1: *Sithe/ sakuba/ ngaphandle,/ sosixhenxe/ uWalter,/ uRaymond,/ uGovan,/ uKathy,/ uAndrew,/ uElias,/ nam/ – safakwa/ amakhamandela/ sadidinjelwa/ ngasemva/ evenini.* 'Once we were outside, the seven of us, Walter, Raymond, Govan, Kathy, Andrew, Elias and I – we were handcuffed and put carelessly into the back of the van' (p. 365).

There are 16 lexical units in this sentence, one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *sadidinjelwa.*

Didimba in Sadidinjelwa

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of *sadidinjelwa* was not found in the *Greater Dictionary of Xhosa* (1989) (*GDX*) or in the *Kafir-English Dictionary (1915)* but is related to putting many people in a certain place in a careless manner, according to speakers of the language. This means that it can potentially be considered as being novel.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of this lexical unit is not found in the *GDX* and the *Kafir-English Dictionary* but is used by speakers of isiXhosa. This word is usually used in relation to putting large quantities of maize into a container or storehouse. This means that it can potentially be considered to be new.

Sufficiently distinct: This is a complicated case because the basic meaning and the contextual meaning are not found in the dictionary. However, this lexical unit is used by speakers of the language as explained above. The basic meaning relates to concrete objects and the contextual meaning refers to people and events.

Comparison: The careless and disrespectful manner in which people are put into the back of a van is clear in terms of the comparison with large quantities of maize being put into a container.

Decision: *Sadidinjelwa* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural (HUMANS ARE OBJECTS).

(1c) TT2: *Sesingaphandle/ thina/ esiyisikhombisa, /uWalter,/ Raymond,/ Govan,/ Kathy,/ Andrew,/ Elias/ kanye/ nami/ saboshwa/ sadudulelwa/ ngemuva/ evenini/ yamaphoyisa*. 'Once we were outside, the seven of us, Walter, Raymond, Govan, Kathy, Andrew, Elias and I – we were handcuffed and pushed into the back of the van'.

There are 16 lexical units in this sentence, one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *sadudulelwa.*

Dudula in **sadudulelwa**

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of ukududula is not found in both bilingual and monolingual isiZulu dictionaries. However, the meaning is related to forcing people to move.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* (2006) '*ukusunduza, ukususa okukhulu endleleni, ukufuqa* ' to push away, to remove a heavy object out of the way'.

Sufficiently distinct: Although the contextual meaning is not found in the dictionary it is clear that the contextual meaning and the basic meaning are distinct in that the basic meaning relates to objects or animals whilst the contextual meaning refers to people.

Comparison: The basic meaning and the contextual meaning can be compared. The manner in which Mandela and friends were forced to get into the police van can be compared to the manner in which a huge object is pushed out of the way.

Decision: *Ukududula* is metaphor-related and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural (HUMANS ARE OBJECTS)

(2a) ST: The/ high/ spirits/ with/ which/ we/ left/ Pretoria/ had/ been/ snuffed out/ by/ its/ stern/ atmosphere (p. 460).

There are 15 lexical units in this sentence, only two of which were annotated as being metaphor-related: the adjective *high* and the phrasal verb *snuffed out.*

High

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 5 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'happy or excited'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'large in size from the top to the ground'.

Sufficiently distinct: This is sufficiently distinct as the basic meaning is concrete and is used when referring to things that are a long way from the ground, while the contextual meaning is abstract and refers to human emotions.

Comparison: The happiness Mandela and company experienced can be understood in terms of something that is at a higher level.

Decision: *High* is metaphorical and is used indirectly.

Type: Orientational (HAPPY IS UP*).*

Snuffed out

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 2 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to make something end quickly, especially by force'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to make a flame stop by squeezing it with your fingers or covering it with a snuffer'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concrete and relates to physically putting out a flame, while the contextual meaning is abstract and is concerned with people's emotions.

Comparison: We can understand people being depressed by a gloomy atmosphere. Mandela and his colleagues were in high spirits when they were in Pretoria prison because they were near their people, but at Robben Island they were far from friends and family and the new surroundings were depressing. It refers to the manner in which they were saddened.

Decision: *Snuffed out* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION IS FIRE).

(2b) TT1: *Imincili/ esayishiya/ sikuyo/ iPitoli/ yagqitywa/ nya/ yiloo/ meko/ inzithinzithi/ yeso/ siqithi*. 'The excitement with which we left Pretoria was totally finished by the gloomy atmosphere of that island' (p. 370).

There are 11 lexical units in this sentence, two of which were annotated as being metaphor-related: the noun *imincili* 'excitement' and the verb *yagqitywa* 'was finished'.
Imincili

Contextual meaning: This lexical unit could not be found in *GDX*. According to the *Kafir-English Dictionary*, the contextual meaning of *imincili* is 'gladness, joyousness, cheerfulness; rejoicing'.

Basic meaning: This lexical unit could not be found in *GDX*. The basic meaning is the same as the contextual meaning 'gladness, joyousness, cheerfulness; rejoicing'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning and the contextual meaning are not sufficiently distinct and cannot be contrasted because they are the same.

Comparison: The basic meaning and the contextual meaning are identical.

Decision: *Imincili* is not related to metaphor.

Yagqitywa

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of the lexical unit is related to having an experience of being terminated. The excitement was caused to come to an end by the gloomy environment of Robben Island.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of the word is sense 1 in *GDX 'ukufikelela esiphelweni kuloo nto ubuyenza'* ('to finish doing something').

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning has to do with experiencing certain emotions, which is abstract, while the basic meaning concerns physically completing an action.

Comparison: We can understand causing emotions to stop existing in terms of completing a task or certain action.

Decision: *Yagqitywa* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION IS ACTION).

(2c)   TT2: *Ukuphakama/ komoya/ esasiphume/ sinakho/ ePitoli/ kwase/ kudanjiswe/ ukushuba/ komoya/ kule/ ndawo.* 'The high spirits with which we left Pretoria was totally finished by the gloomy atmosphere of the place' (p. 349).

There are 11 lexical units in this sentence, one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *ukuphakama.*

Ukuphakama

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of ukuphakama is sense 1 in Isichazamazwi sesiZulu 'ukuya phezulu' (to be high, to be elevated).

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is the same as the contextual meaning '*ukuya phezulu, ukuba mude, ukusukuma*'.

Sufficiently distinct: The difference between the basic meaning and the contextual meaning is the fact that the basic meaning relates to concrete objects while the contextual meaning is abstract.

Comparison: We can understand the excitement felt by Mandela and company in terms of something that is elevated or at a higher level.

Decision: Ukuphakama is metaphor-related and it is used indirectly.

Type: Orientational (HAPPINESS IS UP)

(3a) ST: In/ Pretoria/ we/ felt/ connected/ to/ our/ supporters/ and/ our/ families;/ on/ the/ island/ we/ felt/ cut off;/ and/ indeed/ we/ were (p. 460).

There are 21 lexical units in sentence 11, only two of which were annotated as being metaphor-related: the phrasal verb *cut off* and the verb *is (were).*
Cut off

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 4 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to prevent from communicating with other people in another place'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to remove something by cutting it'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concrete and relates to physically removing something, while the contextual meaning is abstract and there is no 'cutting' in concrete terms, although people are physically removed in terms of space and place.

Comparison: We can understand the feeling of being permanently separated from your loved ones in terms of something being cut off.

Decision: *Cut off* is metaphorically related and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural (HUMANS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE REMOVED BY FORCE).

Were

Contextual meaning: To determine the contextual meaning of *were*, we have to refer back to the phrasal verb 'cut off' for which it is a substitute. The contextual meaning is sense 4 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to prevent from communicating with other people in another place'. This lexical unit was analysed as related to metaphor.

Basic meaning: The contextual meaning is the same as before, namely sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to remove something by cutting it'.

Sufficiently distinct: Yes, the basic meaning relates to concrete objects, while the contextual meaning is abstract and has to do with humans.

Comparison: We can understand imprisonment in terms of cutting something off.

Decision: The lexical item *were* is related to metaphor and has been used implicitly.

Type: Structural metaphor (HUMANS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE REMOVED BY FORCE).

(3b) TT1: *EPitoli/ phaya/ sasiziva/ siqhagamshelene/ nabaxhasi/ bethu/ kunye/ neentsapho/ zethu;/ esiqithini/ saziva/ silunyulwe/ kuzo,/ eneneni/ kwakunjalo.* 'There in Pretoria we felt connected to our supporters and our families; in the island we felt cut off from them, indeed it was like that' (p. 370).

There are 15 lexical units in this sentence, only two of which were annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *silunyulwe* 'weaned'*.*

Ukulumla in Silunyulwe

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of the verb *ukulumla* was not found in both the *GDX* and the *Kafir-English Dictionary*, but is related to a painful

experience of being removed from your loved ones or to deny a person contact with loved ones.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of *ukulumla* in *the Kafir-English Dictionary* is *'ukulumla umntwana ebeleni'* ('to wean, to remove the child from the breast').

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning applies to adults, while the basic meaning applies to infants.

Comparison: We can understand the painful experience of being separated from your family and friends in terms of the pain an infant experiences when it is forced to stop sucking from its mother's breast.

Decision: *Silunyulwe* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (ADULTS ARE INFANTS).

Njalo in kwakunjalo

Contextual meaning: *Kwakunjalo* in this sentence is a copulative that has been used as a cohesive device, referring to *silunyulwe*. To determine its contextual meaning therefore, the meaning of its antecedent, which relates to the experience of being separated from your loved ones, is retrieved.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of *ukulumla* is as given above, i.e.

'ukulumla umntwana ebeleni' ('to wean, to remove the child from the breast').

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning relates to infants being forced to stop breastfeeding, while the contextual meaning has to do with adults who are separated from family and friends by imprisonment.

Comparison: We can understand the pain experienced by Mandela, which was caused by being taken to Robben Island in terms of the pain felt by an infant when separated from its mother and is unable to be breastfed or comforted by her.

Decision: *Njalo* in *kwakunjalo* is metaphor-related and is used implicitly (MRW, impl).

Type: Structural metaphor *(ADULTS ARE INFANTS)*.

(3c) TT2: *EPitoli/ sasike/ sizwe/ ukuthi/ sixhumene/ nabesekeli/ bethu/ nemindeni/ yethu,/ esiqhingini/ lapha/ sasizizwela/ nje/ ukuthi/ lokho/ kuxhumana/ kunqunywe/ juqu;/ ngempela/ kwakunjalo*. 'In Pretoria we felt connected with our supporters and families, on the island we felt that the connection was cut off' (p. 349-50).

There are 20 lexical units in this sentence, only two of which were annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *kunqunywe* 'weaned' and the adverbial phrase *kwakunjalo*.

Ukunquma *juqu* in **kunqyunywe juqu**

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of *ukunquma* is not listed in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* but it can be understood as meaning that the link or communication has been stopped. *Juqu* is an ideophone that emphasises the act of 'sudden cutting'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of *ukunquma* is sense 1 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* '*ukusika unqamule*' (to cut).

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning has to do with sudden termination of communication or link with friends and relatives while the basic meaning concerns the physical cutting of an object.

Comparison: We can understand the sudden termination of communication in terms of cutting something off.

Decision: *Ukunquma juqu* is an indirect metaphor.

Type: Structural (HUMANS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE REMOVED BY FORCE)

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Njalo in kwakunjalo

Contextual meaning: *Kwakunjalo* in this sentence is a copulative that has been used as a cohesive device, referring to *kunqunywe juqu*. To determine its contextual meaning, therefore, the meaning of its antecedent that relates to the experience of being separated from your loved ones is retrieved.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of *ukunquma* is as given above, i.e. *'ukusika unqamule'* (to cut).

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning has to do with sudden termination of communication or link with friends and relatives while the basic meaning concerns the physical cutting of an object.

Comparison: We can understand the separation experienced by Mandela caused by being taken to Robben Island in terms of cutting something off.

Decision: *Njalo* in *kwakunjalo* is metaphor-related and is used implicitly (MRW, impl).

Type: Structural metaphor (HUMANS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE REMOVED BY FORCE)

(4a) ST: Prison/ is/ designed/ to/ break/ one's/ spirit/ and/ destroy/ one's/ resolve./ To/ do/ this,/ the/ authorities/ attempt/ to/ exploit/ every/ weakness,/ demolish/ every/ initiative,/ negate/ all/ signs/ of/ individuality/ … (p. 463).

There are 29 lexical units in these sentences, only two of which were annotated as being metaphor-related: the verbs *break* and *demolish.* The sentences are analysed together because they are related.

Break

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 4 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to destroy someone's confidence, determination, or happiness'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to make something separate into two or more pieces, for example by hitting or dropping it'
.
Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concrete and relates to the physical breaking of an object, while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people's emotions.

Comparison: We can understand the efforts made by prison authorities to destroy Mandela's determination in terms of an object that is broken into pieces.

Decision: *Break* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT).

Demolish

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is related to sense 2 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to have a bad effect on someone's feelings, or to spoil their plans'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to deliberately destroy a building'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concrete and refers to something physically destroyed, while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people.

Comparison: We can understand spoiling one's actions or plans in terms of a building that is destroyed deliberately.

Decision: *Demolish* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (HUMAN ACTIONS ARE BUILDINGS).

(4b) TT1: *Intolongo/ yenzelwe/ ukwaphula/ umoya/ womntu/ itshabalalise/ ukuzimisela/ kwakho./ Ukwenza/ loo/ nto,/ abasemagunyeni/ bazama/ ukusebenzisa/ bonke/ ubuthathaka,/ badilizele/ phantsi/ onke/ amandla/ okukwazi/ ukuqala/ into,/ baphikise/ zonke/ iimpawu/ zokuba /uzibone/ ungumntu/ ozimeleyo …* 'Prison was designed to break the spirit of a person and to destroy your determination. To do this, the authorities attempt to use every weakness, demolish all the power that enables you to initiate something; they oppose all signs that make you realize yourself as being independent …' (p. 372).

There are 30 lexical units in these sentences, two of which were marked as metaphor-related: the verbs *ukwaphula* 'break' and *ukudiliza* 'demolish'.
Ukwaphula

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 3 in *GDX 'ukuhlungisa, ukuvisa intliziyo ebuhlungu, ukwenza intliziyo buhlungu, ukwenzakalisa emphefumlweni; ukuxhela umntu intliziyo'* ('to hurt, wrong, harm a person').

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in *GDX* '*ukuthi qobo, shunqu, ukushunqula, ukuthi qwathe, shwaqe*' ('to break, fracture, rapture').

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concerned with concrete fragile objects, while the contextual meaning relates to people and events.

Comparison: We can understand the purpose of prison to punish and hurt people in terms of deliberately breaking an object.

Decision: *Ukwaphula* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION IS A FRAGILE OBJECT).

Ukudiliza* in *badilizele

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 2 in *GDX* '*ukuchitha, ukubulala, ukutshabalalisa amacebo, izigqibo, imicimbi ebekuvenwe ngayo*' ('to break down, render null and void, upset plans, resolutions, agreements').

Basic meaning: According to sense 1 in *GDX*, the basic meaning is '*ukuchitha, ukuqhekeza, ukuqhaqha, umzekelo indlu, udonga, umfulelo, ukutshabalalisa isixeko*' ('knock, pull or break down, demolish for example a house, wall, thatch roof, destroy a town or city').

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concerned with physically destroying a building, while the contextual meaning is abstract and related to people.

Comparison: We can understand all attempts made by prison authorities to destroy Mandela's determination in terms of demolishing a building.

Decision: The lexical unit *ukudiliza* in *badilize* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (HUMAN ACTIONS ARE BUILDINGS).

(4c)   TT2:   *Ijele/ lenzelwe/ ukuba/ lifohloze/ umoya/ womuntu,/ libulale/ nokuzimisela/ kwakhe./ Ukuze/ izikhulu/ ziphumelele/ kulokhu/ zizama/ ukuhlasela/ umuntu/ lapho/ ebuthaka/ khona,/ zivale/ umzamo/ wakhe/ wokuzenzela/ izinto,/ zicime/ zonke/ izimpawu/ zokuzimela/ kwakhe.* 'Prison has been made to crush one's spirit, to kill his determination. For the authorities to succeed in this, they attempt to attack a person where he is weak, stop his efforts that enable you to initiate something for yourself; they erase all signs of being independent …' (p. 352).

There are 29 lexical units in these sentences, two of which were marked as metaphor-related: the verbs *lifohloze* and *zicime.*

Ukufohloza* in *lifohloze

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of ukufohloza is not listed in the dictionary, but it is understood by speakers to mean discouragement.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in Isichazamazwi sesiZulu, '*ukubulala kube yizicucu, ukuphihliza*' (smash to pieces, crush, cause to crumble).

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning of ukufohloza has to do with discouraging someone from taking any action, while the basic meaning concerns the physical smashing of an object into pieces.

Comparison: We understand the feeling of despondency in terms of an object that is broken into pieces.

Decision: Ukufohloza is metaphor-related and is used indirectly
Type: Ontological (EMOTION IS A FRAGILE OBJECT)

Ukucima in *zicime*

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of *ukucima* has to do with prison official's attempts to discourage or stop Mandela and company from their activism.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu*, '*ukuqeda ilangabi lomlilo noma lesibani*' (extinguish,put out fire).

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning of *ukucima* has to do with discouraging someone from taking any action, while the basic meaning concerns putting out fire or light.

Comparison: We can understand all attempts made by prison authorities to discourage Mandela and his colleagues in terms of extinguishing fire.

Decision: *Ukucima* is metaphor-related and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological (EMOTION IS FIRE)

(5a) ST: We/ would/ fight/ inside/ as/ we/ fought/ outside.

There are eight lexical units in this sentence and two were marked as metaphor-related: the verb *fight/fought*. These words are treated as one since they are merely different tenses of the same word (p. 464).
Fight/fought

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of the verb relates to people trying very hard to get something, as in sense 5 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to try in a very determined way to achieve something'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'when people fight they use guns or other weapons against each other'.

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning is concerned with people applying strategies to achieve what they want, while the basic meaning is about physical fighting using weapons as in war.

Comparison: We understand the efforts made by Mandela and his colleagues in terms of using force to gain something.

Decision: *Fight* is related to metaphor and has been used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (POLITICS IS WAR).

(5b) TT1: *Sasisilwa/ ngaphakathi/ njengokuba/ sathi/ salwa/ ngaphandle.* 'We were fighting inside as we fought outside' (p. 373).
There are six lexical items, two of which were annotated as metaphor-related. The two are treated as one since they are two tenses of the same word.
Ukulwa (fight)

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 3 in *GDX 'ukubangisana, ukuxabana, ukuba nembambano'* ('to be at logger heads, to dispute over').

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in *GDX* '*ukubethana, ukuxhimfana, ukuqhuba imfazwe kwabantu ababini nangaphezulu, ukubethana ngamanqindi, ngeentonga, njl*' ('to fight, to come to blows, to battle, contend, wage war, be engaged in a fight').

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning is concerned with people applying strategies to achieve what they want, while the basic meaning is about physical fighting using fists, sticks and so on.

Comparison: We understand the efforts made by Mandela and his colleagues to fight for their rights in prison in terms of people using force to gain something.

Decision: *Ukulwa* is related to metaphor and has been used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (POLITICS IS WAR).

(5c) TT2: *Sasizolwa/ ngaphakathi/ njengoba/ sasilwa/ ngaphandle.* 'We would fight inside as we fought outside' (p. 353).

There are five lexical units in this sentence and two were marked as metaphor-related: the verb *ukulwa*
Ukulwa in *sasizolwa* and **sasisilwa**

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is not listed in the dictionary but it is understood as fighting for your rights but not physically.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is *ukubambana ngezikhwepha nishayana* (fighting, beating each other).

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning of *ukulwa* involves physical beating or use of weapons while the contextual meaning is on the abstract level, applying strategies to achieve something.

Comparison: We understand the efforts made/steps taken to achieve something in terms of fighting using force.

Decision: *Ukulwa* is related to metaphor and has been used indirectly.

Type: Structural (POLITICS IS WAR).

(6a) ST: After/ they/ had/ made/ one/ circuit,/ one/ of/ the/ guards/ plucked/ me/ by/
    the/ shoulder/ and/ said,/ "Mandela,/ come,/ you/ will/ talk/ now" (p. 470).

There are 23 lexical units in this sentence, only one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *plucked.*

Plucked

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is that of being pulled or taken quickly from a particular place or situation, sense 2 in the *Macmillan Dictionary*. Mandela and his colleagues were repairing worn jerseys when one prison official took him to speak on behalf of his fellow prisoners.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of *pluck* is 'to pull feathers off the body of a dead bird so that it can be cooked, or to pull fruit from the tree, or to pull hair from the face and so on'. This is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary*.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning relates to objects, while the contextual meaning refers to people.

Comparison: We understand the disrespectful manner in which Mandela was taken from amongst his peers in terms of pulling feathers off the body of a dead chicken or bird.

Decision: *Plucked* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (HUMANS ARE ANIMALS).

(6b) TT1: *'Emva/ kokuba/ benze/ umjikelo/ omnye,/ omnye/ wabagcini-mabanjwa/
    wandithi xhakamfu/ ngegxalaba/ wathi,/ "Mandela,/ yiza,/ uza/ kuthetha/
    ngoku."'* 'After they had made one circuit, one of the prison warders held me
    roughly by the shoulder and said, "Mandela, come, you will speak now."'
    (p.380)

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There are 15 lexical units in this sentence, one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the ideophone *ukuthi xhakamfu* (*wandithi xhakamfu*).

Ukuthi xhakamfu

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning according to *GDX* is *'ukubamba umntu okanye isilwanyana ngesandla okanye ngamazinyo xa isisilwanyana, ngeenzipho xa iyintaka, nkqi ungayeki'* ('to catch hold of, grab, seize suddenly and hold firmly').

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is also *'ukubamba umntu okanye isilwanyana ngesandla okanye ngamazinyo xa isisilwanyana, ngeenzipho xa iyintaka, nkqi ungayeki'* ('to catch hold of, grab, seize suddenly and hold firmly').

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual and the basic meanings are not sufficiently distinct and cannot be contrasted because they are the same.

Comparison: The contextual meaning and the basic meaning cannot be compared because they are identical.

Decision: U*kuthi xhakamfu* is not related to metaphor.

Type: Not applicable

(6c) TT2: *Kwathi/ lapho/ sezizungeze/ kanye,/ kwaba/ khona/ ujele/ ongithinta/ ehlombe/ ethi,/ "Mandela,/ woza,/ uzokhuluma /manje"*. 'After they had made one circuit, one of the prison warders touched me on the shoulder and said, "Mandela, come, you will speak now" ' (pp. 359-60).

There are 14 lexical units in this sentence, one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: ukuthinta

Ukuthinta* in *ongithinta

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of ukuthinta is sense 1 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* '*ukubeka isandla kokuthile; ukuphatha*' (touch with a hand, handle).

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is the same as the contextual meaning '*ukubeka isandla kokuthile'*.

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning and the basic meaning are the same and cannot be contrasted.

Comparison: The basic meaning and the contextual meaning cannot be compared since they are identical.

Decision: *ukuthinta* is not metaphorical.

Type: Not applicable

(7a) ST: It /required/ all/ my/ self-discipline/ not/ to/ explode/ at/ such/ times*.*

There are 11 lexical units in this sentence, one of which was marked as metaphor-related, the verb *explode* (p. 475).

Explode

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 2 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to express strong emotions in a sudden noisy and often violent way'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to burst with a lot of force and a loud noise'.

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people's emotions, while the basic meaning is concrete and refers to something bursting physically.

Comparison: We can understand the anger welled up in Mandela in terms of a bomb that can explode.

Decision: The lexical unit *explode* is metaphor-related and is used indirectly*.*

Type*:* Ontological metaphor (EMOTION/ANGER IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER).

(7b) TT1: *Kwakufuneka/ ndizibambe/ ngeyona/ ndlela/ ukuba/ ndingasuki/ ndiphahluke/ ngumsindo/ ngaloo/ maxesha.* 'I had to restrain myself so that I do not explode due to anger then' (p. 384).

There are ten lexical units in this sentence, two of which were marked as metaphor-related: the verb *ndizibambe* (restrain myself) and *ndiphahluke* (explode).

Ukubamba in Ndizibambe

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 11 in *GDX 'ukungayikhuphi yonke into, ukuvakalisa okanye ukukhupha kancinci, ukuthintela'* ('to curb, restrain, repress'). In this context the verb *ukubamba* has been used in its reflexive form.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in *GDX 'ukuthi nqaku, nkamfu, xhamfu, xhakamfu; ukuxhakamfula, ukuthi nkwanku, ukunkwankula ngesandla, nomlomo ngamanqina okanye nangasiphi na isibambo'* ('seize, catch, grasp, lay hold of with the hand, mouth, claws or any grasping instrument').

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning has to do with physically holding or seizing something by hand, while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people and events.

Comparison: We can understand the effort to control one's emotions in terms of holding a concrete object.

Decision: *Bamba* in *ndizibambe* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION/ANGER IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER).

Ukuphahluka (in ndiphahluke)

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is not found in *GDX*, but it refers to a person losing his or her temper.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in *GDX 'ukuchithakala, ukuphasalaka kwento ebotshiweyo njengenyanda okanye isithungu'* ('of something tied in the form of a bundle, to come to pieces, disintegrate').

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people's emotions, while the basic meaning is concrete and refers to something concrete.

Comparison: We can understand the anger that welled up in Mandela in terms of a band of a bundle loosening and the wood scattering.

Decision: *Phahluka* in *ndiphahluke* is metaphor-related and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (AN ANGRY PERSON IS A TIGHTENED OBJECT).

(7c) TT2: *Kwakudinga/ ukuba/ ngizame/ ngamandla/ wonke/ ukuzibamba/ ukuze/ ngingaqhumi/ ngesikhathi/ esinje*. 'I had to try harder to restrain myself so that I do not explode that time' (p. 364).
***Ukubamba* in ndizibambe**

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is not listed in the dictionary but is understood as meaning to restrain oneself.

Basic meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 1 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* '*ukuxhakathisa ngezandla*' (to hold by hand).

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning has to do with physically holding something by hand while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people.

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Comparison: We can understand the effort to control or contain one's anger in terms of holding an object.

Decision: *Ukubamba* in *ndizibambe* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION/ANGER IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER)

Ukuqhuma in *ngingaqhumi*

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is not listed in the dictionary but it is related to letting out temperament.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 2 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* '*ukusasazeka kokuthile okududulwa amandla athile*', (explosion/spreading of something caused by some force)

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people's emotions while the basic meaning is concrete and refers to an explosive object.

Comparison: We can understand the Mandela's effort to control his temper/anger in terms of an object that can explode, like a bomb, for example.

Decision: *Ukuqhuma* is metaphor-related and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (AN ANGRY PERSON IS AN EXPLOSIVE OBJECT)

(8a) ST: It/ was/ an/ attempt/ to/ crush/ our/ spirits.
There are eight lexical units in this sentence, only one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *crush* (p. 480).
Crush

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of *crush* in this sentence is related to sense 3 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to make someone feel disappointed, embarrassed or upset'. In this sentence, rather than feeling disappointed, Mandela and colleagues felt despondent.

Basic meaning: Sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to hit or press something so hard that you damage it severely or destroy it, especially by making its shape flatter'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning relates to something concrete and brittle, while the contextual meaning refers to something abstract, the feelings of people.

Comparison: We can understand the feelings of people being down in terms of a concrete object that is broken and crushed.

Decision: *Crushed* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT).

(8b) TT1: *Yayiyilinge/ lokutyumza/ kubulawe/ imixhelo/ yethu.* 'It was an attempt to crush and kill our spirits' (p. 389).

There are five lexical units in this sentence, one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the prepositional phrase *lokutyumza* 'of crushing'.

Ukutyumza in lokutyumza

Contextual meaning: There is no entry for the contextual meaning of the lexical unit *lokutyumza* in *GDX*. However, it relates to discouraging someone from doing something.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning according to *GDX* is *'ukubetha okanye ukucinezela into elukhuni equm-qum, eqobo-qobo njengeqanda, ikomityi, iglasi, ibe ziingceba okanye into ethambileyo enjengesiqhamo esivuthiweyo, intwala, umntu, ityoboke, ibotyoke ibe libotyo-botyo'* ('break to pieces, smash, crush something that is hard and brittle like an egg, cup, glass, crush to a pulp something soft like grape, caterpillar, a person run over by a train').

Sufficiently distinct: Yes, the basic meaning is concrete and has to do with using force to physically break something into pieces, while the contextual meaning is

abstract and is related to stopping people from doing something or to make them feel helpless.

Comparison: Yes, we can understand the feeling of being discouraged in terms of crushing something into pieces so that it cannot be useful any more.

Decision: *Lokutyumza* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Ontological metaphor (EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT)

(8c) TT2: *Lona/ kwakuwumzamo/ wokusehlisa/ umoya.* (It was an attempt to lower our spirits' (p. 369).

There are four lexical items in this sentence and one has been marked as a metaphor-related word: ukwehlisa.
Ukwehlisa in *wokusehlisa*

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is sense 1 in English-Zulu dictionary (1990) 'cause to descend, bring down, lower'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of ukwehlisa is sense 2 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* '*ukwethula into, ukususa endaweni ephakeme uyise ezansi*' (to take something at a higher level and bring it down to a lower level).

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning and the basic meaning are similar but different in that the contextual meaning refers to emotion while the basic meaning refers to a concrete object.

Comparison: We can understand the feeling of discouragement in terms of bringing something to a lower level.

Decision: *Ukwehlisa* in *wokusehlisa* is metaphor-related and is used indirectly.

Type: Orientational metaphor (DESPONDENCY IS DOWN)

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(9a) ST: … and/ that/ we/ had/ to/ pay/ for/ our/ crimes/ just/ as/ they/ did.

There are 13 lexical units in this phrase, two of which were annotated as metaphor-related: *pay* and *did* (p. 480).

Pay

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of the verb *pay* is sense 4 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to suffer because of something that you have done'.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to give money in order to buy something'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concerned with concrete objects, while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people suffering.

Comparison: We understand punishment in terms of paying for something.

Decision: *Pay* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (PUNISHMENT IS PAYING A DEBT).

Did

Contextual meaning: *Did* in this sentence functions as a cohesive device referring to the verb *pay* above. As *pay* was identified as related to metaphor, the word *did* is then an instance of implicit metaphor.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of *pay* is as above, namely 'to give money in order to buy something'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning relates to something concrete, giving money in exchange for something else, while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to punishment.

Comparison: We can understand jail punishment in terms of paying an amount of money for something.

Decision: The lexical unit *did* is related to metaphor and has been used implicitly.

Type: Structural metaphor (PUNISHMENT IS PAYING A DEBT).

(9b) TT1: *… nokuthi/ kunyanzelekile/ ukuba/ sihlawule/ ngamatyala/ ethu/ njengokuba/ nawo/ esenza.* 'and that it was a must that we pay for our guilt as they did' (p. 389).

There are nine lexical units in this phrase, two of which were annotated as metaphor-related: *sihlawule* (pay) and *njengoko esenza* (as they did).
Hlawula, enza

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of the verb *ukuhlawula* is not listed in *GDX*.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is *'ukubuyisa, ukubhatala, ukwamkelisa, ukurhuma, ukucima ityala usenzela omnye okanye ndaweni ithile ngesizathu esithile'* ('to reimburse, pay, pay salary, pay a fee, pay a debt for someone or somewhere for a certain reason').

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concerned with concrete objects, while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people suffering.

Comparison: We can understand people made to suffer in prison in terms of paying for their debts.

Decision: *Hlawula* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (PUNISHMENT IS PAYING DEBT).

Njengoko nawo esenza

Although these are separate lexical units, they are treated as one because they form a fixed expression that has a specific use and meaning.

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of *njengoko esenza* is the same as that of *ukuhlawula,* although the antecedent is different: that is, the other prisoners. Mandela and his colleagues had to pay for their actions as the general prisoners were paying for their crimes.

Basic meaning: The basic meaning of *ukuhlawula* is sense 1 in *GDX 'ukubuyisa, ukubhatala, ukwamkelisa, ukurhuma, ukucima ityala usenzela omnye okanye ndaweni ithile ngesizathu esithile'* ('to reimburse, pay, pay salary, pay a fee, pay a debt for someone or somewhere for a certain reason').

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning is concerned with concrete objects, while the contextual meaning is abstract and relates to people suffering.

Comparison: We can understand punishment such as serving a prison sentence in terms of paying a debt.

Decision: The lexical units *njengoko esenza* are related to metaphor and are used implicitly (MRW, implicit).

Type: Structural metaphor (PUNISHMENT IS PAYING DEBT).

(9c) TT2: *Sasikhonjiswa/ nokuthi/ kumelwe/ sijeziselwe/ ukona/ kwethu/ njengazo.*
'We were shown that we had to be punished for our sins just as they did' (p. 369).

There are seven lexical units in this phrase, two of which were annotated as metaphor-related: *sijeziselwe* (to be punished) and *njengazo* (like them).
Ukujezisa* in *sijeziselwe

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of ukujezisa is '*ukunikeza umntu isigwebo ngokona kwakhe* (to sentence someone for his wrong doing, to punish).

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is '*ukunikeza umntu isigwebo ngokona kwakhe*' (to sentence someone for his wrong doing, to punish).

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning and the contextual meaning are not distinct because they are identical.

Comparison: The basic meaning and the contextual meaning cannot be compared since they are identical.

Decision: *ukujezisa* in sijeziselwe is not metaphor-related.

Type: Not applicable

njengazo
Njenge- in *njengazo* is a simile marker that signals a cross-domain mapping. In this case Mandela and company are likened to the prisoners. *Njenge-* in *njengazo* is metaphor-related and is used as MFlag.

(10a) ST: The/ warders/ would/ then/ drive/ us/ harder.

There are seven lexical units in this sentence, only one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *drive* (p. 481).
Drive

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of the verb *drive* relates to 'making someone to work hard' (sense 5 in the *Macmillan Dictionary*).

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in the *Macmillan Dictionary* 'to control a vehicle so that it moves somewhere'.

Sufficiently distinct: The basic sense is concrete and relates to physically operating a machine, while the contextual meaning is abstract and is concerned with people.

Comparison: We understand the manner in which the prisoners were forced to work in terms of driving a vehicle. We understand prisoners as machines.

Decision: The lexical item *drive* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural (HUMANS ARE MACHINES).

(10b) TT1: *Abagcini-mabanjwa/ babeye/ basiqhube/ ngakumbi/ nangakumbi.* 'The prison warders would drive us harder and harder' (p. 390).

There are five lexical units in this sentence, only one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *ukuqhuba* in *basiqhube.*

Ukuqhuba in Basiqhube

Contextual meaning: The contextual meaning of *basiqhube* is sense 3 in *GDX 'ukumela, ukwenza (abantu) basebenze'* ('to exhort, urge, drive people to get on with a task').

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is sense 1 in *GDX 'ukundila, ukudilinga, ukwenza abantu okanye izilwanyana zibheke phambili'* ('drive people like prisoners or animals in a certain direction').

Sufficiently distinct: The contextual meaning has to do with making the prisoners work, while the basic meaning relates to walking behind the prisoners so that they go forward or in a certain direction. Unlike the *Macmillan Dictionary*, the *GDX* does not have the sense of referring to driving a vehicle, but this sense is similar to sense 1 in *GDX*.

Comparison: We can understand applying some force to make prisoners work in terms of using force to make a vehicle, animal or prisoner move forward.

Decision: *Basiqhube* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (HUMANS ARE ANIMALS).

(10c) TT2: *Ojele/ bese/ besidudula/ ngamandla.* 'The warders would push us harder'. (p. 370).

There are four lexical units in this sentence, one of which was annotated as being metaphor-related: the verb *ukududula* in *besidudula.*

Ukududula in *besidudula*

Contextual meaning: the contextual meaning of ukududula is sense 1 in Isichazamazwi sesiZulu '*ukusunduza ususe okukhulu endleleni'* (to push away).

Basic meaning: The basic meaning is also sense 1 of *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* '*ukusunduza ususe okukhulu'* (to push away heavy /big objects).

Sufficiently distinct: The basic meaning relates to concrete objects while the contextual meaning concerns people.

Comparison: We understand pushing or making people work in terms of pushing a heavy object out of the way.

Decision: *Ukududula* in *besidudula* is related to metaphor and is used indirectly.

Type: Structural metaphor (HUMANS ARE MOVABLE OBJECTS)

The next section outlines the framework that has been applied in the description of translation strategies used by the translators in their rendering of metaphor in their target languages.

3.6   Translation strategies

This section sketches the framework on which the analysis of translation strategies employed by the translators was based. Translation strategies are techniques that translators use when trying to solve problems of equivalence caused by the different nature of the languages involved. Different authors have suggested different ways of transferring metaphor. For the purpose of this study the framework that was used is the one recommended by Kövecses (2003: 313-314) to examine cross-cultural variation. The study did not attempt in any way to judge

the strategies adopted by the translators. Instead, the framework was employed only for descriptive purposes and to observe whether the strategies resemble those that are used by translators elsewhere. These strategies proved useful in the analysis of the translation of metaphor:

a) A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be transferred as a different word form with the same literal meaning and the same figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor in another language.

ST: Prison is designed *to break* one's spirit and destroy one's resolve.

TT1*: Intolongo yenzelwe* **ukwaphula** *umoya womntu itshabalalise ukuzimisela kwakho.*

BT: Prison has been made to break a person's spirit and to destroy your determination.

TT2*: Ijele lenzelwe ukuba* **lifohloze** *umoya womuntu, libulale nokuzimisela kwakhe*

BT: Prison has been made to crash a person's spirit and kill his determination.

The English verb *to break* has been translated as *ukwaphula* in isiXhosa and *ukufohloza* in isiZulu. Both words have the same literal meaning as *break*, that is, to cause something to disintegrate into pieces. They also have the same figurative meaning, that is, to discourage a person. They also share the same conceptual metaphor - EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT.

b) A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with a different literal meaning, but the same figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor in another language.

ST: Once outside, the seven of us - Walter, Raymond, Govan, Kathy, Andrew, Elias and I - were handcuffed and piled into the back of a police van.

TT1: *Sithe sakuba ngaphandle, sosixhenxe uWalter, uRaymond, uGovan, uKathy, uAndrew, uElias, nam – safakwa amakhamandela sadidinjelwa ngasemva evenini.*

BT: Once we were outside, the seven of us, Walter, Raymond, Govan, Kathy, Andrew, Elias and I – we were handcuffed and put carelessly into the back of the van.

TT2*: Sesingaphandle thina esiyisikhombisa, uWalter, Raymond, Govan, Kathy, Andrew, Elias kanye nami saboshwa sadudulelwa ngemuva evenini yamaphoyisa*.

BT: Once we were outside, the seven of us, Walter, Raymond, Govan, Kathy, Andrew, Elias and I – we were handcuffed and pushed into the back of the police van.

The literal meaning of *pile* is to put stacks of objects on top of one another. *Pile into* is a phrasal verb which is figurative because it refers to the 'piling' of people. In isiXhosa and isiZulu different verbs were used, that is, *ukudidimba* and *ukududula. Ukudidimba* in isiXhosa is usually used in connection with reaping of maize where the maize cobs are thrown into the storehouse. The isiZulu verb *ukududula* means to push away. Both verbs have a different literal meaning from the English one. All of them have the same figurative meaning and underlying conceptual metaphor, that is, PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS.

c) A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with the same literal meaning and the same figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor in another language.

ST: We had **to pay** for our crimes just as they did (p. 480).
TT1: *ukuba **sihlawule** ngamatyala ethu njengokuba nawo esenza (p. 389).*
TT2: *sasikhonjiswa nokuthi kumele **sijeziselwe** ukona kwethu njengazo (p. 369).*

The isiXhosa verb has the same literal and figurative meaning as English, to pay. The conceptual metaphor underlying the linguistic expressions is also the same: PUNISHMENT IS PAYING A DEBT. The isiZulu word *ukujezisa* has

a different meaning, which is to punish. *Ukujezisa* has the same figurative meaning as pay but is expressed by a literal meaning. This strategy belongs to the one illustrated below.

d) A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with the same figurative meaning that is expressed by a literal meaning/paraphrase.

ST: one of the guards plucked me by the shoulder (p. 470).
TT1: *omnye wabagcini-mabanjwa wandithi xhakamfu ngegxalaba* (p. 380).
TT2: *kwaba khona ujele ongithinta ehlombe* (p. 360).
Plucked has been rendered as *ukuthi xhakamfu* in isiXhosa and *ukuthinta* in isiZulu. *Ukuthi xhakamfu* is an ideophonic expression that means to hold roughly with no respect. *Ukuthinta* means to touch. The metaphor in this example was rendered by means of paraphrase in both languages.

3.7   Conclusion

In this chapter, a detailed account of the research procedures followed in this study has been sketched. This was done by means of appropriate examples.

In order to address the research questions and aims of the study, a parallel corpus of English-isiXhosa-isiZulu texts was designed. The texts were aligned at sentence level using ParaConc tools. ParaConc was used in order to address the qualitative nature of the study. The metaphor identification procedure MIPVU that was used to identify metaphors in the corpus, was explained in detail. The parameters recommended by Kövecses (2003) for the description of metaphor translation were described.

The next chapter presents a discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1   Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the analytical framework and research procedures adopted to address the aims of this study. The first step was to design the English-isiXhosa-isiZulu corpus and align the ST and TTs using ParaConc. The second step was to identify metaphor-related words in the source text. This was done by applying the MIPVU tool. As mentioned in Chapter 3 (par.3.4.1), MIPVU is an extension of MIP which is the brainchild of the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The next step was to align the source text with the target texts using ParaConc. ParaConc was used because parallel texts, i.e. a source text and its translated version, can be aligned sentence by sentence and it is easier to identify corresponding words, phrases, collocations, etc. in the target text unlike when the search is done manually (cf. Chapter 3: par. 3.3.2.4). This tool was also used to determine the frequency and distribution of certain metaphor-related words in relation to the theme of the selected texts in all three languages by doing KWIC search (cf. Chapter 3: par. 3.3.2.5 to par. 3.3.2.8). The main features of the research procedures used were demonstrated by means of appropriate examples from the English-isiXhosa-isiZulu parallel corpus.

This chapter aims to discuss and interpret findings. The strategies adopted by the translators to transfer metaphors from the source language to the target language are considered. As many translation scholars have alluded to the fact that translating metaphor is challenging, the objective of this exercise is to understand the translators' decision-making in the translation process by exploring the strategies applied in rendering the conceptual metaphors.

In interpreting the findings provided the English monolingual online dictionaries, *Macmillan Dictionary* and *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, were randomly selected. These dictionaries were preferred for their accessibility. For isiXhosa I consulted *The Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa* that is available in three volumes published at different periods (Vol 1 in 2006, Vol 2 in 2003, Vol 3 in 1989). These

volumes were chosen because they are the only comprehensive dictionaries in isiXhosa presently. They contain valuable information about the development of isiXhosa as a written language, its grammar and some cultural practices. Because of the amount of information that is contained in these dictionaries, they can be regarded as encyclopedias. Volume 1 has 839 pages, volume 2 has 1126 pages and volume 3 has 755 pages, including addenda. They are also trilingual, that is the information is provided in three languages, IsiXhosa-English-Afrikaans, which was very useful for interpretation purposes. In cases where the words could not be found in the three volumes, use was made of the revised edition *Kafir-English Dictionary* (1915) one of the oldest dictionaries in the language. The first publication appeared in 1899. For isiZulu I consulted *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* (2006) which is the latest monolingual dictionary and the *English-Zulu Zulu-English* (1990) bilingual dictionary. *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* has 1 353 pages. The *English-Zulu- Zulu-English* dictionary is a combined edition of two dictionaries (918 pages), the *Zulu-English dictionary* (Doke and Vilakazi) first published in 1948 and the *English and Zulu Dictionary* (Doke, Malcom and Sikakana) published in 1958. Both dictionaries were compiled for students and they are regarded as standard works in the language. These dictionaries were utilised in finding the literal and contextual meanings of the selected words in order to establish whether they were used figuratively or not, as prescribed by the MIPVU. The use of dictionaries is very important in this procedure because it makes it possible for the analyst to distinguish between the literal and figurative meaning of a particular word. Using dictionaries also eliminates subjectivity and misinterpretation on the part of the analyst. After identifying metaphors in the texts, the isiXhosa and isiZulu renderings were compared to establish whether there are any similarities and/or differences in the manner in which the translators dealt with their translations.

In the following section, the results yielded by the alignment of the English-isiXhosa-isiZulu corpus are presented. This will be followed by a discussion of how these were translated into isiXhosa and isiZulu.

4.2 Results of the English-isiXhosa-isiZulu corpus

After the texts were aligned using ParaConc, a key word search was performed. It was fascinating to note the frequency and distribution of the lexical items *prison*, *fight* and *struggle* in the selected parts of the book. These words were explored since both texts selected for investigation deal with prison life. The frequency count showed that *struggle* had 40 hits, *fight* had 13 and *prison* had 170. This is reflected in the distribution graphs below (graphs 4.1; 4.2 and 4.3). What was more interesting to observe was the distribution of these words in the texts. There were more occurrencies in Part Eight than there were in Part Nine. This is not surprising, though, if we consider the title of Part Eight 'Robben Island: The dark years', which is about life in prison and the hardships endured during those years.
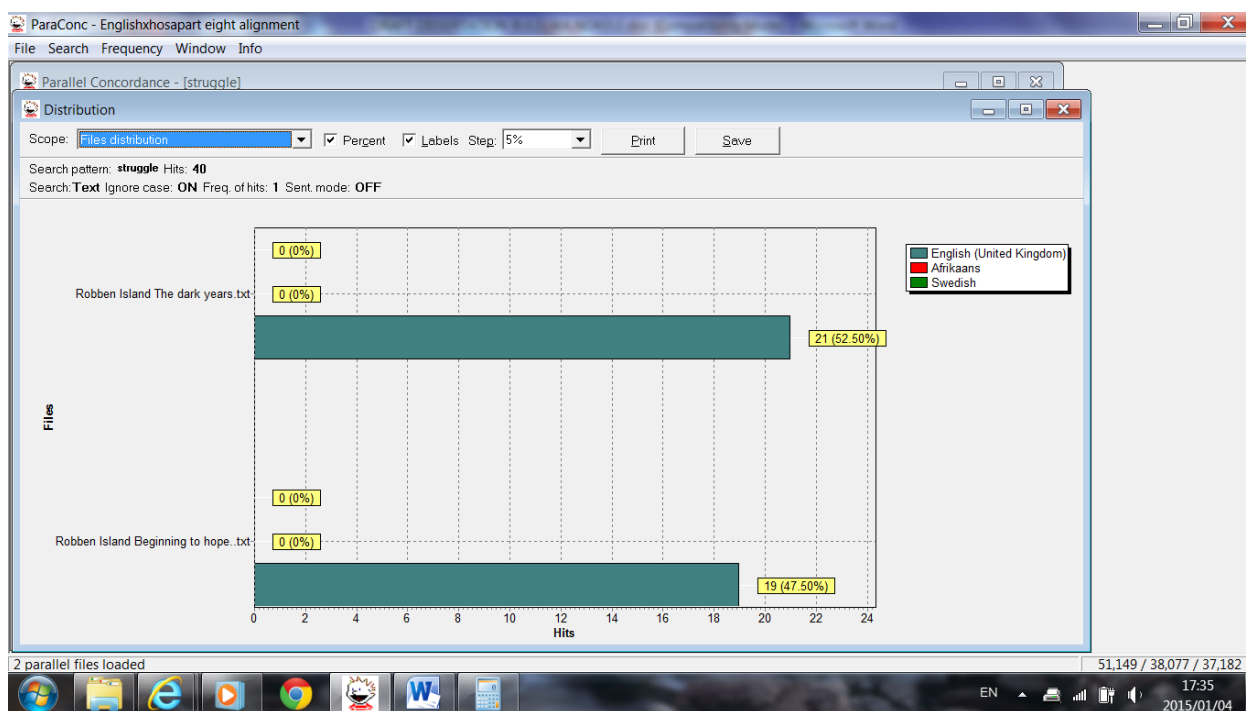
Graph 4.1 Showing the distribution of struggle in Part Eight and Nine
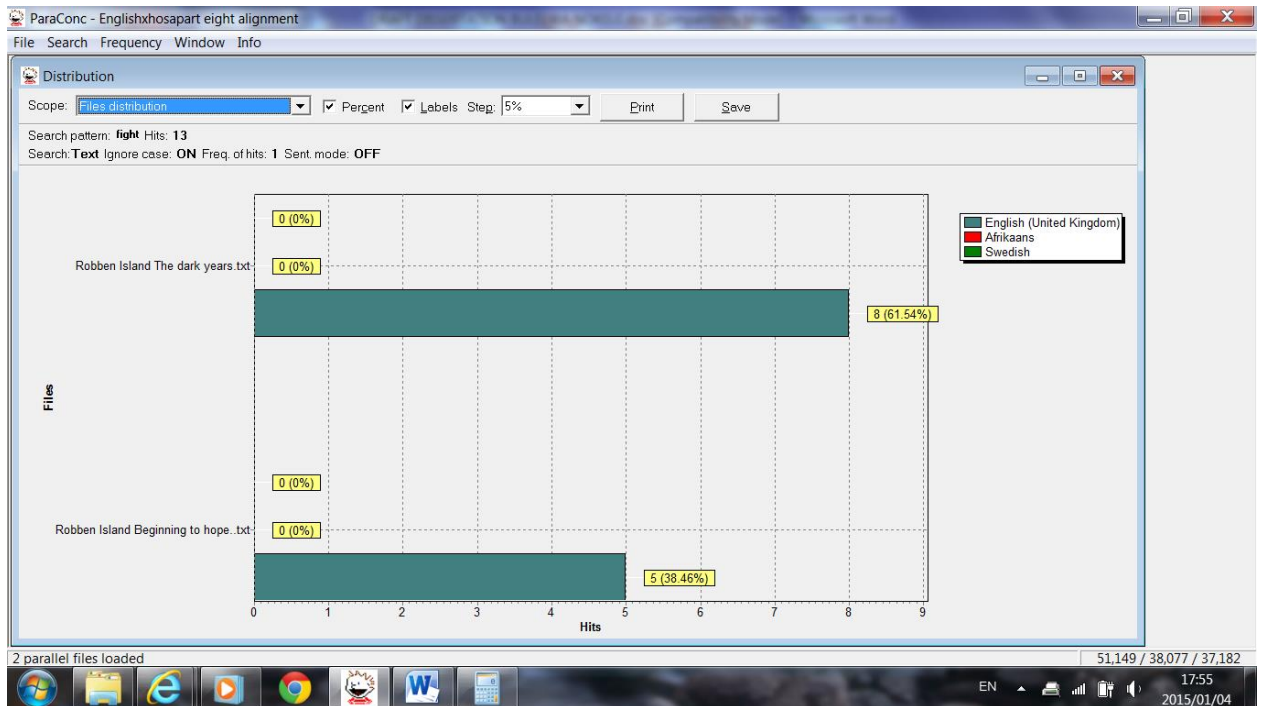
Graph 4.2 Showing distribution of *fight* in Parts Eight and Nine
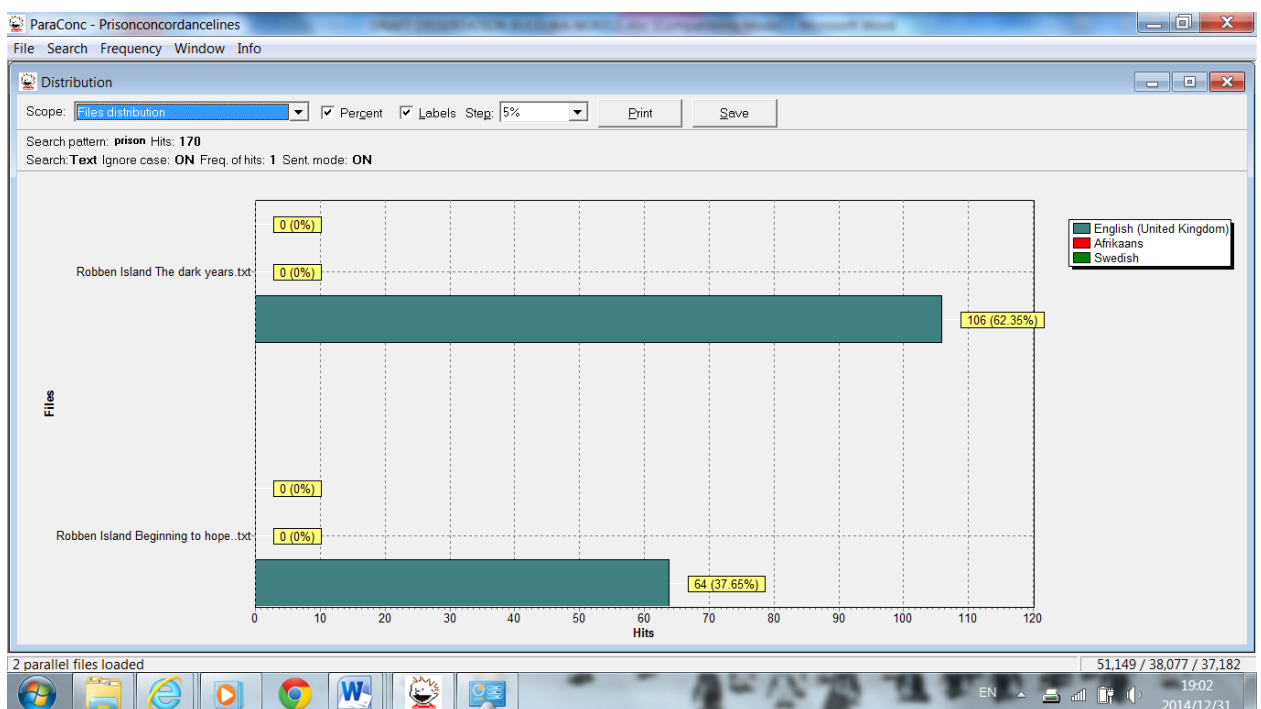
Graph 4.3 Showing the distribution of *prison* in Parts Eight and Nine

As mentioned before in Chapter 3 (par. 3.3.2.1) isiXhosa and isiZulu are agglutinating languages, meaning words and morphemes are conjoined in writing, i.e. three words in English can be written as one word in isiXhosa and isiZulu. English words such as prepostions are morphemes that form part of the word in these languages. In isiXhosa there are locative morphemes like the prefix *e-* and

the suffix *-ni* that are attached to the stem to form a word denoting a location, as in *entolongweni* (in prison). The phrase *in the struggle* would be written as one word *emzabalazweni* in isiXhosa and isiZulu. Consequently, the number of hits for a particular word in the ST will not necessarily be equal to the number of hits yielded for its equivalent in these languages. As the results for hot words illustrated, a key word may have a number of coordinates in the target language. As figure 4.1 shows, one of the possible translations for *struggle*, which was identified as metaphor-related, is *umzabalazo*. The search for this word yielded 16 matches in TT1, equally distributed in both Parts Eight and Nine (graph.4.4) and 11 in TT2 with more occurrences in Part Nine (graph. 4.6). As the graphs illustrate, the number of hits for *umzabalazo* in both TTs is lesser than those of the ST. If the noun *struggle* could be considered together with the preposition that goes with it, the results would be different. The other possible equivalents as shown by hot words results are *emzabalazweni* which yielded 15 hits in TT1 (graph. 4.5) and 10 hits in TT2 (graph. 4.8); and *yomzabalazo* in TT1 with five hits (graph. 4.6) while *omzabalazo* in TT2 has two matches (graph. 4.9). This is very interesting considering the fact that the languages are related and yet the use of *umzabalazo* and *emzabalazweni* has different distributions. This says more about the individuality of the translators and their styles. The concordance lines for *umzabalazo* are illustrated in figure 4.1 and the graphical representation of the distribution of *umzabalazo* (TT1 and TT2), *emzabalazweni* (TT1 and TT2), *yomzabalazo* (TT1) and *omzabalazo* (TT2) are illustrated below.
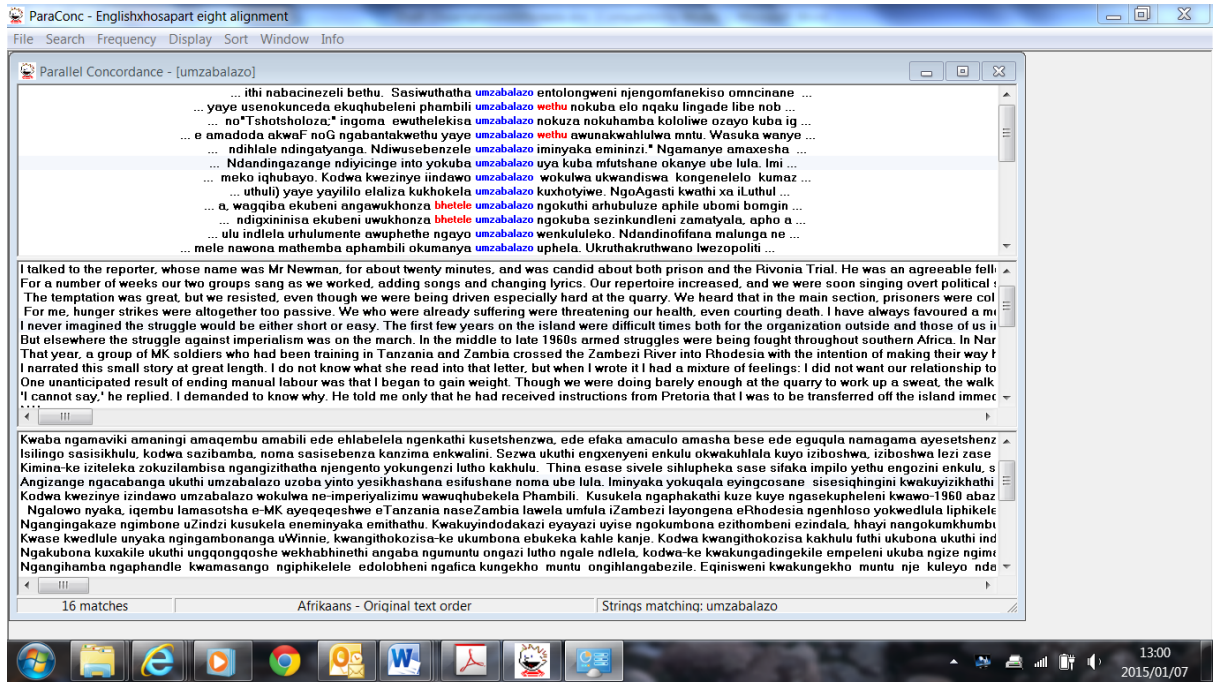
Figure 4.1 Showing the concordance lines of *umzabalazo* in the isiXhosa text

Graph 4.4 Showing the distribution of *umzabalazo* in the isiXhosa text
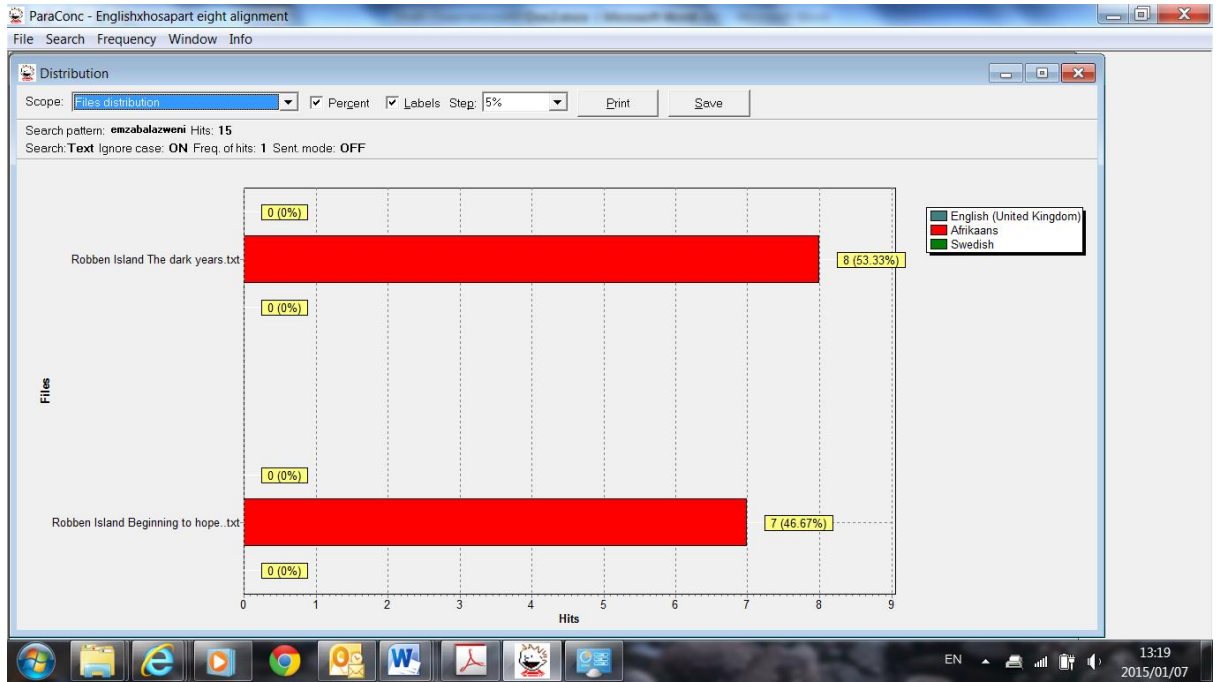
Graph 4.5 Showing the distribution of *emzabalazweni* in the isiXhosa text

Graph 4.6 Showing the distribution of *yomzabalazo* in the isiXhosa text
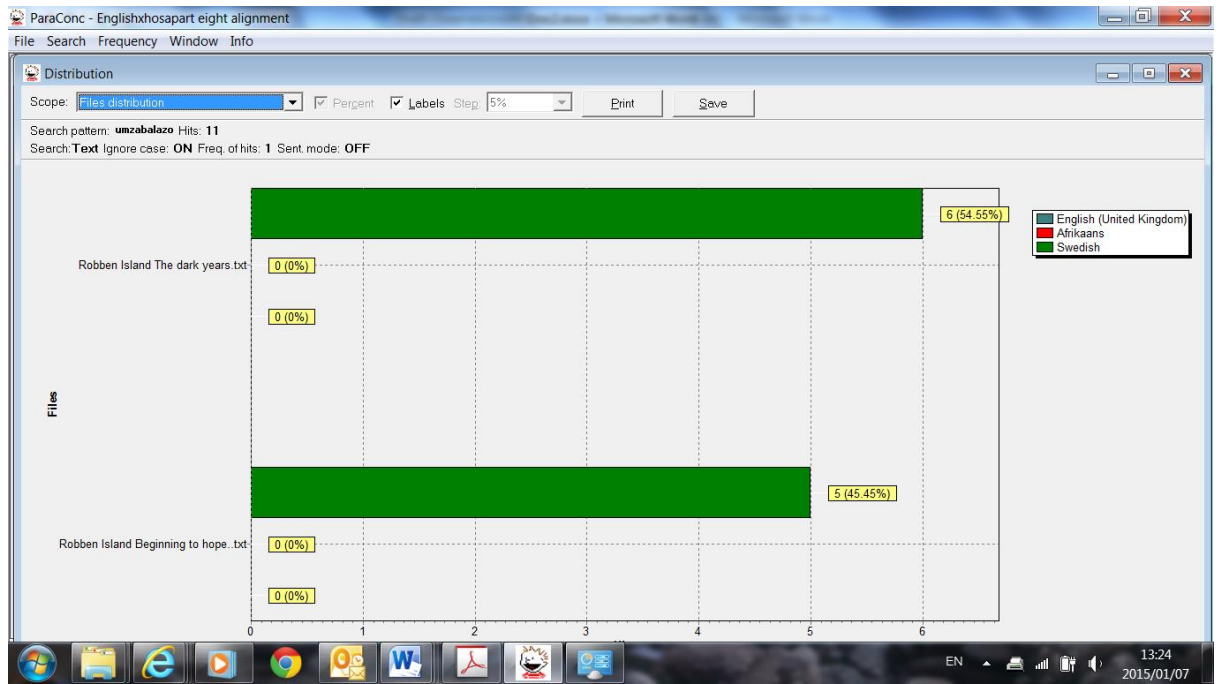
Graph 4.7 Showing the distribution of *umzabalazo* in the isiZulu text
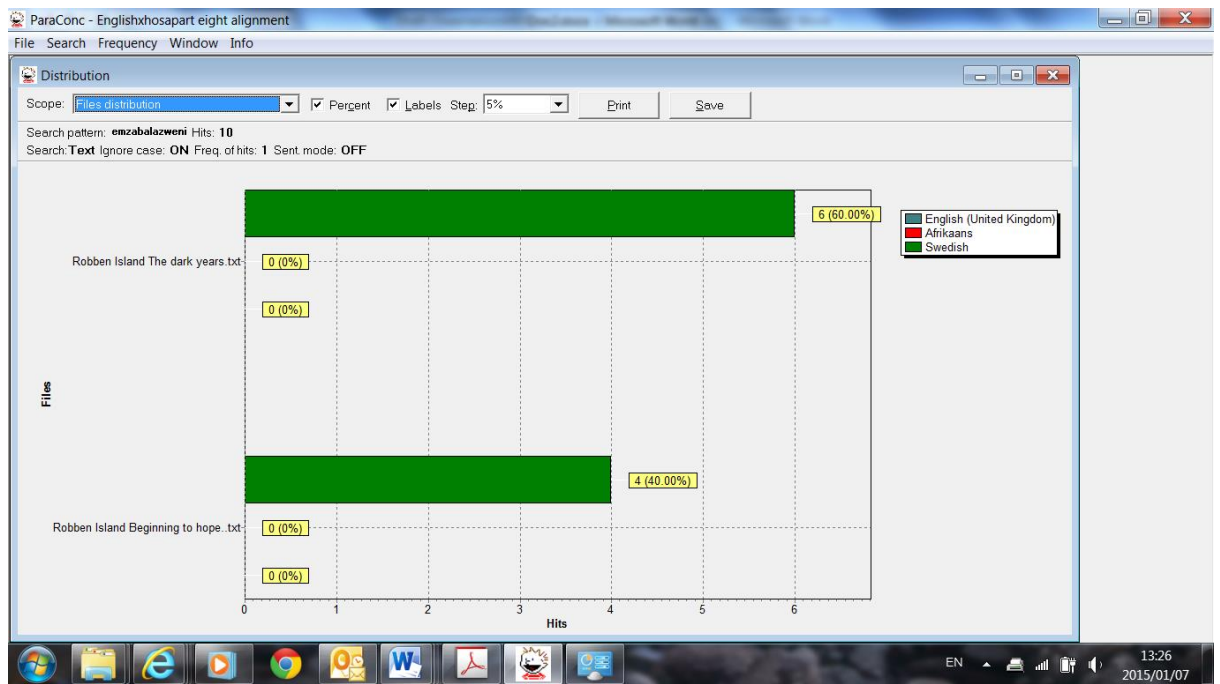
Graph 4.8 Showing the distribution of *emzabalazweni* (in the struggle) in isiZulu
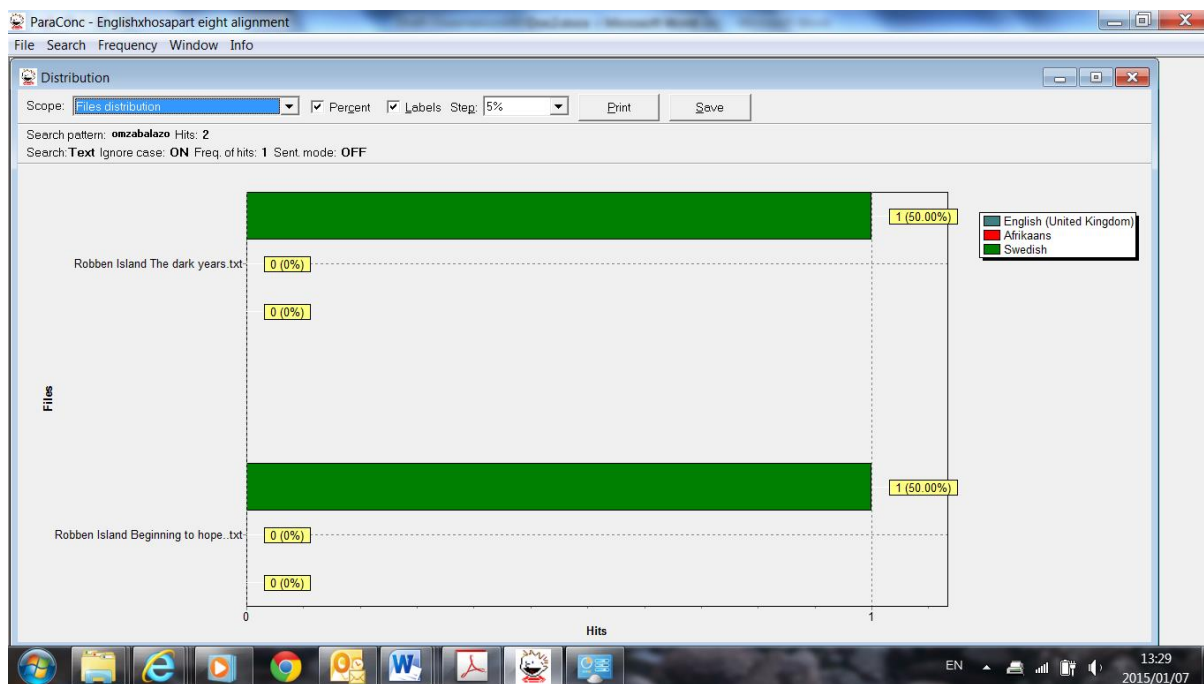
Graph 4.9 Showing the distribution of *omzabalazo* in the isiZulu text

In the following section, the findings on the identification of metaphors or metaphor-related words in the ST are presented.

4.3   Identification of metaphors in the source text

According to Kövecses (2010), metaphors can be classified according to their cognitive function. He groups them as structural, orientational or ontological metaphors. This study has adopted the same classification. The metaphors under scrutiny were identified in Parts Eight 'Robben Isaland: The dark years' and Nine 'Robben Island: Beginning to hope'. The identification process was expounded in Chapter 3 under section 3.5. In examining the metaphorical status of the lexical items in the sentence or paragraph, we shall concentrate only on those words that have been highlighted.

4.3.1   Structural metaphors

A structural metaphor enables speakers to understand one concept in terms of another. This is made possible by mapping the structure of one object onto the structure of another (Kövecses 2010: 37; Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 14). The

metaphors are grouped as follows: war, animal, building, food, plant, journey, time is motion and miscellaneous metaphors.

4.3.1.1   War metaphors

1. ST: (p. 460) My/ dismay/ was/ quickly/ replaced/ by/ a/ sense/ that/ a/ new/ and/ different/ **fight/** had /begun (1/16).

There are 16 lexical items in this sentence, but only one has been annotated as being metaphor-related. In examining the contextual meaning of the lexical item *fight* it was found that it is a verb, meaning to try in a very determined way to achieve something (*Macmillan Dictionary* sense 5). Mandela and his peers had just arrived at Robben Island. They were removed from familiar surroundings and families. On their arrival they were greeted by a sombre atmosphere and they realised that their life would not be easy. Mandela also realised that coming to the island was not the end but the beginning of another kind of struggle. They were going to fight for their human rights. *Fight* has a more basic meaning than the contextual, which is to hit a person with fists or kicking; or armies shooting with guns at one another (Macmillan sense 1 and 2). The basic meaning is more concrete than the contextual meaning and they can be contrasted with each other. Although these can be contrasted, they can be understood when they are compared. The contextual use of *fight* is indirect and therefore metaphorical. When there is a fight there is war between two parties, whether on a smaller scale as between two people, or on a larger scale between countries. Because the struggle for rights in prison is understood in terms of fighting as war, the lexical item *fight* can be classified as an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

2. ST: (p. 464) I/ was/ now/ on/ the/ sidelines/, but/ I/ also/ knew/ that/ I/ would/ not/ give/ up/ the/ **fight/**. I/ was/ in/ a/ different/ and/ smaller/ **arena/**, an/ arena/ for/ whom/ the/ only/ audience/ was/ ourselves/ and/ our/ oppressors/. We/ would/ **fight/** inside/ as/ we/ had/ **fought** /outside./ The/ racism/ and/ repression/ were/ the/ same,/ I/ would/ simply /have/ to/ **fight/** on/ different/ terms (5/78).

In this paragraph, which consists of 78 lexical items, only four were annotated as metaphor-related: *fight,* which appears once as a noun and twice as a verb and the noun *arena.* The contextual and basic meaning of the verb *fight* is the same as discussed above, therefore it will not be repeated here. As can be deduced from the basic meaning of the verb *to fight*, the noun denotes a situation in which people hit each other with fists or weapons. The repetition of the word *fight* emphasises Mandela's determination to continue the struggle for human rights.

The lexical item *arena* has been used figuratively according to the *OED*; meaning a sphere or scene of conflict, a battlefield. The basic meaning has to do with a large area that is used for sports or entertainment. In Mandela's eyes, Robben Island prison was a different arena, a different battle field. The words *fight/fought* (verb), *fight* (noun) and *arena* have been used metaphorically and are examples of the metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

3. ST: (p. 482): For/ us/ such/ **struggles**/ – for/ sunglasses,/ long/ trousers,/ study/ priviledges,/ equalized/ food/ – were/ corollaries/ to/ the/ **struggle**/ we/ **waged/** outside/ prison (3/21).

There are 21 words in this sentence and only two were highlighted as metaphor-related, the noun *struggle* and the verb *wage*. In examining the contextual meaning of struggle, it was established that it was about contending with a superior power, the South African government, in an effort to obtain basic human rights. This is sense two in the *OED*. The basic meaning of the verb is about continued efforts to resist force, or violent efforts to free oneself from constraint. The basic meaning is about physical action while the contextual meaning is on the abstract level. In this sentence *struggle* was used figuratively as an indirect MRW. Since the noun *struggle* is related to fighting because it sometimes involves violence, it corresponds to the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

The second lexical item that was selected in this sentence was the verb *wage*. The basic meaning of the verb *wage*, according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* is to start and to continue a war or a fight. The contextual meaning of *wage* is to

continually fight for such basic rights as sunglasses, long trousers and study privileges; it can be contrasted with the basic meaning and thus be understood in comparison with it. Like *fight*, *wage* was used in a context where it is an example of the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor.

4. ST: (p. 507): The/ authorities/ always/ found/ it/ distressing/ when/ I/ wanted/ to/ **defend/** myself/ in/ court/ because/ the/ accompanying/ publicity/ would/ show/ that/ I/ was/ still/ **fighting**/ for/ the/ same/ values/ I/ always/ **had** (3/32).

There are 32 lexical items in this sentence and three have been marked as metaphor-related, the verbs *defend* and *fight* and the auxiliary verb *had*. The basic meaning of the verb *defend* is to protect someone from an attack. The contextual meaning is to take legal measures to appear in court on behalf of an accused person. The prisoners at Robben Island were granted the opportunity to defend themselves or appoint a lawyer to represent them when they were found guilty of misconduct. In this case, Mandela would be defending himself in court against the prison authorities. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning can be contrasted and compared with each other because the basic meaning has to do with physical fighting in defence, which is concrete, while the contextual meaning concerns defence in court. It does not involve hitting or any use of weapons. Arguing in court can be understood in terms of fighting in defence in a war, hence *defend* in this context is metaphorically used and an example of the conceptual metaphor: ARGUMENT IS WAR.

To determine the contextual meaning of *had*, we have to refer back to the verb *fight*, for which it is a substitute. As has been determined above, the basic meaning of *fight* is more concrete than the contextual meaning, hence *had*, which stands for *fight*, can be said to be an implicit metaphor-related word (MRW impl). *Had* is therefore an example of POLITICS IS WAR as determined above.

5. ST: (p. 535): We/ had/ **won/** a/ host/ of/ small**/ battles/** that/ added/ up/ to/ a/ change/ in/ the atmosphere/ of/ the/ island (2/20).

There are twenty lexical items in this sentence; two have been marked as being metaphor-related, the verb *win* (won) and the noun *battles*. The contextual meaning of the verb *win* has to do with achieving some of the rights and values Mandela fought for in prison, which does not involve physical fighting. The basic meaning of *win* according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* is to defeat everyone else by being the best or finishing first in a competition. The basic meaning of the word *battle* is more concrete than its contextual meaning, where it refers to other means of fighting, like hunger strikes, as a way of forcing the authorities to yield to their requests. The lexical items *won* and *battles* can be understood in terms of fighting and winning a war and can be recognised as the revelation of the metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR. They were used as indirect MRW.

6. ST: (p. 543): It/ was/ not/ the/ last/ time/ they/ would/ try/ to/ **eliminate** me (1/12).

There are twelve lexical items in this sentence and only one has been annotated for being a metaphor, the verb *eliminate*. The contextual meaning of the verb *to eliminate* refers to the apartheid government's plan to kill Mandela while he was in prison. A young prison warder came to him with an escape plan, which, unfortunately, did not impress Mandela. He saw through it, that it was a plan to eliminate him. The literal meaning of the verb according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* is sense 1, to get rid of something that is not wanted or needed. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning can be contrasted with each other but they can also be understood in comparison. The verb *eliminate* was, therefore, identified as an indirect metaphor-related word (MRW indirect).

4.3.1.2   Animal metaphors

In most cultures one will find metaphors where animal characteristics are bestowed on humans. Most animal metaphors commonly used in speech originate from folktales and can therefore be said to be culturally motivated. The following examples illustrate cases where people are perceived as animals.

7. ST: (p. 455) The/ warders/ pointed/ with/ their/ guns/ to/ where/ they/ wanted/ us/ to/ go,/ and/ **barked/** their/ orders/ in/ simple/ one-word/ commands. (1/21)

There are 21 words in this sentence. One lexical item has been marked as a metaphor. In determining the metaphorical status of this word, its basic meaning and contextual meaning were compared. It was found that the basic meaning of the verb *bark* has to do with the sound that is made by a dog. The contextual meaning on the other hand is about the loud angry voice of the prison warder when talking to Mandela and others. The two meanings can be contrasted with each other. The manner in which the warder spoke to the inmates can be understood in terms of the noise made by a dog when it barks. *Barked*, therefore has been used as an indirect MRW that invokes the metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

8. ST: (p. 470): After/ they/ had/ made/ one/ circuit,/ one/ of/ the/ guards/ **plucked/** me/ by/ the/ shoulder/ and/ said,/ 'Mandela,/ come,/ you/ will /talk/ now' (1/23) (This example appears in Nokele 2014).

This sentence has 23 lexical items and one was marked as a metaphor, the verb *plucked*. The contextual meaning relates to the manner in which Mandela was handled by the prison authorities when he was asked to speak on behalf of his peers. The basic meaning of *pluck* is pulling feathers off the body of a dead bird. The contextual meaning and the basic meaning are distinct in that we can understand the disrespectful treatment of Mandela in terms of plucking feathers off a dead chicken. *Plucked* is therefore related to metaphor and it invokes the conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. It was used indirectly in this sentence.

9. ST: (p. 497): Not/ all/ of/ our/ warders/ were/ **ogres** (1/7).

This sentence consists of seven lexical units, one was annotated as a metaphor-related word, the noun *ogres*. In examining the contextual meaning of *ogre*, it was found that it relates to a cruel, fearsome person. Because of the manner in which the prison officials handled the inmates, they were regarded as *ogres*. The basic meaning is taken from children's stories or folktales and refers to a man-eating monster. It could be a human being but most of the time it is represented as an animal. The conduct of the prison officials is mapped onto the character of ogres in folktales. The lexical unit, *ogres,* was used as an indirect metaphor invoking the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor.

10. ST: (p. 505): She/ would/ be/ lonely/ and/ a/ **prey/** for/ people/ who/ sought/ to/ undermine/ her/ under/ the/ guise/ of/ being/ her /friends (1/21).

This sentence is made up of twenty one lexical units; one was annotated as a metaphor-related word. In examining the contextual meaning of the lexical item *prey* it was found that it relates to a person who is easily deceived by another (*OED* sense 2). Mandela used this word to highlight his concern that his wife, Winnie, because she was vulnerable, would be easily deceived by those people who would want to take advantage of her. The basic meaning which is more concrete is sense 1a in the OED: 'an animal that is hunted or killed by a carnivore for food.' The contextual and non-contextual meanings can be contrasted and understood in comparison. The word *prey* can be said to have been used metaphorically indirectly and is another example of the conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

11. ST: (p. 561): They/ **hounded/** him/ even/ after/ death/ – the/ state/ confiscated/ his/ ashes/ after/ his/ cremation (1/14).

There are fourteen words in this sentence and one was marked as a metaphor-related word, *hounded*. In determining the metaphoric status of this word, its basic meaning was contrasted with its contextual meaning. The contextual meaning of *hounded* is sense two in the *OED* 'to pursue, chase or track like a hound, or as if with a hound, especially to pursue harassingly.' This word was

chosen to portray the harassment Braam Fischer went through when he was alive and after his death. The government refused to hand over his ashes to his family after cremation. The basic meaning is sense one of the *OED* 'to hunt, chase or pursue with hounds or as a dog does'. Braam Fischer's harassment can be understood in terms of a hound or dog chasing a prey as in hunting. *Hounded* therefore was used indirectly as MRW as an instantiation of the metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

12. ST: (p. 461) I/ felt/ like/ hugging/ them/ but/ I/ was/ **restrained/** by/ the/ presence/ of/ the/ major (1/15).

The contextual meaning of *restrain* is about Mandela stopping himself from hugging Braam Fischer and Joel Joffe who visited him in prison although he was excited to see them. This action was caused by the presence of the major in the room. The basic meaning has to do with physically controlling the movements of a person or animal. Because there is no physical handling involved, the two meanings can be contrasted and the lexical item can be identified as being used as an indirect metaphor-related word. This can be understood as an example of the metaphor PEOPLE ARE CAPTIVE ANIMALS. It can also be interpreted as an example of the metaphor CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING PEOPLE.

4.3.1.3 Building metaphors

These are metaphors that have building as their source domain.

13. ST: (p. 463): To/ do/ this,/ the/ authorities/ attempt/ to/ exploit/ every/ weakness,/ **demolish/** every/ initiative,/ negate/ all/ signs/ of/ individuality/ – all/ with/ the/ idea/ of/ **stamping out/** that/ spark/ that/ makes/ each/ of/ us/ human/ and/ each/ of/ us/ who/ we/ are (2/39).

There are 39 lexical units in this sentence; two were annotated as metaphor-related: the verb *demolish* and the phrasal verb *stamping out*.

The contextual meaning of *demolish* has to do with the prison authorities spoiling the efforts of Mandela and his colleagues to make their lives comfortable in prison. This corresponds with sense two in the *Macmillan Dictionary*, 'to have a bad effect on someone's feelings or to spoil their plans'. The basic meaning is sense one 'to deliberately destroy a building'. When comparing the two meanings we can then understand the authorities' determination to destroy all attempts Mandela and company make in terms of demolishing a building deliberately. *Demolish* was used as a metaphor-related word representing the conceptual metaphor: HUMAN ACTIONS ARE BUILDINGS (Nokele 2014).

In examining the contextual meaning of the phrasal verb *stamp out* it was discovered that it relates to killing one's spirit, that which makes him human. The more concrete meaning of the phrase is sense two in the *Macmillan Dictionary*, meaning to make a fire stop burning by putting your feet down hard on it. The fire in this case is the '*spark*' inside the person, his feelings. We can understand the efforts of the prison authorities to destroy the sanity of inmates in terms of extinguishing fire. The metaphor that is invoked by *stamping out* is CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING THE HEAT. *Stamping out* is also an example of an indirect MRW.

14. ST: (p. 513): Verwoerd/ had/ proved/ to/ be/ both/ the/ chief/ theorist/ and/ master/ **builder/** of/ grand/ apartheid (1/15).

There are fifteen lexical units in this sentence of which one was marked as a metaphor-related word, the noun *builder*. In determining the metaphoric status of this word, its basic meaning and contextual meaning were contrasted. In examining the contextual meaning of *builder,* it was discovered that it is related to someone who designs theories or policies. The basic meaning refers to someone whose job is to repair and build houses. The two meanings can be contrasted because the contextual meaning relates to an abstract phenomenon while the basic meaning has to do with a concrete structure. *Builder* in this sense was used as an indirect MRW and is an example of the metaphor: THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS.

4.3.1.4 Food metaphors

15. ST: (p. 491): Within/ a/ month,/ we/ were/ receiving/ the/ Economist/ and/ reading/ the/ news/ we/ **hungered**/ for (1/15).

There are fifteen lexical units in this sentence; one was marked as a metaphor-related word, the verb *hungered.* The contextual meaning is about longing for news or information. The basic meaning is about craving for food. The basic meaning concerns food which is a concrete object while the contextual meaning has to do with an abstract object. The two meanings are therefore distinct. We can understand the strong feeling of craving for news in terms of being hungry craving for food. *Hungered* can be said to be metaphorical and is an example of the metaphor: KNOWLEDGE IS FOOD.

16. ST: (p. 509): I/ think/ Walter/ was/ the/ only/ man/ on/ Robben Island/ who/ **relished/** newspapers/ as/ much/ as/ I/ **did** (2/17).

The basic meaning of the verb *relish* is associated with food. It relates to having a specified taste or flavour (the OED sense one). The contextual meaning is about great pleasure Mandela and Walter Sisulu derived from reading newspapers. Reading news is being compared to enjoying good food. *Relish* was identified as an indirect MRW representing the conceptual metaphor KNOWLEDGE IS FOOD.

To determine the contextual meaning of *did*, we have to refer back to the verb *relish*, for which it is a substitute. As has been determined above, the basic meaning of *relish* is more concrete than the contextual meaning because it involves physical tasting of the food while the contextual meaning relates to processing the knowledge or ideas in the mind. The verb *did* was therefore used as an implicit metaphor-related word (MRW impl.) and an example of the metaphor IDEAS/KNOWLEDGE IS FOOD as its antecedent.

17. ST: (p. 474) Later/ I/ realized/ that/ this/ was/ simply/ a/ technique/ on/ the/ part/ of/ the/ authorities/ to/ **glean/** information/ from/ us/ and/ I/ had/ fallen/ for/ it (1/26).

There are 26 lexical units in this sentence; one was annotated as metaphor-related, the verb *glean*. The contextual meaning of this verb is about the prison authorities getting information about the ANC from Mandela. The basic meaning of *glean* is to gather or pick up ears of corn left by harvesters (the story of Ruth in the Bible). When contrasting the contextual meaning with the basic meaning, it was found that the two can be understood in comparison because the contextual meaning is about getting information, an abstract phenomenon, while the basic meaning is about picking up the remains of corn in the fields, a concrete substance. From this it can be argued that the verb *glean* was used as a metaphor-related word representing the conceptual metaphor: INFORMATION IS FOOD.

4.3.1.5   Plant metaphor

18. ST: (p. 510): In/ the/ end,/ Lusaka/ confirmed/ the/ separation/ of/ the/ ANC/ and/ the/ party/ and/ the/ argument/ eventually/ **withered/** away (1/19).

This sentence consists of nineteen lexical units and one was annotated as related to metaphor, the verb *withered*. To confirm the status of this word, its basic and contextual meanings were contrasted. The contextual meaning has to do with the debate about the link between the ANC and the SACP. The argument came to an end after it was confirmed that the two organizations are independent. The basic meaning of *withered* is about a plant that has dried up and died (Macmillan sense one and two). The falling away of the argument is likened to the dying of a plant. *Withered* was used as an indirect metaphor-related word and it reveals the metaphor: ARGUMENTS ARE PLANTS.

19. ST: (p. 521): Our/ structures/ had/ been/ discovered/ and/ **uprooted** (1/7).

There are seven lexical items in this string/sentence, and one was annotated as a metaphor-related word, the verb *uprooted*. The contextual meaning of this

word is about the ANC structures being discovered and destroyed. Some members were arrested while others went into hiding or were scattered all over the country. It is related to sense one 'to leave the place where you lived and go to live somewhere else, especially when you do not want to leave'. The basic meaning is Macmillan sense two 'to pull a whole tree or plant from the ground, including all the roots that grow in the soil'. The two meanings can be contrasted and understood in comparison with each other. *Uprooted* was used indirectly as a metaphor-related word and it summons the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

20. ST: (p. 521): The/ state/ had/ **grown/** stronger (1/5).

There are five lexical items in this sentence; one was annotated as a metaphor-related word, the verb *grown.* In examining the contextual meaning of the verb, it was found that it had to do with the South African government gaining more power and its systems improving, related to OED sense seven 'to increase gradually in magnitude, quantity or degree'. The basic meaning of the verb is sense one in the OED 'to manifest vigorous life, to put forth foliage, flourish, be green'. When the two meanings are contrasted one notices that they are distinct. The basic meaning relates to plants coming up to life, germinating. This can be said of animals and people as well. But the contextual meaning relates to the might of the government. The verb *grown* can be understood in terms of a plant being produced and growing taller. This verb was used as a metaphor and it invokes the metaphor SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS.

4.3.1.6 Journey metaphors

21. ST: (p. 477): Any/ line/ of/ talk/ that/ **departed/** from/ the/ family/ and/ **verged/** on/ the/ political/ might/ mean/ the/ abrupt/ termination/ of/ the/ visit (2/22).

There are 22 lexical items in this sentence; two were marked as a metaphor-related word, the verbs *departed* and *verged*. The basic meaning of the verb *depart* is 'leave a place and start a journey' (sense one *Macmillan Dictionary*). The contextual meaning is about changing the subject of discussion. This use of

the word corresponds with sense 11 in the *OED*. The *Macmillan Dictionary* does not have this sense in its entries. When Mandela received visitors on Robben Island the warders would listen to their conversation. They were to talk only about family matters. They would be very careful not to deviate from family matters so that the visits would continue. If they did they would use pseudonames so that the officials were not aware.

The contextual meaning of the verb *verge* is about moving from one issue of discussion to another. The use of the word fits well with the verb *depart* suggesting moving from one topic to the other. The basic meaning is sense two in *OED,* which is 'to move in a certain direction'. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning of *depart* and *verge* can be contrasted because the basic meaning refers to concrete action, moving from one place to another, while the contextual meaning concerns the abstract, the content of the conversation. Changing the subject of the conversation is understood in terms of leaving for a particular destination. In this case the two verbs were used metaphorically as examples of the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY which can be extended to CHANGING A SUBJECT IS CHANGING THE DIRECTION.

22. ST: (p. 569): One/ morning/ after/ breakfast,/ Kathy,/ Walter,/ Eddie/ Daniels/ and/ I/ **drifted/** over/ to/ the/ garden/ at/ the/ southern/ end/ of/ the/ courtyard/ where/ we/ appeared/ to/ be/ having/ a/ political discussion (1/31).

This sentence consists of 31 lexical units; only one was marked as potentially metaphor-related, the verb *drifted*. To determine whether this word was used as a metaphor, its basic and contextual meanings were contrasted. The basic meaning is sense one in the *Macmillan Dictionary*, 'to be pushed along very slowly by movement of air or water'. The contextual meaning relates to when Mandela and his friends were looking for a safe spot to hide the first manuscript of *Long Walk to Freedom*. They had divided the manuscript into three parts and they hid them in different places. *Drifted* refers to the manner in which they were walking. They seemed to be walking as if they did not know where they were going when in fact they knew, because they had inspected the area previously and marked the spot where they would hide the manuscripts. This verb was

used as a metaphor and it evokes the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which could be extended to the metaphor that is evoked: PURPOSEFUL ACTIONS ARE JOURNEYS.

23. ST: (p. 605) As/ I/ grew/ older,/ my/ thoughts/ **turned/** more/ and/ more/ often/ to/ the/ green/ hills/ of/ the/ Transkei (1/18).

The verb *turned* was also used metaphorically because its basic meaning is distinct from its contextual meaning. The contextual meaning relates to thinking about something. In this case Mandela is thinking about his home village in the Transkei. The basic meaning, on the other hand, sense five in OED, is about changing a posture or direction. This is another example of a journey metaphor where Mandela has changed the direction of his thoughts. He used to think about the struggle and life in Johannesburg; now he was thinking about home in the rural Transkei. The change of thoughts can be understood in terms of changing direction on a journey. *Turned* can be identified as an example of the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY which can also be extended to A JOURNEY DEFINES A PATH.

4.3.1.7   Time is a moving object

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that since we are facing the future we move forward, hence time receives a front-back orientation. That is why they classify TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT as orientational metaphor. Kövecses (2010:37), however, categorised TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT under structural metaphors. He argues that we understand time in terms of physical objects, location and motion. Therefore, it is easier to see a certain structure, for example, moving forward. For the purpose of this study the metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT is categorised as a structural metaphor.

24. ST: (p. 463): Time/ **slows down**/ in/ prison;/ the/ days/ seem/ endless (1/8).

This sentence consists of nine lexical items, and one was marked as a metaphor-related word, the phrasal verb *slows down*. Since this is a phrasal verb, it has been counted as one lexical unit. The literal meaning and the contextual meaning of the phrasal verb is the same; it has to do with reducing

the speed or pace. In prison it seems like time is moving at a slow pace, as if days will never end. The phrasal verb *slow down* is usually associated with concrete or physical entities. In this sentence it is associated with time, an abstract concept or entity. Time is talked about as if it can move, which makes it an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor: TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT. It is also an example of an indirect MRW.

25. ST: (p. 528): Time/ may/ seem/ to/ **stand/ still/** for/ those/ of/ us/ in/ prison,/ but/ it/ did/ not/ **halt/** for/ those/ outside (2/19).

This sentence is made up of nineteen lexical units; two were annotated as metaphor-related words, the verbs *stand* and *halt*. In examining the contextual meaning of *stand,* it was found that it is about how Mandela experienced time in prison, as compared to the experience of people outside. It seemed as if it was not moving at all. The basic meaning of the verb *stand* relates to a person or animal in an erect position. Mandela perceives time as being stationary. The contextual meaning of the verb *halt* is moving because it is said time did not *halt*. In other words it did not stop. The basic meaning of the verb *halt* is a temporary or permanent stop in a process. This implies that the object was moving before it came to a stop. The way *stand* and *halt* are used in this sentence implies that time is a moving object; sometimes it moves and at other times it stops. This means that we understand time in terms of people moving or physical objects that are in motion. In this context time is talked about in relation to people in prison and outside prison. For people inside prison it is not moving while it is the opposite for people outside prison. In this example the verbs *stand* and *halt* have been used as metaphors and are examples of the metaphor: TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT.

26. ST: (p. 528): The/ time/ **passed/** far/ too/ quickly **(1/5).**

The verb *passed* has been identified as a metaphor-related word because the basic meaning and contextual meaning can be contrasted and understood in comparison. Although the contextual meaning and the basic meaning of the verb *to pass* are the same, that is, going past something, the contextual meaning relates to time, an abstract entity. Time is understood as something

that moves so quickly that it overtakes us. In this sense the verb *passed* was used as a metaphor-related word which invokes the metaphor: TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT or TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT (Kövecses 2010).

4.3.1.8 Miscellaneous

27. ST: (p. 504): She/ was/ **barred/** from/ taking/ a/ train/ or/ car/ and/ had/ to/ **fly**,/ making/ the/ trip/ much/ more/ expensive (2/19).

This sentence consists of nineteen lexical units; one was annotated as metaphor-related, the verb *barred*. In determining the contextual meaning of the verb *barred,* it was found that it relates to Winnie being prohibited from travelling by train or car when visiting him on the island, sense six in the *OED.* The basic meaning is 'to close or fasten up with bars', for example a door. To find out whether the two meanings are distinct, they were contrasted and it was discovered that the basic meaning was more concrete and had to do with preventing passage by putting a bar across the door. The contextual meaning is about putting laws that prohibit a person from doing something in place. The contextual meaning is more abstract than the basic meaning. *Barred*, therefore, was used as a metaphor in this sentence and is an example of the conceptual metaphor: CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING PEOPLE.

The second word that was marked as metaphor-related is the verb *fly*. The literal meaning of *fly* is about using wings to move through the air like birds flying. The contextual meaning is about travelling by aeroplane. This verb has been so frequently used that it is no longer seen as being a metaphor. It belongs to the list of dead metaphors. However, *fly* invokes the metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, because only birds fly.

28. ST: (p. 558): I/ enjoyed/ keeping/ my/ legal/ skills/ **sharp**,/ and/ in/ few/ cases/ verdicts/ were/ overturned/ and/ sentences/ reduced (1/17).

This sentence consists of seventeen lexical items, one of which was annotated as metaphor-related, the adjective *sharp*. The contextual meaning of the adjective *sharp* refers to Mandela being alert and smart as a lawyer. It is sense

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three in the *OED* explaining it as 'intellectually acute, keen witted'. The basic meaning is sense one of *OED* that has to do with an object that is 'well adapted for cutting or piercing' or that has 'a keen edge or point'. The two meanings can be contrasted with each other because the contextual meaning has to do with an abstract noun, Mandela's skills. The basic meaning on the other hand refers to a physical object like a knife that has been made for cutting. Therefore, if we consider the way Mandela talks about his skills, that is, as a concrete instrument that can be sharpened, then the basic meaning and the contextual meaning can be seen as being distinct. His skills can be understood in terms of an object that can be regularly sharpened. The adjective *sharp* can be said to have been used as an indirect metaphor (MRW indirect) with IDEAS ARE CUTTING INSTRUMENTS as its underlying conceptual metaphor.

29. ST: (p. 576): My/ comrades/ and/ I/ were/ enormously/ cheered;/ the/ spirit/ of/ mass/ protest/ that/ had/ seemed/ dormant**/** during/ the/ 1960s/ was/ **erupting/** in/ the/ 1970s (1/24).

There are 24 lexical units in this sentence and one was marked as a metaphor-related word, the verb *erupting.* In examining the contextual meaning of the verb it was discovered that it relates to the activism that was springing back in the 1970s after a lull that was evident after the arrest of Mandela and his comrades. There was the 1976 uprising and many young activists were arrested and were sent to Robben Island. The fact that the struggle was continuing in the country excited them. The basic meaning of the verb *erupt* according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* sense one is 'if a volcano erupts it explodes and flames, rocks and lava come out of the top'. The actions of the youth during the 1976 uprising are understood in terms of a volcano exploding. *Erupting* was used as a metaphor and is an example of the metaphor: EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE.

30. ST: (p. 602): The/ idea/ had/ been/ **conceived/** in/ Lusaka/ by/ Oliver/ Tambo/ and/ the/ ANC … (1/13).

There are 13 lexical items in this sentence and one was identified as a metaphor-related word, the verb *conceived*. The contextual meaning of this word is about initiating an idea. The idea was the 'Free Mandela Campaign' that

was initiated by Oliver Tambo and the ANC in Lusaka. This is sense seven in the *OED* 'to form (a purpose, design etc.) in the mind; to plan, devise, formulate in idea'. The basic meaning is sense one in the *OED* 'to conceive seed or offspring'. The basic meaning and the non-basic meaning can be contrasted. The formulation of the Free Mandela Campaign can be understood in terms of a baby that is conceived in its mother's womb. This makes one think of an idea as human, hence the metaphor: IDEAS ARE PEOPLE.

31. ST: (p. 74): But/ the/ prison/ authorities/ **wielded/** the/ classification/ system/ as/ a/ weapon/ against/ political/ prisoners,/ threatening/ to/ lower/ our/ hard-won/ classification/ in/ order/ to/ control/ our/ behavior (1/26).

This sentence is made up of 26 lexical units, one of which was annotated as a metaphor-related word, the verb *wielded*. In examining the metaphorical status of this word, its basic meaning and contextual meaning were contrasted. It was found that the contextual meaning has to do with the prison authorities using the system as a weapon or tool against the prisoners. The prisoners were classified according to four categories, A, B, C, and D, depending on their sentences and conduct. Category A was the highest and D was the lowest. The authorities would either raise or lower your category as they pleased. The basic meaning of the verb *'wield'* is to hold a weapon or tool and use it. The prison system, an abstract entity, was used as a weapon, a concrete object, to enforce discipline in prison. *Wielded* was used as a metaphor-related word because its contextual meaning can be mapped onto its basic meaning. It is an example of the metaphor: CONTROL IS HOLDING.

4.3.2   Orientational metaphors

Orientational metaphors organise systems of concepts with respect to one another (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a). They are called 'orientational' because they have to do with human spatial orientation, for example up-down, in-out, full-empty. Kövecses prefers to call them "coherence metaphors" because he argues that this type of metaphor makes target concepts "coherent in our conceptual system" (2010: 40).

32. ST: (pp. 463-4) But/ the/ stronger/ ones/ **raised/** up/ the/ weaker/ ones,/ and/ both/ became/ stronger/ in/ the/ process (1/16).

This sentence consists of 16 lexical units; one was marked as metaphor-related, the verb *raised*. The contextual meaning of this verb relates to a situation where Mandela and his colleagues supported one another in prison, and as a result prison life became bearable. The stronger ones encouraged the weaker ones and in the process they, too, got stronger. The basic meaning according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* sense one is 'to put something in a higher position'. It is as if the weaker comrades were lifted to a higher position. Being raised or going up in this sense means getting more strength. In other words, the higher you go, the stronger you become. This means that the verb *raised* was used as a metaphor-related word that represents the metaphor: MORE IS UP/ GETTING STRONGER IS MOVING TO A HIGHER POSITION.

33. ST: (p. 492): … they/ did/ not/ want/ us/ to/ learn/ anything/ that/ might/ **raise/** our/ morale/ or/ reassure/ us/ that/ people/ on/ the/ outside/ were/ still/ thinking/ about/ us (1/26),

This sentence is made up of 26 lexical items and one was annotated as a metaphor-related word, the verb *raise*. Like it has been treated above, the basic meaning of this word is 'putting something in a higher position'. The contextual meaning is also the same as the above in that it relates to raising the morale of Mandela and his comrades. The officials did not allow Mandela and company to read newspapers because they were afraid that the news would raise their spirits. They wanted to keep them as despondent as possible. When the basic meaning and the contextual meanings were contrasted, it was discovered that they were distinct. The basic meaning has to do with physical special orientation while the contextual one relates to an abstract entity, that is, the emotions. High morale implies happiness therefore the verb *raise* is an instantiation of the metaphor: HAPPY OR FEELING GOOD IS UP.

34. ST: (p. 494): Strong/ convictions/ are/ the/ secret/ of/ surviving/ deprivation;/ your/ spirit/ can/ be/ **full/** even/ when/ your/ stomach/ is/ empty (1/19).

There are nineteen lexical items in this sentence and one was annotated as metaphor-related, the adjective *full.* In determining the contextual meaning of *full* it was discovered that it related to a situation when Mandela was in solitary confinement and without food. He had come to the realization that being mentally strong was the key to survival. One could feel strong even though one was hungry. The basic meaning of *full* is about containing the largest amount that will fit in a particular place. This adjective is usually used to refer to an amount in a container. The container in this example is the human spirit or the human mind. If the two meanings are compared and contrasted, it is clear that we have an abstract entity or container, the spirit/mind against a concrete one, a bucket or bottle. This means that the adjective *full* was used as a metaphor-related word that represents the metaphor: THE HUMAN MIND IS A CONTAINER OR BEING FULL IS BEING STRONG.

35. ST: (p. 523): "Let/ your/ courage/ **rise/** with/ danger" (1/6).

There are six lexical items in this sentence; one was annotated as a metaphor-related word, the verb *rise.* In this context *rise* has to do with getting more and more courageous, to be brave. These words were uttered by Chief Albert Luthuli when he was inspiring the young combatants not to fear danger but to forge forward. The basic meaning of the verb *rise* is 'to move upwards' (*Macmillan Dictionary* sense one). In determining whether this lexical unit was metaphor-related, the two meanings were contrasted. It was found out that the increase in the level of determination and courage can be understood in terms of something moving up. The expression reveals the metaphor: MORE IS UP/BEING BRAVE IS UP.

36. ST: (p. 544): Though/ we/ despised/ the/ classification/ system,/ most/ of/ the/ men/ had/ by/ that/ time/ **risen/** to/ at/ least /C/ level,/ where/ they/ were/ permitted/ to/ study (1/26).

There are 26 lexical units in this sentence; one was marked as a metaphor-related word, the verb *had risen*. As has been established above, the basic meaning of *rise* is to move upward. The contextual meaning has to do with moving to a higher level. Group C was a higher level with better privileges than group A, according to the classification system. Although Mandela and others despised the classification system, it helped those who, like him, wanted to study further. Since the context in which the verb is used is abstract in nature, it can be said that *risen* was used as a metaphor corresponding with the conceptual metaphor: BETTER IS UP.

37. ST: (p. 591-2): How/ can/ my/ spirits/ ever/ be/ **down/** when/ I/ enjoy/ the/ fond/ attentions/ of/ such/ wonderful/ ladies (1/17).

There are seventeen lexical units in this sentence and one was annotated as metaphor-related word, the adjective *down.* In examining the contextual meaning of the word *down*, it was found that it is about Mandela not feeling sad or lonely at Robben Island because he had photographs of Winnie and Nokuthula against the wall who were always smiling at him. The basic meaning, according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* sense one, is 'being at a lower place or position'. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning are distinct because the contextual meaning refers to an abstract human emotion, while the basic meaning is about a position and is more concrete or physical. *Down* therefore is a metaphor-related word that can be said to be an example of the metaphor: UNHAPPY/SAD IS DOWN.

38. ST: (p. 603): Umkhonto we Sizwe/ was/ **stepping up/** its/ sabotage/ campaign,/ which/ had/ become/ far/ more/ sophisticated (1/13).

This sentence is made up of thirteen lexical units and one was marked as a metaphor-related word: *stepping up. Umkhonto weSizwe* is a proper noun which is a compound word and is counted as one word. The phrasal verb

stepping up is also counted as one lexical unit. In determining the contextual meaning of the phrasal verb it was found that it was about *Umkhonto weSizwe* increasing and intensifying its activities around the country. The basic meaning according to the *OED* is sense one meaning 'a going up from a lower position to a higher one'. The actions of *Umkhonto weSizwe* of intensifying the struggle can be understood in terms of physically moving up to a higher position. *Stepping up* is a metaphor-related word and was used indirectly as an example of the metaphor: INCREASE IN STRENGTH IS GOING UP

4.3.3   Ontological metaphors

Ontological metaphors allow us to understand our experiences in terms of concrete objects, substances or containers. They enable us to see a structure where there is none. Once a structure has been identified, it can further be mapped onto another structure by means of a structural metaphor. It is because of cases like these that there seems to be an overlap between these types of metaphor, hence other scholars regard them as structural.

39. ST: (p. 453) At/ midnight,/ I/ was/ awake/ and/ staring/ at/ the/ ceiling/ - images/ from/ the/ trial/ were/ still/ **rattling/** around**/** in/ my/ head (1/21).

There are 21 lexical items in this sentence; one was identified as metaphor-related, the verb *rattling*. In examining the contextual meaning of the verb it was found that it is about Mandela thinking about the Rivonia trial where he was convicted for life. What happened in the proceedings was still vivid in his mind. The basic meaning is about the noise or sharp knocking sounds that come from something as it moves or shakes, like sound of a baby's rattle. The contextual meaning and the basic meaning are distinct because the contextual meaning has to do with the images in Mandela's mind, which are abstract, while the basic meaning is about something concrete. The images playing in Mandela's mind can be perceived as sounds or noise made when shaking the rattle. If we understand the rattle as a container with something inside that makes a noise, then we can understand the mind as a container. The verb *rattling* then was used as a metaphor-related word representing the conceptual metaphor: THE HUMAN MIND IS A CONTAINER.

40. ST: (p. 463) Prison/ is/ designed/ to/ **break/** one's/ spirit/ and/ **destroy/** one's/ resolve (2/11).

There are eleven lexical units in this sentence and two have been marked as metaphor-related words, the verbs *break* and *destroy*. In determining the contextual meaning of the verb *break*, it was found that it was about suppressing the character and soul of inmates in prison. This corresponds with sense four in the *Macmillan Dictionary*. The basic meaning is 'to separate into pieces by hitting or dropping an object'. When comparing the two meanings it was discovered that they were distinct because the basic meaning was more concrete than the contextual meaning. Because of that it could be argued that *break* is used as an indirect MRW. It could also be argued that break summons the metaphor: EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT.

The second word that was annotated as metaphor-related was the verb *destroy*. The literal meaning according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* is 'to damage something so severely that it no longer exists or can never return to its normal state'. The contextual meaning is about damaging one's determination to survive in prison. As the example shows, the contextual meaning has to do with an abstract phenomenon that is a person's emotional status, therefore the word *destroy* is used as a metaphor and infers: EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT/EMOTIONS ARE BUILDINGS / OBJECTS THAT CAN BE DESTROYED.

41. ST: (p. 503): We/ who/ were/ already/ suffering/ were/ threatening/ our/ health,/ even/ **courting/** death (1/12).

This sentence consists of twelve lexical items and one was marked as a metaphor-related word, the verb *courting*. In examining the contextual meaning it was found that it relates to putting yourself in danger. Mandela and other political prisoners participated in a hunger strike supporting the prisoners in the general section. Some of their colleagues in the main section could not take it any longer and were collapsing. Hunger strikes were not Mandela's best option for protest because of health reasons, but he participated fully for reasons of solidarity. The basic meaning of the verb *courting* is to have a romantic

relationship with someone, especially someone you get married to later (*Macmillan Dictionary* sense four). The basic meaning deals with the physical, people involved in an intimate relationship. The contextual meaning, on the other hand, deals with the abstract phenomenon, death. Death is referred to as a human being, it has been personified. Personification is an example of a figure of speech. Death can be said to be an example of direct metaphor by virtue of being an example of personification. It summons the conceptual metaphor: DEATH IS HUMAN.

42. ST: (p. 512): That/ spring/ we/ had/ felt/ a/ certain/ **thawing/** on/ the/ part/ of /the/ authorities,/ a/ relaxation/ of/ the/ iron-fisted/ discipline/ that/ had/ prevailed/ on/ the/ island (1/26).

This sentence consists of 26 words, one of which was annotated as metaphor-related, the noun *thawing.* The basic meaning of *thawing* has to do with ice melting when it becomes warmer. The contextual meaning relates to the change in attitude by the prison authorities. They were becoming friendlier towards the prisoners. This attitude corresponds with the title of this section of the book 'Beginning to hope'. As Mandela points out, there was a relaxation of the laws and conditions became bearable. When contrasting the two meanings, it is clear that *thawing* was used metaphorically because it does not refer to ice becoming watery, a tangible substance, but refers to an abstract phenomenon. *Thawing* therefore represents the conceptual metaphor A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE IS A CHANGE IN TEMPERATURE.

43. ST: (p. 513): But/ by/ the/ following/ day/ it/ was/ obvious/ the/ warders/ knew,/ for/ they/ **took out/** their/ anger/ on**/** us (1/18).

This sentence consists of eighteen lexical items and one was marked as metaphor-related, the phrasal verb *took out.* In examining the contextual meaning of *took out,* it was discovered that it referred to the punishment that was meted out by the prison authorities to the political prisoners after they heard about the death of the then prime minister of South Africa, Mr. Verwoerd. The basic meaning is about removing something from a pocket or some kind of a container. *Took out* is related to metaphor because it refers to anger, an

abstract entity. By punishing the prisoners because they are angry, it is as if the prison warders are *taking out* this anger that is contained in the body. This invokes the metaphor: THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER.

44. ST: (p. 517): Suitcase/ had/ never/ bothered/ to/ examine/ our/ work/ and/ was/ **rattled/** by/ the/ quantity/ of/ it (1/16).

The lexical unit that was selected as a metaphor-related word in this sentence is the verb *rattle*. The basic meaning of *rattle* is the same as discussed in example 40. The contextual meaning is about Suitcase, a prison official, being shocked by the amount of work Mandela and colleagues had done. He was expecting to see nothing or very little work done. When contrasting the basic and contextual meaning of *rattle*, it was found that these are distinct. The basic meaning is more concrete because it is about tangible objects, while the contextual meaning is more abstract because it relates to human reaction. In this sense *rattle* was used as a metaphor. The use of the verb rattle arouses the conceptual metaphor: THE HUMAN MIND IS A CONTAINER, because his mind was shaken as it were.

45. ST: (p. 540): What/ I/ **took out**/ of/ them/ was/ that/ character/ was/ measured/ by/ facing up/ to/ difficult/ situations/ and/ that/ a/ hero/ was/ a/ man/ who/ would/ not/ **break down** (2/26).

This sentence consists of 26 lexical items including three phasal verbs counted as one lexical unit. Two phrasal verbs were marked as metaphor-related words: *took out* and *broke down*.

As per previous discussion of this phrase (example 44), *took out* is an example of a container metaphor. In this example it is a lesson about character that is *taken out* of somebody. The human body is the container holding the lesson, an abstract entity.

The phrasal verb *break down* is usually associated with machines. For example, we always talk about a car breaking down, meaning something happened so it is unable to run. In this example it is the character of the human being that

breaks down, making this phrase figurative. *Break down* invokes the conceptual metaphor: THE MIND IS A MACHINE.

46. ST: (p. 542): I/ wanted/ to/ demystify/ the/ ANC/ for/ them,/ to/ **peel away/** their/ prejudices (1/12).

There are twelve lexical items in this sentence and one was annotated as related to metaphor, the phrasal verb *peel away*. In examining the contextual meaning of *peel away,* it was found that it has to do with correcting the attitude or ignorance of the authorities towards the ANC. The literal meaning according to the *Macmillan Dictionary* is 'to remove the skin' of a fruit, for example. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning are distinct in that one refers to concrete objects like fruit and the other to an abstract entity like opinion. When the phrase *peel away* is used, the image that comes to mind immediately is that of a person peeling fruit or vegetables. It is because of this image that prejudices are understood in terms of fruit. Therefore, we can say this expression is based on the metaphor: IDEAS ARE FOOD.

47. ST: (p. 548): Inwardly/ Badenhorst/ must/ have/ been/ **fuming**,/ but/ outwardly/ he/ seemed/ chastened (1/11).

This sentence consists of eleven lexical units; one was annotated as metaphor-related, the verb *fuming*. The contextual meaning of this word is related to showing anger or feeling angry. Badenhorst, the prison official, must have been furious but did not show it. The basic meaning of the verb *fume* is 'to emit fumes, smoke or vapour'. If we contrast the basic meaning and the contextual meaning we find that the two meanings are distinct. It can be argued that *fuming* was used as a metaphor because it relates to humans who do not literally emit fumes but can perspire or sweat when feeling hot. The implication is that when Badenhorst got angry, the liquid inside was heated and it produced fumes or steam. *Fuming* is therefore an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor: INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM or EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

48. ST: (p. 576): These/ young/ men/ were/ a/ different/ **breed/** of/ prisoner/ from/ those/ we/ had/ seen/ before (1/15).

There are fifteen lexical units in this sentence and only one was annotated for metaphor, the noun *breed.* The contextual meaning of this noun is about the character of the young prisoners who had joined Mandela and company at Robben Island. They were different from them, more radical. The basic meaning of *breed* concerns a group of animals that have particular characteristics which make them different from other species (*Macmillan Dictionary*). When contrasting these definitions it was found that they are distinct, because the basic meaning is about animals and the contextual meaning is about people. In this sense *breed* was found to have been used as a metaphor-related word based on the conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

49. ST: (p. 601): I found/ the/ trip/ instructive/ in/ another/ way/ because/ in/ that/ hospital/ I/ sensed/ a/ **thawing/** in/ the/ relationship (1/19).

As per previous discussion thawing was identified as being linked to the conceptual metaphor A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE IS A CHANGE IN TEMPERATURE (example 43). Although this verb is used in a different context, the meaning and the conceptual metaphor it summons are the same.

50. ST: (p. 603): The/ campaign/ for/ our/ release/ **rekindled/** our/ hopes.(1/8)

This sentence is made up of eight lexical units. Of these, one was marked as a metaphor-related word, the verb *rekindled.* In examining the contextual meaning of this word, it was found that it was about feeling revived. Mandela and his colleagues had begun to lose hope that they would be free again. They thought that people outside had forgotten about them. The campaign for their release gave them hope that there was still a chance to change the political situation of the country. The literal meaning of *rekindle* is to set alight again (*OED*). The basic meaning is about the concrete, light or fire, while the contextual meaning is about the abstract, human emotions. In this context *rekindle* was used as MRW-indirect and summons the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS FIRE/ HOPE IS FIRE.

4.3.4   Summary

One of the aims of this study was to investigate conceptual metaphors in the source text. To achieve this aim the first step was to identify linguistic expressions or metaphor-related words. This was done by employing the MIPVU procedure. The conceptual metaphor underlying the metaphoric expressions was determined. The findings are as follows:

There are 49 sentences that were randomly selected across Parts Eight and Nine of the ST, *Long Walk to Freedom* and these comprised 906 lexical units. These lexical units were analysed and 66 were identified as metaphor-related words, 64 as indirect MRW and two as implicit MRW. Of the 66 MRWs 45 were identified as structural metaphors, 14 ontological and 7 orientational metaphors.

In the following section the discussion of the translation strategies is presented

4.4   Translation strategies

In this section, I consider the translation strategies that were used by isiXhosa and isiZulu translators when rendering the metaphors from the source text into their respective target languages. The strategies are discussed based on the framework provided by Kövecses (2010). The identified strategies are the following:

4.4.1. A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning, based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be transferred as a different word form with the same literal meaning and the same figurative meaning, based on the same conceptual metaphor in another language

Table 4.1: rattling around > *ukukhenkceza;* rattled > *ukukhwankqisa* in *wakhwankqiswa*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 453): Images from the trial were still **rattling around** in my head.	(p. 365): *Imifanekiso-ngqondweni yezinto ebezisenzeka kwelo tyala* **yayisakhenkceza** *entlokweni yam.*
(p. 517): Suitcase had never bothered to examine our work and was **rattled** by the quantity of it.	(p. 418): *USuitcase wayengazange azidube ngokukhe awuhlole umsebenzi wethu waza* **wakhwankqiswa** *kukuwubona ukuba ungakanani na.*

As shown in the above section, the literal meaning of the verb rattling has to do with making a sharp noise as something moves, and that the figurative meaning is referring to remembering the scene and everything that happened in the courtroom during the Rivonia trial proceedings; the isiXhosa translator chose a phrase with a similar meaning. The phrase *yayisakhenkceza* (they were still ringing) means the person could still visualise and hear the court proceedings. He was reliving the trial as it were. The literal meaning of the verb *ukukhenkceza* is 'to ring, tinkle resound' according to the *Greater Dictionary of Xhosa* (*GDX* 1989). The images in Mandela's mind were as clear as the tinkling sound. The implicature that is conveyed by this verb is that Mandela's mind is a container and as the images were moving around his mind they were making this noise. In this sense *ukukhenkceza* corresponds with the conceptual metaphor invoked by *rattling around*, that is, the metaphor: THE HUMAN MIND IS A CONTAINER.

Ukukhwanqisa was chosen to replace *rattled* in isiXhosa. *Ukukhwankqisa* is a causative verb that means 'to cause surprise, amazement, shock' (*GDX* 1989). This basic meaning does not correspond with the literal meaning of *rattle,* which is about producing a rapid succession of short sounds. The contextual meaning is about Suitcase, the prison official, being shocked when he saw the amount of work Mandela and his colleague had done. The contextual meaning and the literal meaning are not distinct, therefore *ukukhwankqiswa* was not used as a metaphor-related word. Although *ukukhwankqiswa* conveys the same meaning as the figurative connotation of *rattle*, it does not evoke any conceptual metaphor.

Table 4.2: Rattling around > *ukuzulazula;* rattled > *ukumangalisa* in *wamangalisa*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 453): Images from the trial were still **rattling** around in my head.	(p. 345): *Phakathi kwamabili, ngangisalokhu ngiphapheme ngigqolozele usilingi kusalokhu **kuzulazula** izithombe eziphathelene nokuthethwa kwecala,*
(p. 517): Suitcase had never bothered to examine our work and was **rattled** by the quantity of it.	(p. 398): *Phela uSudukesi wayengazange azihluphe nangokuhlola umsebenzi wethu, kwavele **kwamangalisa** ukubona ukuthi kungakanani esikwenzile.*

The phrasal verb *rattling around* was translated as *ukuzulazula* in isiZulu. The dictionary entry is *ukuzula.* It is common in isiZulu and isiXhosa to double the stem of the verb. The literal meaning of *ukuzula* is *ukuhamba kungekho sidingo esisemqoka* 'to wander about' (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu; English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*). This meaning is different from the basic meaning of *rattling*. The figurative meaning is about remembering the trial, seeing fleeting images of the proceedings in one's mind. Although the figurative meaning of rattling around and *ukuzulazula* are the same, the conceptual metaphors underlying these words are not the same. *Rattling around* invokes the metaphor: THE MIND IS A CONTAINER, while *ukuzulazula* refers to the metaphor: LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

The isiZulu translator selected *ukumangalisa* as a substitute for *rattle*. Like *ukukhwankqisa*, *ukumangalisa* is a causative verb that means 'to cause surprise, to astonish' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*. The literal meaning therefore does not have the same meaning as *rattle.* The contextual meaning is the same as the figurative meaning although *ukumangalisa* is not based on a conceptual metaphor like *rattle.*

As the examples illustrate, the translators selected different words as substitutes for *rattling,* conveying different implicatures in their respective languages. This suggests that each perceived and understood the phrase differently. One is seeing images wandering in his mind and the other is hearing loudly the voices during the proceedings hence they reproduced the metaphor as they did. But for *rattle*, they picked words with similar meanings. What is interesting to note here is that

ukumangalisa and *ukukhwankqisa* are synonyms in isiXhosa. The translators therefore opted for words with a similar meaning, which are neutral or not related to metaphor.

Table 4.3: barked > ukukhonkotha (beyikhonkotha)

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 455): The warders pointed with their guns to where they wanted us to go, and **barked** their orders in simple one-word commands.	(p. 367): *Abagcini-mabanjwa babekhomba ngemipu ukubonisa icala abafuna siye kulo,* ***beyikhonkotha*** *imiyalelo yabo ngemiyalelo engamagama alula.*

The verb *ukukhonkotha* is the equivalent word for the SL verb *bark*. The literal meaning is the same according to sense 1 of GDX (2003). The way this verb has been used is the same in both languages. As in the ST, *beyikhonkotha* refers to the loud manner in which the prison warders were shouting their orders, like barking dogs (sense 4 of GDX 2003). The isiXhosa translator used the same word, invoking the same conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, the warders are the dogs.

Table 4.4: Barked > *ukukhonkotha*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 455): The warders pointed with their guns to where they wanted us to go, and **barked** their orders in simple one-word commands.	(p. 346): *Ojele bakhomba ngezibhamu ukuthi babefuna sishone kuphi, base bede* ***bekhonkotha*** *imilayo yabo ngezwi elilodwa nje*

As the example illustrates, *barked* was rendered as *bekhonkotha* in isiZulu. *Ukukhonkotha* has the same literal meaning as *bark*, it is the sound that is made by a dog when it sees something (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu*). Isichazamazwi sesiZulu provides only the literal meaning of the word. The figurative meaning is the same because they both refer to the manner in which the prison authorities shouted their orders. The fact that this word has been used to refer to a human being renders it metaphorical. *Barked* and *bekhonkotha,* therefore, summon the same conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

In this example, we note that the translators rendered the verb *barked* with the same word *ukukhonkotha*. They chose a verb that conveys the same implicature as the source text word. Apart from the manner in which the warders were talking to Mandela and his comrades*, ukukhonkotha* and the animal metaphor underlying it suggests the loathing they had towards the warders at the time.

Table 4.5: fight > *umlo, ukulwa*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 460): My dismay was quickly replaced by a sense that a new and different **fight** had begun.	*(p. 370): Endaweni yolunqa lwam kwangena imvakalelo ethi kuqalisa ngoku* **umlo** *omtsha yaye owahlukileyo.*
(p. 464) I was now on the sidelines, but I also know that I would not give up the **fight**.	*(p. 373) Ndandisecaleni emsingeni womzabalazo kodwa ndandisazi ukuba andisayi kuyeka* **ukulwa**
We would **fight** inside as we had **fought** outside.	***Sasisilwa*** *ngaphakathi njengokuba sathi* **salwa** *ngaphandle.*
The racism and repression were the same, I would simply have to **fight** on different terms.	*Ubuhlanga nengcinezelo zazisafana; kwakufuneka kuphela* **ndilwe** *phantsi kwemiqathango eyahlukileyo.*

The lexical unit 'fight' which has been used as a verb and as a noun was rendered as a noun *umlo* and a verb *ukulwa*, which correspond with the source language. In the first sentence the noun *fight* was rendered as *umlo,* 'fight' a noun of class three. In the second sentence, it was rendered as an infinitive *ukulwa*. In the following sentences, it was used as a simple verb. In all occurrences, this word carried the same meaning as the source text word, both in the literal sense and figuratively, that is, *ukubethana* (to fight). The basic meaning is sense 1 in GDX 2003 and the contextual meaning is sense 3. It invoked the same war metaphor as the English text. Fighting for human rights, a political phenomenon, is understood as fighting a war hence the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

Table 4.6: Fight > *ukulwa*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 460): My dismay was quickly replaced by a sense that a new and different **fight** had begun.	(p. 350): *Indawo yovalo yasheshe yathathwa ukuzizwela nje ukuthi manje sekuqala uhlobo olusha **lokulwa**.*
(p. 464): I was now on the sidelines, but I also know that I would not give up the **fight**.	(p. 353): *Manje ngase ngingumuntu ophume eceleni nje, kodwa ngangazi kahle ukuthi ngeke ngiyeke **ukulwa**.*
We would **fight** inside as we had fought outside.	***Sasizolwa** ngaphakathi njengoba **sasilwa** nangaphandle.*
The racism and repression were the same, I would simply have to **fight** on different terms.	*Ubuhlanga nokucindezela kwakusafana; mina ngangizoqhubeka **nokulwa** noma kwase kukwenye inkundla.*

The lexical unit *fight* was translated as *ukulwa* as a verb and as a noun in the target language. *Fight* and *ukulwa* have the same literal meaning, 'to fight, battle with, (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary); 'ukubambana ngezikhwepha nishayana (Isichazamazwi sesiZulu).* The figurative meaning is also the same because it is not about physical fighting, but fighting for human rights. The conceptual metaphor underlying these expressions is the same: POLITICS IS WAR.

Like in the preceding example, the translators selected words that had the same literal and figurative meaning and corresponding conceptual metaphor. This means they themselves conceptualised the act in the same way. This is not surprising because isiZulu and isiXhosa are sister languages.

Table 4.7: restrained > ukuthintela (yathintelwa)

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 461): I felt like hugging them but I was **restrained** by the presence of the major.	*(p. 371): Kwakungathi mandibange kodwa loo nto **yathintelwa** bubukho bemeyija.*

As this example shows, the verb *restrained* was rendered as *yathintelwa* 'it was prevented', a word having the same literal meaning as the SL word. According to *GDX* (1989) *ukuthintela* in *yathintelwa* means *ukunqanda umntu okanye into ingagqithi ngokuma ngaphambili, ngokuxaba ngokunqamlezisa umqobo ovala indlela* (to bar one's way, prevent someone or something from going any further by standing in the way, blocking it with an obstacle.) The figurative meaning

according to *GDX* is *ukunqanda umntu angenzi into afuna okanye amelwe kukuyenza* (deter or prevent a person from doing something; debar, thwart, stop, prohibit.) As it is clear from the context in which the word is used, there was no physical handling. There was not even a word uttered by the official preventing Mandela from doing what he wanted to do. It was only his presence. The verb *thintela* in this context was also used as an example of the conceptual metaphor: CONTROL IS HOLDING. The major was in the room to make sure that the rules of the institution were upheld.

Table 4.8: Restrained > *ngavinjelwa*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 461): I felt like hugging them but I was **restrained** by the presence of the major.	(p. 351): *Ngazizwa kusengathi ngingabawola, kodwa **ngavinjelwa** ubukhona balo meja.*

The verb restrained was transferred as *ukuvinjelwa* in isiZulu. *Ukuvimbela* means to get in the way of, to prevent or block the way of something or someone (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*). This meaning is the same as that of *restrain,* which is also about physically preventing or controlling the movements of a person or animal. The figurative meaning of *restrained* and *ukuvinjelwa* is the same because both refer to Mandela not being able to hug his friends due to the presence of the major in the room. The major did not physically prevent Mandela from doing this. The conceptual metaphor that is evoked by these words is: CONTROLLING IS HOLDING.

If we look at definitions of *ukuthintela* and *ukuvimbela,* we discover that these are different lexical units with the same literal meaning. They invoke the same conceptual metaphor.

Table 4.9: slows down > *ukucotha (liyacotha)*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 463): **Time slows** down in prison; the days seem endless.	*(p. 372): Ixesha **liyacotha** entolongweni, iintsuku zisuka zibe ngathi azipheli.*

The verb *slows down* was translated as *cotha* in *liyacotha* 'it slows down'. The literal meaning of ukucotha is '*ukuhamba kancinane ungakhawulezi*' (walk slowly).

(*GDX 2006*) By choosing this verb to go with the subject noun *ixesha* 'time', the implication is that the subject is a moving object as is the case with the source language. This means *cotha* in this context invokes the same concept as the source language *slows down* hence the metaphor: TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT.

Table 4.10: slows > *sihamba kancane*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 463): **Time slows** down in prison; the days seem endless.	(p. 352): *Isikhathi **sihamba kancane** ejele; usuku kuba sengathi seluyiminyaka uqobo.*

The literal meaning and figurative meaning of *hamba kancane* corresponds with that of *slows down.* Both have to do with the pace at which time moves. Ukuhamba according to *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* means *ukuphakamisa izinyawo olunye ulubeke phambi kolunye ngokuphindaphinda ngenhloso yokuya phambili.* This verb is associated with people or animals. *Slows down* and *hamba kancane* have been used as metaphors because time is talked about as if it can move, yet it is an abstract entity. The conceptual metaphor that is evoked by these expressions is: TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT.

As the example illustrates, time is conceptualised in the same way in all three languages as a moving object. The lexical unit used by the TL1 translator conveys the same meaning and implicature as the TL2 word. The isiZulu translator on the other hand rendered the lexical unit *slows down* by paraphrase, explaining the meaning of the verb. This does not mean that this word is not lexicalised in TT2 (*ukucothoza* for example means to walk slowly); it only shows that he exercised his freedom as a writer in his own right. He did not have to stick to the source text like the isiXhosa translator did. Although he rendered a metaphor by paraphrase, he still conveyed the same conceptual metaphor underlying the source language word. In fact, one can argue that he rendered the phrase metaphorically if we consider Kövecses's argument that time is understood in terms of physical objects, their locations and their motion (Kövecses, 2010: 37).

Table 4.11: break > ukwaphula; destroy > ukutshabalalisa in itshabalalise

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 463): Prison is designed to **break** one's spirit and **destroy** one's resolve.	*(p. 372): Intolongo yenzelwe **ukwaphula** umoya womntu **itshabalalise** ukuzimisela kwakho.*

According to *GDX* (2006) the basic meaning of *ukwaphula* is *ukuthi qobo, shunqu, ukushunqula* 'to break, fracture' and the figurative meaning is to hurt, harm, wrong someone (*ukuhlungisa, ukuvisa intliziyo ebuhlungu, ukwenza intliziyo buhlungu*.) The basic meaning of *break* and *ukwaphula* is the same. The contextual meaning of *ukwaphula* corresponds with the figurative meaning supplied by *GDX* because it relates to emotions. The only way to break one's spirit is to hurt one's feelings and make one unhappy. *Break* and *ukwaphula* are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor: EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT. The verb *destroy* was rendered as *ukutshabalalisa* in *itshabalalise* which means *ukushiya intshabalalo, umonakalo, imbhubho ngasemva* 'lay waste, destroy, ruin, annihilate, exterminate'. In this context it is one's determination that is destroyed, something abstract. Thus *ukwaphula* is a metaphor-related word representing the conceptual metaphor THE HUMAN MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT.

Table 4.12: break > *fohloza*; destroy > *libulale*;

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 463): Prison is designed to **break** one's spirit and **destroy** one's resolve.	(p. 352): *Ijele lenzelwe ukuba **lifohloze** umoya womuntu, **libulale** nokuzimisela kwakhe.*

The verb *break* was transferred as *ukufohloza* in isiZulu. The literal meaning of these verbs is the same 'to crash, smash something into pieces' '*ukubulala kube yizicucu, ukuphihliza* (sense 1 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu)*. The figurative meaning is the same because it refers to emotion, hurting a person's feelings. The ontological conceptual metaphor underlying break and *ukufohloza* is EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT.

Destroy was identified as being used as a metaphor-related word, which is an example of the conceptual metaphor: HUMAN ACTIONS ARE BUILDINGS. The translator chose *ukubulala* as the equivalent for *destroy* whose literal meaning, 'to kill', is different from that of destroy. The figurative meaning, however, is the same, because it has to do with destroying human efforts and determination to do

something. The conceptual metaphor invoked by the verb *ukubulala* is: IDEAS ARE PEOPLE which is different from that of *destroy*.

It was interesting to note that both translators opted for words expressing the same implicature as *break* while at the same time being different, that is *ukwaphula* and *ukufohloza*. The same can be said of *ukutshabalalisa* and *ukubulala* that replace *destroy*. Both suggest death as the ultimate end of destruction. Both communicated the same conceptual metaphor as in the source text.

Table 4.13: demolish > *ukudiliza* in *badilize*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 463): To do this, the authorities attempt to exploit every weakness, **demolish** every initiative, negate all signs of individuality – all with the idea of **stamping out** that spark that makes each of us human and each of us who we are.	*(p.372): Ukwenza loo nto abasemagunyeni bazama ukusebenzisa bonke ubuthathaka, **badilizele** phantsi onke amandla okukwazi ukuqala into, baphikise zonke iimpawu zokuba uzibone ungumntu ozimeleyo – yonke loo nto ngeenjongo **zokucima** loo ntlantsana yenza ukuba elowo kuthi abe yile nto ayiyo.*

As is shown in the table above, the translator chose the verb *ukudiliza* as the equivalent word for the verb *demolish*. This was an acceptable choice because *ukudiliza* has the same meaning as *demolish*. According to *GDX* sense 1 it means *ukuchitha, ukuqhekeza, ukuqhaqha umz. indlu, udonga, umfulelo* 'to knock, pull or break down a house, a wall, thatch of a roof'. As the examples cited in this explanation illustrate, this verb is usually used in connection with buildings, because it is generally buildings that are demolished. In this context, it is human actions that are demolished, making *ukudiliza* a metaphor-related word representing the structural conceptual metaphor: HUMAN ACTIONS ARE BUILDINGS.

Stamp out was identified as a metaphor-related word representing the metaphor: CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING THE HEAT/FIRE in section 4.1.1.3 example 13 above. In examining the verb *ukucima* that was selected by the translator as the suitable equivalent for the verbal phrase *stamp out*, it was found that *ukucima* means *ukuphelisa, ukubulala umlilo okanye ukukhanya* 'to put out fire or light' (*GDX 2006*). This corresponds well with the literal meaning of *stamp out,* 'to make

a fire stop burning'. The figurative meaning of *ukucima* corresponds with the contextual meaning of the ST word betokening 'to kill the human soul'. There is a saying in isiXhosa which is '*ukucima igama*' which means to kill a person. Although *ukucima* in this context does not refer to killing a person physically, the two can be seen as being related. *Ukucima* in the linguistic expression *ngeenjongo zokucima loo ntlantsana* is an example of the conceptual metaphor: CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING THE FIRE

Table 4.14: demolish > *zivale*; stamping out > *kususwe nya*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 463): To do this, the authorities attempt to exploit every weakness, **demolish** every initiative, negate all signs of individuality – all with the idea of **stamping out** that spark that makes each of us human and each of us who we are.	(p. 352): *Ukuze izikhulu ziphumelele kulokhu zizama ukuhlasela umuntu lapho ebuthaka khona, **zivale** umzamo wakhe wokuzenzela izinto, zicime zonke izimpawu zokuzimela kwakhe. Konke lokhu yimizamo yokuba **kususwe nya** leyo nhlansana eyenza lowo nalowo kithi abe ngumuntu, noma abe yilokho ayeyikho*.

Demolish is translated as *zivale* in isiZulu. The basic meaning of *ukuvala* is sense 1 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* '*ukubuyisela isicabha, ifasitela nokunye okunjalo'* 'to close' which is different from *demolish,* meaning to pull down a building. The figurative meaning refers to stopping all attempts to be human. This is sense 3 in *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu.* Although the figurative meaning is similar, the underlying conceptual metaphors are different. *Demolish* refers to the building metaphor: HUMAN ACTIONS ARE BUILDINGS, *ukuvala* on the other hand summons the metaphor CONTROLLING IS CLOSING.

Stamping out was rendered as *kususwe nya*. *Stamping out* has to do with extinguishing light or fire while *ukususa* has to do with removing something. The literal meaning of these words is different. The figurative meaning is about destroying the soul or spirit. The conceptual metaphor evoked by *stamping out* is CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING THE FIRE. Although *ukususa* does not mean to put out fire, it implies removing it from where it is not needed and the ideophone *nya* emphasises the complete removal of the fire. The phrase is metaphoric because it relates to emotions, as it refers to the act of destroying the

human soul. *Ukususa nya* also refers to the metaphor: CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING THE FIRE.

The treatment of *demolish* and *stamping out* in isiXhosa and isiZulu is another fascinating illustration. In isiXhosa, this word was substituted by *ukudiliza* which also suggested the building metaphor. In isiZulu, it was replaced by *ukubulala* invoking the ACTIONS ARE PEOPLE metaphor, which is different from the SL metaphor. The translators selected words that suggest different conceptual metaphors. The rendering of *stamping out* was also handled differently in that the isiXhosa translator opted for a neutral word while the isiZulu translator preferred a metaphor-related word plus an ideophone. Ideophones are expressive words that create a vivid image of the meaning expressed by a particular word. Although the implicature that is revealed by *ukususa nya* is not the same, the effect conveyed by the ideophone *nya* is the same as that implied by *stamping out*. This illustrates the decision-making process each translator engages in; he decides which strategy he wants to adopt for each situation.

Table 4.15: raise > ukuphakamisa in babephakamisa and enokuyiphakamisa

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 463-4): But the stronger ones **raised** up the weaker ones, and both became stronger in the process. (p. 492): … they did not want us to learn anything that might **raise** our morale or reassure us that people on the outside were still thinking about us.	(p. 373): *Kodwa abanamandla kunabanye* **babephakamisa** *abo babuthathaka, baze ke bonke bomelele ngethuba lokwenzeka kwaloo nto.* (p. 398-9): *Abasemagunyeni bazama ukuzivala kuthi tu iindaba; babengafuni ukuba sifunde ngayo nayiphi na into* **enokuyiphakamisa** *imixhelo yethu okanye isiqinisekise ukuba abantu phaya ngaphandle basacinga ngathi.*

The verb *raise* was rendered as *ukuphakamisa, meaning ukunyusa, ukufunqula, ukwenza umntu okanye into ephantsi ibe phezulu* 'to raise lift up something from a lower level and put it in a higher level' (*GDX* 2003). This meaning is the same as the meaning of the source language word. The contextual meaning of *ukuphakamisa* fits well with the contextual meaning of *raise*, that is, 'support, encourage one another so that the weaker feel stronger'. When the morale or the spirit is down, one feels sad and weak, but when the morale is up then one is happy and strong. The underlying metaphor invoked by this verb is: BEING STRONG

IS UP or BEING HAPPY IS UP, the same orientational metaphor that is represented by *raise* in the SL context.

Table 4.16: raised > ukuphakamisa in ukumphakamisa and kusiphakamise

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 463-4): But the stronger ones **raised** up the weaker ones, and both became stronger in the process.	(p. 353): *Kodwa kuthi uma lowo onamandla ephumelela **ukumphakamisa** lowo ungenamandla, bobabili bazithole sebenamandla aphindiwe.*
(p. 492): … they did not want us to learn anything that might **raise** our morale or reassure us that people on the outside were still thinking about us.	(p. 378): … *zazingafuni kube khona esikufundayo okungase **kusiphakamise** umoya noma kusinikeze isiqiniseko ngokuthi abantu bakithi abangaphandle basacabanga ngathi.*

The verb *raise* was rendered as *ukuphakamisa,* meaning *ukuphakamisa uyise phezulu, ukufukula,* 'to raise, elevate, pick up' (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu*, English-Zulu Dictionary (1990)). This meaning is the same as the literal meaning of the source language word. The contextual meaning of *ukuphakamisa* corresponds with the contextual meaning of *raise*, that is, 'to give support, encourage fellow inmates so that the weaker regain strength'. The underlying metaphor invoked by this verb is the orientational metaphor: BEING STRONG IS UP, the same metaphor that is evoked by *raise* in the source language context.

In both occurrences of *raise,* both translators decided on *ukuphakamisa* as the best translation option. Both inclined towards the source text. The literal meaning and the figurative meaning of *ukuphakamisa* is the same as that of the SL word and the implicature it invokes corresponds with that of the SL.

Table 4.17: arena > *iqonga*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 464): I was in a different and smaller **arena**, an **arena** for whom the only audience was ourselves and our oppressors.	*(p. 373): Ndandikwi**qonga** elahlukileyo nelincinane, **iqonga** ekuphela kwababukeli balo yayisithi nabacinezeli bethu.*

As the example shows, *arena* was rendered as *iqonga. Iqonga* according to *GDX* (1989) is *indawo ephakamileyo apho kwenzelwa khona imidlalo nalapho kuhlala*

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khona abaphathi nabanini-theko 'a stage for drama performance, platform, e.g. in a hall'. The definition provided by *GDX* is similar to the basic meaning of arena, that is, 'an area for entertainment or a sport field'. The figurative meaning of *iqonga* and *arena* are also similar because they both relate to battle field, although there is no physical fighting involved. In this sense, the two words invoke the same structural conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

Table 4.18: arena > *inkundla*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 464): I was in a different and smaller **arena**, an **arena** for whom the only audience was ourselves and our oppressors.	*(p. 353): Lena kwase **kuyinkundla** eyehlukile, encane, **inkundla** lapho izibukeli kwakuyithina kuphela kanye nabacindezeli bethu.*

The noun *arena* is rendered as *inkundla* in the target text. *Inkundla* can either be a traditional court where people would gather to listen to the proceedings of a trial *(Isichazamazwi sesiZulu sense 2).* This usually occurs at a royal homestead, a royal court. It can also be a courtyard where people assemble for a specific purpose other than a trial; for example meeting to discuss traditional or community affairs *(Isichazamazwi sesiZulu sense 1).* The basic meaning of *inkundla* is different from that of *arena* in that it is not related to sports or entertainment, but to a court. The figurative meaning, however, is the same in that the *arena* or court '*inkundla*' referred to is Robben Island prison. The context remains about continuing the fight for human rights in prison. The conceptual metaphor that is summoned by these words is the same, that is, POLITICS IS WAR. Nowadays *inkundla* is commonly used to refer to a legal court. It can be viewed as a battlefield due to the 'war of words' that takes place between the defence and the prosecution representatives.

Once again, the translators displayed their originality in the manner they dealt with the translation of *arena*. The isiXhosa translator conceptualised *arena* as a stage where characters perform in front of an audience, while the isiZulu translator saw it as a traditional courtyard where hearings occurred. It can be argued that the choice of the isiZulu translator was culturally motivated, drawing from how traditional issues are handled in isiZulu culture.

Table 4.19: depart > *ukutyeka* in *yatyeka*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 477): Any line of talk that **departed** from the family and **verged** on the political might mean the abrupt termination of the visit.	*(p. 386): Nayiphi na incoko eye **yatyeka** kwimicimbi yekhaya, **ityekela** kwicala lezopolitiko yayinokuthetha ukupheliswa ngesiquphe kolo tyelelo.*

The verb *depart* in this context means 'to deviate from the topic and talk about something else'. This verb was replaced by a verb with a similar meaning '*ukutyeka'* also meaning to deviate from the matter being discussed. The basic meaning of *ukutyeka* according to *Kafir-English Dictionary* (1915) is 'to move aside to allow another person to pass'. This suggests that the people are walking and therefore implies a journey metaphor. In this case it is ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, the same metaphor that motivates *depart*.

Table 4.20: depart > ukucezuka in olwalucezuka; verge > ukuphambuka in luphambukela

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 477): Any line of talk that **departed** from the family and **verged** on the political might mean the abrupt termination of the visit.	(p. 366): *Noma yiluphi uhlobo lwengxoxo **olwalucezuka** kwezomndeni bese **luphambukela** kwezepolitiki lwalungasho ukuthi ukuvakasha lokho kwakuzovele kunqanyulwe khona lapho.*

The literal meaning of the verb to *depart* is 'to leave and start a journey, to go away'. In this context, *depart* means 'to digress, to talk about something else other than the topic'. This verb was translated as *ukucezuka* (*olwalucezuka*) in isiZulu. *Ukucezuka* literally means 'to split up or to break': '*ukubandeka noma ukuqhephuka; ukuqhezuka*' *(Isichazamazwi sesiZulu)*. This meaning is different from that of the source text. The figurative meaning is about changing the topic of discussion, which is the same as the contextual meaning of '*depart'*. The conceptual metaphor underlying both verbs is the journey metaphor where '*depart'* implies the start of a journey while *ukucezuka* suggests splitting up, each one taking his or her own direction. The second verb '*verge*' means to take another route. This verb is related to *depart* in that it implies a journey. The contextual meaning is also about changing the subject of discussion. In isiZulu *verge* was rendered as *ukuphambuka* (*luphambukela*) that has the same literal and figurative

meaning. *Verge* and *ukuphambuka* are examples of the journey metaphor showing that we sometimes stray from our paths as we travel. *Ukuphambuka* is also found in isiXhosa and it has the same meaning as in isiZulu, showing that the translator was at liberty to select any word he prefers. *Ukucezuka* and *ukuphambuka* are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY.

In both languages, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, underlying the verbs *depart* and *verge*, was retained. Both verbs have to do with *journey*.

Table 4.21: full > *ukuzala vingci*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 494): Strong convictions are the secret of surviving deprivation; your spirit can be **full** even when your stomach is empty.	*(p. 400): Ukuba nezinto ezingahexiyo okholelwe kuzo lelona hlebo lokumelana nokubandezelwa; umoya wakho **unokuzala vingci** nokuba sona isisu silihamte elingenanto.*

The adjective *full* was identified as being metaphor-related because it refers to something abstract, something that cannot be measured, the human spirit. The spirit is talked about as if it is a container, just like the stomach, which can be full if there is food or empty if there is no food. In isiXhosa, *full* was rendered as *ukuzala* 'to become full'. Acording to *GDX* 1989 sense 1 *ukuzala* means '*okwesikhongozelo njenge-emele, imbiza, ingxowa, isitya njl; ukuthi sakugalelwa into kungabikho ndawo kunokuba kugalelwe kuyo* 'of a container to become full'. As explained above *ukuzala* carries the same meaning literally and figuratively. The translator went further and added an ideophone *vingci* to emphasise the fullness of the spirit. When something is full, it is filled up to its brim, that highest level in the container, invoking the orientational conceptual metaphor FULL IS UP. The conceptual metaphor that is invoked by *ukuzala vingci* is HAPPY IS UP.

Table 4.22: full > *ukugcwala*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 494): Strong convictions are the secret of surviving deprivation; your spirit can be full even when your stomach is empty.	(p. 380): *Ukuba nenkolelo eqinile yilona cebo eliyimfihlo lokumelana nendlala; umoya wakho uvele **ugcwale** noma isisu sakho singenalutho.*

The adjective *full* was rendered as *ukugcwala*, referring to an amount that is contained in a place or container. The literal meaning of *ukugcwala* is therefore the same as that of *full 'ukwenela sonke isikhala sendawo noma sento' (become full) (Isichazamazwi sesiZulu; English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary)*. The figurative meaning is also the same, as it is about being content or happy. Both words summon the conceptual metaphor: BEING STRONG OR HAPPY IS BEING FULL or BEING STRONG IS UP.

The adjective *full* was rendered as *ukuzala vingci* and *ukugcwala*. Both expressions convey the same meaning and implicature. *Ukuzala* is qualified by an ideophone that comes with an added effect that the container is so full that it cannot take any more, there is no more space.

Table 4.23: ogres > iirhorho namagongqongqo

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 497): Not all of our warders were **ogres**.	*(p. 403): Asingabo bonke abagcini-mabanjwa bethu **ababeziirhorho namagongqongqo**.*

Prison warders are referred to as *ogres* because of the manner in which they handled the prisoners. This word is usually used in children's stories to refer to a man-eating monster or a cruel person. In this example we notice that the word 'ogres' was rendered as two words, *iirhorho namagongqongqo*. *Irhorho* is a legendary animal used to frighten children. *Igongqongqo* is a ferocious animal found in folktales that swallows up everything. Sometimes these are portrayed as a huge human being, usually a woman, who kills and eats children (*GDX* 1989). From this explanation, it is clear that the source language word and the target language words have the same basic meaning and contextual meaning with the same underlying conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

Table 4.24: ogres > *amazimuzimu*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 497): Not all of our warders were **ogres**.	(p. 383): *Akubona bonke ojele bethu okwaku**ngamazimuzimu** nje.*

The noun *amazimuzimu* was selected as the equivalent of ogres. *Izimuzimu* is a person who kills people and eats them, a cannibal. This kind of person is found in folktales. The meaning of *izimuzimu* is therefore the same as that of *ogre*. The contextual meaning is also the same because they both relate to the conduct and cruel character of prison warders. Although *izimuzimu* is a human being, the character befits that of an animal. In this sense, the conceptual metaphor that motivates *amazimuzimu* is the same as that underlying ogres: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

The ogre character is found in folkore in most languages. It can be argued that that is why both translators kept the image and implicature. Although the isiXhosa translator decided on *iirhorho* and *amagongqongqo*, he could have chosen *amazim* as in isiZulu because these words are used interchangeably. This is another example where the translator's choices were culturally motivated, although it can also be argued that this conceptual metaphor is universal.

Table 4.25: courting > *ukufilisha in sifilisha*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 503): We who were already suffering were threatening our health, even **courting** death.	*(p. 407): Thina bantu sebebulaleka kakade sasibeka impilo yethu emngciphekweni,* **sifilisha** *ukufa ngeliphandle. (We who are already suffering were putting our health at risk, courting death frankly.)*

Courting was identified as a metaphor-related word representing the conceptual metaphor: DEATH IS A PERSON. This is so because death is talked about as if it is a person. To court someone is to have a relationship with her, with the intention of getting married. The word that expresses a similar meaning in isiXhosa is *ukufilisha,* which means *ukucela intombi, ukufuna inkosikazi* 'to negotiate marriage' (*GDX* 2006). This is a process that involves the parents, where a delegation from the groom's home goes to the prospective bride's home to ask for her hand. In the process, a *lobola* for the bride would be negotiated. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning of *ukufilisha* is the same as *courting.* The conceptual metaphor underlying the expression *sifilisha ukufa* is the same as that of *courting death*, that is, DEATH IS A PERSON.

Table 4.26 courting > *ukukhonga* in *sesikhonga*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 503): We who were already suffering were threatening our health, even **courting** death.	(p. 387): *Thina esase sivele sihlupheka sase sifaka impilo yethu engozini enkulu, **sesikhonga** nokufa imbala.*

Ukukhonga is a verb in isiZulu that refers to the process of asking for the permission from the father or family of a girl to marry you and the preparations towards that marriage '*ukwenza amalungiselelo okuganiselana noyise noma nabakubo wentombazane*' (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu*). The man who wants to marry does not ask permission himself; a delegation from his home goes to the girl's home to meet the family and ask for the girl's hand. The meaning *ukukhonga* is in a way similar to that of *courting*. The figurative meaning is also similar in that it relates to doing something that puts your life in danger. *Ukukhonga* and *courting* evoke the same conceptual metaphor: DEATH IS A PERSON, because marriage is associated with people.

This is another noteworthy example of conceptual metaphor, where death is perceived as a person. Although the SL word and the TL words are not the same in the strictest sense, since TLs involve traditional processes that are not found in the English culture, both target languages retained the implicature invoked by the SL word. *Ukufilisha* and *ukukhonga* convey the same meaning in both languages and the choice of these words was culturally motivated. It should be highlighted that the use of these words also illustrates the similarity between the cultures of these languages.

Table 4.27: builder > *umakhi* in *nomakhi*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 513): Verwoerd had proved to be both the chief theorist and master **builder** of grand apartheid.	*(p. 415) UVerwoerd wayezibalule njengomqulunqi oyintloko **nomakhi** oyingcali wocalucalulo ngokubanzi.*

Umakhi is someone whose job is to build houses, *ingcibi yokwakha* (*GDX* 2006). *Umakhi* therefore is a builder in English. In other words, *umakhi* and *builder* have the same literal meaning. The contextual meaning is the same in both languages. The person who is the builder in this context is not the builder of houses, or

physical structures, but a builder of a system, an abstract concept. The conceptual metaphor that is underlying the choice of these words is the same, that is: SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS.

Table 4.28: builder > *ukubumba* in *ekubumbeni* ; Ø > *ukwakha*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 513): Verwoerd had proved to be both the chief **theorist** and master **builder** of grand apartheid.	(p. 395): *UVerwoerd wayesekhombisile ukuthi yindoda ekwazi **ukwakha** amathiyori kanti futhi nguyena ngqondongqondo **ekubumbeni** i-apatedi enkulu.*

The nouns *theorist* and *builder* were not transferred as nouns in isiZulu. Instead, the translator selected the verbs *ukwakha* and *ukubumba* to describe what a builder and a theorist do. *Ukwakha* means 'to build' and *ukubumba* means 'to mould or create something', and is related to building. *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* explains *ukwakha* as *ukumisa indlu; ukwenza indlu* 'to erect, build a house' (sense 1) and *ukubumba* as *ukwakha okuthile ngobumba noma ngodaka noma ngokuthile okuyinhlama* 'to mould something with mud' (sense 1). The contextual meanings of these words are figurative and they correspond to each other because they have something to do with conceptualising apartheid policies. *Ukwakha, ukubumba* and *builder* can be viewed as examples of the conceptual metaphor: THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS.

Agreeing with conceptual metaphor theorists, as it were, both translators maintained the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS by selecting words that conveyed the same meaning, *umakhi, ukwakha* and *ukubumba*, as substitutes for *builder.* The TL2 translator added a new MRW *ukwakha* when he paraphrased the word *theorist* as indoda ekwazi *ukwakha* amathiyori (a man that can build theories). This means that where there was no metaphor the translator created a MRW.

Table 4.29: took out (take out) > *ukukhuphela* in *bawukhuphela*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 513): But by the following day it was obvious the warders knew, for they **took out** their anger on us	(p. 415): *Kodwa ngosuku olulandelayo, kwacaca ukuba abagcini-mabanjwa bayazi, kuba umsindo wabo **bawukhuphela** kuthi.*

In examining the basic meaning of *ukukhuphela* it was found to be the same as that of *took out*. According to *GDX* (2003) *ukukhuphela* means '*ukususa into engaphakathi uyizise ngaphandle*' 'to remove anything from a container, enclosure hole, etc.' The contextual meaning in both languages is about displaying anger. In both languages, anger seems to be understood as something that is removed from the inside of a container that is the human body in this case. *Ukukhuphela* and *took out* invoke the same conceptual metaphor: THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER.

Table 4.30: took out > *ukukhiphela*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 513): But by the following day it was obvious the warders knew, for they **took out** their anger **on** us.	(p. 395): *Ngakusasa-ke kwase kuzikhanyela nje ukuthi nojele sebeyazi, ngoba ulaka lwabo balukhiphela kithi.*

Took out was identified as being used as a metaphor in 4.1. This phrase was rendered as *ukukhiphela* in TT2 which, according to *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* sense 1, means *ukuhambisa ngaphandle obekungaphakathi* 'to take out what was inside'. *Ukukhiphela* therefore has the same basic meaning as *took out*, that is to *take out.* The figurative meaning is the same because what is taken out is an abstract entity, anger and the container from which it is taken and into which it is poured is the human body. *Ukukhiphela* and *took out* are based on the same conceptual metaphor: THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER.

Conceptual metaphor theorists argue that experiences that involve our bodies are conceptualised the same way by the human race (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a&b, 2003, Kövecses 2002, 2010). This example confirms this assertion where both target languages employed the verbs *ukukhupha* and *ukukhipha*, which are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor: THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER, where anger can be kept and then taken out when needed. In this context the warders took out their anger and 'poured' and it into Mandela and others as it were. This conceptual metaphor can be viewed as being universal because of the manner in which it has been conceptualised by the translators.

Table 4.31: stand still > *ukuma* in *limile*; halt > *lime*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 528): Time may seem to **stand still** for those of us in prison, but it did not **halt** for those outside.	*(p. 427): Ixesha linokungathi **limile** kwabo bethu basentolongweni, kodwa alizange **lime** kwabo bangaphandle*

The meaning of the verb *stand still* is about a situation where something that was moving stops (*GDX* 2003 sense 1). In isiXhosa, this verb was translated as *limile,* meaning it is not moving. The literal meaning of the source language word is the same as that of the target language word. The contextual meaning of *stand still* and *limile* refers to the fact that time, an abstract concept, is understood as being able to move like a physical entity. The figurative meaning of *stand still* and *limile* is the same. The conceptual metaphor that is inferred by these words is the same, that is, TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT. If time can stop at a certain point in time, then the implication is that it can move at another point. The verb *halt* is represented by the same verb *ukuma (lime).*

Table 4.32: stand still > *ukuma* in *simi* and *sasingemi*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 528): Time may seem to **stand still** for those of us in prison, but it did not **halt** for those outside.	(p. 407): *Isikhathi kuba sengathi **simi** ndawonye kulabo bethu abasejele, kodwa **sasingemi** kulabo ababengaphandle.*

Stand still and *halt* were translated as *ukuma* in isiZulu. *Ukuma* literally means to stand still or to be stationary (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English* sense 1). Therefore, it has the same meaning as the source language words *stand still* and *halt*. The contextual meaning is about time not moving for people inside prison, yet it is moving for those outside. In this sentence, this action is attributed to an abstract entity, time in both languages. That is why these verbs are used figuratively. *Stand still*, *halt* and *ukuma* are based on the same conceptual metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT.

This is another example of time being conceptualised as a moving object. In this example, it is stationary and this is carried across in both target languages. The words selected express the same literal and figurative meaning as the SL as is illustrated by the examples.

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Table 4.33: grown > *ukukhula* in *wawukhule*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 521): The state had **grown** stronger.	(p. 421): *Umbuso* **wawukhule** *womelela ngakumbi.*

The verb grow was rendered as *ukukhula* in isiXhosa, which has the same literal meaning as the SL word, that is 'to grow or increase in size' (*GDX* 2003 sense 1). This usually refers to living things like people, animals and plants. The contextual meaning of *ukukhula* is about the South African government, which had grown stronger and was fighting against the liberation organisations. The contextual meaning of *ukukhula* is the same as the figurative meaning of *grow* and both invoke the conceptual metaphor: SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS.

Table 4.34: grown > *ukukhula* in *ukhulile*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 521): The state had **grown** stronger.	(p. 401): *Nombuso wase* **ukhulile** *emandleni awo.*

Just like the isiXhosa translator, the isiZulu translator selected *ukukhula,* which has has the same meaning as the Xhosa word, as the best equivalent for *grow*. As illustrated above, *ukukhula* conveys the same literal and figurative meaning as *grow* and is based on the same conceptual metaphor.

Table 4.35: eliminate > *ukucima igama*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 543): It was not the last time they would try to **eliminate** me.	*(p. 439): Yayingelolixa lokugqibela bezama* **ukundicima igama** *elo.*

The verb 'eliminate' was identified as being used as a metaphor, summoning the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR. This word was rendered as an idomatic expression in TT1 *ukucima igama* that means to kill (*GDX* 2006). Since the act of killing is associated with fighting and the context is political, *ukucima igama* also invokes the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor.

Table 4.36: eliminate > *ukubulala*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 543): It was not the last time they would try to **eliminate** me.	(p. 419): *kwakungewona-ke owokugcina lo mzamo wokuba **ngibulawe**.*

The verb *eliminate* was rendered as *ukubulala* in TT2. *Ukubulala* literally means *ukukhipha umphefumulo kokuphilayo* 'to kill or murder' (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* sense 1). This meaning is different from the literal meaning of *eliminate* which is 'to get rid of something that is not needed'. The contextual meaning of *ukubala* is about attempts made to kill Mandela. The figurative meaning of *eliminate* is the same as that of *ukubulala* and both are based on the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

This example is an illustration of an indirect metaphor in the SL that is transferred as a direct metaphor in TT1 and as an indirect metaphor in TT2. The verb *eliminate* was identified as an indirect metaphor-related word and it was translated as *ukucima igama,* a direct metaphor or an idiom meaning 'to kill' in TT1. In TT2, it was substituted by another indirect metaphor-related word, *ukubulala*. People get killed when there is war even on a smaller scale, as seen in the violence where we live, so this expression is an instantiation of the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor.

Table 4.37: fuming > *ukufutha*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 48): Inwardly Badenhorst must have been **fuming**, but outwardly he seemed chastened.	*(p. 444-5): Wayemele ukuba **uyafutha** ngaphakathi uBadenhorst, kodwa apha ngaphandle ekhangeleka ohlwayekile.*

Ukufutha according *GDX* (2006) sense one means *'kukukhupha umoya ngeempulo ngamandla njengomntu, inkomo, njl.'* to force air out, through the nose as a person, ox, etc. The contextual meaning has to do with exhibiting anger. This corresponds with sense six in the *GDX*: 'to breathe hard as when a person is angry' (*ukuphefumlela phezulu njengaxa umntu anomsindo*). *Ukufutha* in this sense has the same figurative meaning as fuming, but the literal meaning is different. If we consider the ideophone *ukuthi futhu,* a derivative of the verb *ukufutha*, and whose literal meaning is about being warm (sense 1 *GDX* 2006), we can argue that the basic meaning of *ukufutha* corresponds to that of *fuming*

because there is heat involved in both. For example, we say '*laqala ukuthi futhu ilanga emva kwemini'* meaning 'it began to warm up in the afternoon'. One of the figurative meanings of *ukuthi futhu* is to be angry, which implies that when a person is angry he runs a temperature inside. The meaning of *ukufutha* and *fuming* relate to each other and both match the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT IN A CONTAINER.

Table 4.38: fuming > *ukubila* in *wayesebila*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 548): Inwardly Badenhorst must have been **fuming**, but outwardly he seemed chastened.	(p. 424): *Kufanele ukuthi **wayesebila** ngaphakathi uBadenhorst, kodwa ngaphandle wayebukeka engumuntu oshayekile.*

The literal meaning of *ukubila* is *ukugxabha kokuphekiwe* 'to boil, bubble in boiling' (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu; English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary* 1990). The figurative meaning is *ukuthukuthela kakhulu* 'to be very angry' (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* sense 3). The literal meaning is different from the souce text's literal meaning of *fume*; but the figurative meaning is the same because it has to do with exhibiting anger. *Ukubila* summons the conceptual metaphor: EMOTION/ANGER IS FLUID IN A CONTAINER while fuming evokes the metaphor: EMOTION/ANGER IS HEAT IN A CONTAINER. The two conceptual metaphors may seem different but they are related in that they both involve heat. For example water, which is a fluid, boils only when it is heated and vapour or fumes are emitted when something is hot or boiling.

In isiXhosa, it is common to hear expressions like *uyafutha ngumsindo* 'he is fuming with anger' or *uyabila ngumsindo* 'he is boiling with anger'. Sometimes the word anger is omitted as in *ndaziva ukuba ndiyafutha* 'I could feel myself fuming'. As the example above illustrates, *ukubila* is also found in isiZulu. *Ukubila* suggests that the liquid inside the body gets heated when a person gets angry. Some people exhibit this by sweating when they are angry. *Ukufutha* is also found in isiZulu expressions like *Ngambona qede ngafuthelana* (Taylor and Mbentse 1998) and relates to breathing. These examples indicate that the isiXhosa and isiZulu speakers experience and conceptualise anger the same way. The selection of *ukufutha* and *ukubila* reveal the liberty enjoyed by the translators in their decision-making.

Table 4.39: sharp > *ukuloleka* in *bulolekile*

Source text	Target text 1
(p558): I enjoyed keeping my legal skills **sharp…**	(p453): *Ndandikonwabela ukusoloko ndibugcine **bulolekile** ubuchule bobugqwetha bam…*

The adjective *sharp* was rendered as a relative *ukuloleka* having the same literal meaning as *sharp*, something with an edge that is able to cut. In fact, *ukuloleka* means the object has been sharpened. *Ukuloleka* is the metastative-potential for of the verb *lola* which means to sharpen (*GDX* 2003). The contextual meaning of *ukuloleka* is about Mandela's intelligence and being able to argue as a lawyer when defending his clients. This meaning is the same as the figurative meaning of *sharp*. Like its counterpart, *ukuloleka* invokes the conceptual metaphor: IDEAS ARE CUTTING INSTRUMENTS.

Table 4.40: sharp > *bukhali* in *bubukhali*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 558): I enjoyed keeping my legal skills **sharp…**	(p. 433) *Kwakungithokozisa kakhulu ukuthola ukuthi ubuciko bami kwezobumeli buhlale njalo **bubukhali.***

The adjective *sharp* was rendered as the relative word *bukhali* in isiZulu, having the same basic meaning as *sharp* '*ukucija kwento*' that is, having a sharp edge (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu*). The contextual meaning is about Mandela staying abreast with the legal profession and being able to represent his 'clients' and sometimes himself in court, meaning to be a smart lawyer. This meaning corresponds with the figurative meaning of *sharp,* meaning 'intelligent'. *Sharp* and *bukhali* are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor: IDEAS ARE SHARP INSTRUMENTS/ BEING KNOWLEDGEABLE IS BEING SHARP.

Here the translators selected words with similar or related meanings for the adjective *sharp*. It can be noticed that in English *sharp* is an adjective but in the target languages it is rendered as a relative. This is because in these languages there are specific words which are categorized as adjectives and the other descriptive words are classified as relatives. From these examples, we observe that the isiXhosa and isiZulu translators conceptualised 'being sharp' the same way. Both perceived intellect as an object or instrument that can be sharpened

when it gets blunt. To be knowledgeable and smart one needs to read consistently. When the blade of a knife is blunt, it is sharpened against a rock, otherwise it will not be able to cut. In the same way, for Mandela to be a smart lawyer he had to keep studying law books. We also notice the freedom of the translators in choosing words to replace the source text word. For example, the isiXhosa translator could have chosen the same words as the isiZulu translator '*ubuciko bubukhali*' (the skill is sharp) as these occur in isiXhosa and they convey exactly the same meaning. In fact, the verb *ukulola* means 'to sharpen, to make sharp'.

Table 4.41: rise > *khula*; *nyuka*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 523): "Let your courage **rise** with danger."	(p. 422): *Ubukhalipha bakho **mabukhule** nengozi."*
(p. 544): Though we despised the classification system, most of the men had by that time **risen** to at least C level, where they were permitted to study.	(p. 441): *Naxa sasiyinyevulela inkqubo yokuhlelwa kwamabanjwa, uninzi lwamadoda ngeli xesha lwaluse **lunyuke** lwaya kuthi xhaxhe kwinqanaba uC, apho babevunyelwa ukuba bafunde.*

Ukukhula was chosen as a corresponding word for the source language verb *rise*. These words share the same literal meaning, that is, to increase in size and height as discussed above (par.4.33 and 4.34). The contextual meaning of *ukukhula* is about the encouraging words that were spoken by Chief Luthuli to the ANC youth, inspiring them to be strong and fearless when facing the enemy. *Ukukhula* has the same figurative meaning as *rise*. They also share the same conceptual metaphor: INCREASE IN SIZE IS INCREASE IN STRENGTH/ BEING BRAVE IS UP.

In the second example *rise* was transferred as *ukunyuka* that means to go up or physically move upwards to a higher level. The literal and figurative meaning of *ukunyuka* is the same as that of *rise*. At Robben Island the inmates were classified according to A, B, C, D categories, A being the lowest level and D the highest. The higher levels had better privileges than the lower levels. Although they did not like the system, they appreciated being placed at a higher level so that they could enjoy better privileges. *Rise* in this sense is used metaphorically because it does not refer to physical movement but to an abstract position. *Ukunyuka* in this context is based on the orientational conceptual metaphor: BETTER IS UP since it implies upward movement.

Table 4.42: rise > *khula*; *khuphuka*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 523): "Let your courage **rise** with danger."	(p. 402): *Naye wayesimele isiqubulo seNkosi uLuthuli sokuthi isibindi sakho **asikhule** lapho ingozi ikhula.*
(p. 544): Though we despised the classification system, most of the men had by that time **risen** to at least C level, where they were permitted to study.	(p. 421): *Noma sasiyibukela phansi le ndlela yokwehlukanisa abantu ngamazinga nezigaba, amadoda amaningi ngaleso sikhathi **ayesekhuphukele** esigabeni C.*

As in TT1, *rise* was translated as *ukukhula* in TT2. The literal meaning and the figurative meaning of *ukukhula* are the same as that of *rise*. The literal meaning is about increase in size and the contextual meaning is about increase in courage. Both verbs summon the same conceptual metaphor: INCREASE IN SIZE IS INCREASE IN STRENGTH.

In the next example *rise* was substituted by the verb *ukukhuphuka* having the same literal and figurative meaning. *Ukukhuphuka* also means 'going up' or 'progressing to a higher level'. The conceptual metaphor underlying this expression is BETTER IS UP.

Looking at the TT1 and TT2 translations one notices that the translators opted for the same word with the same literal meaning and figurative meaning. *Ukukhuphuka* is a synonym of *ukwenyuka*, *ukunyuka* in isiXhosa. This is expected because the languages are closely related. It is also no surprise that these words arouse the same conceptual metaphor in both languages.

Table 4.43: down > *ukudakumba*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 591-2): How can my spirits ever be **down** when I enjoy the fond attentions of such wonderful ladies.	(p. 482): *Ungathini umphefumlo wam **ukudakumba** ndijongwe ngothando ngala manenekazi angummangaliso.*

The adjective *down* was replaced by *ukudakumba* in isiXhosa which is a verb indicating 'a state of dejection' or 'being downcast' (*GDX* 2006). The literal meaning and the figurative meaning are the same because this word relates to

emotions only. When one is unhappy one's spirit feels as if it is low, hence the conceptual metaphor: SAD IS DOWN.

Table 4.44: down> ukushonisa phansi in engashonisa phansi

Source text	Target text 2
(p591-2): How can my spirits ever be **down** when I enjoy the fond attentions of such wonderful ladies.	(p462): *Pho yini **engashonisa phansi** umoya wami uma nginakekelwe kahle kangaka yizintokazi ezinhle?*

Down in isiZulu was rendered as *ukushonisa phansi,* an idiomatic expression for becoming depressed (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary* sense 6). The verb *ukushona* means 'to go down' (sense 1). *Ukushona phansi* expresses the same meaning as *down* in the source text. This expression is based on the conceptual metaphor: SAD IS DOWN.

As can be seen from these examples the translators treated the rendering of *down* differently. In isiXhosa, it is replaced by an ordinary expression while in isiZulu it is substituted by a figurative expression. Both expressions summon the same conceptual metaphor.

4.4.2 A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning, based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with a different literal meaning but the same figurative meaning, based on the same conceptual metaphor in another language.

Table 4.45: defend > ukuthethelela in ukuzithethelela

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 507): The authorities always found it distressing when I wanted to **defend** myself in court …	(p. 411): *Abasemagunyeni basoloko beyifumana iyinto ehluphayo ezingqondweni zabo xa ndifuna **ukuzithethelela** enkundleni …*

The literal meaning of *ukuthethelela* according to the *GDX* (1989) is 'to put in a good word for someone.' The contextual meaning is about Mandela defending himself in court which is sense three in the *GDX*. The literal meaning is different from the figurative meaning of *defend*, which is about protecting someone from

attack. But the figurative meaning is the same, that is, to defend a person in a court of law. If we consider the arguments made in court as a war of words, then *ukuthethelela* and *defend* invoke the same conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR

Table 4.46: defend > *ukumela* in *ukuzimela*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 507): The authorities always found it distressing when I wanted to **defend** myself in court …	*(p. 391): Izikhulu lezi kwakuzihlupha kakhulu ukuthi ngangifuna **ukuzimela** enkantolo …*

The literal meaning of *ukumela* according to the *Zulu-English Dictionary* (1990) is 'to stand for or wait for a person'. The contextual meaning is about defending oneself in a court of law. The literal meaning of *ukumela* is different from that of its ST counter-part, *defend*, but the figurative meaning is the same. Both relate to representing a person in court. In this case, Mandela is defending himself. Unlike its counterpart, *Ukuzimela* does not invoke the conceptual metaphor: ARGUMENT IS WAR where arguing is understood in terms of fighting.

Ukuzithethelela, 'speaking on behalf of myself', and *ukuzimela,* 'representing myself', have different literal meanings but the same figurative meanings and are usually used interchangeably. An attorney in isiXhosa is sometimes referred to as *ummeli* which is the same as in isiZulu. It is rare to hear a person referring to a lawyer as *umthetheleli* although we can say *igqwetha lakhe limthethelele enkundleni* 'the attorney defended him in court'. Both translators therefore conceptualize *defend* in the same way.

Table 4.47: passed > *ukubhabha* in *liyabhabha*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 528): The time **passed** far too quickly.	*(p. 427): Ixesha laba ngathi **liyabhabha**.*

The verb *passed* means to go past something. This verb was transferred as *liyabhabha* in TT1. *Ukubhabha* means *ukuhamba emoyeni, okwentaka, imbuzane okanye ieropleni* meaning to 'fly, soar, of a bird, insect or aeroplane' (*GDX* 2006 sense 1). Because both these verbs relate to time, an abstract concept, they are used as metaphors and their meaning is the same although the image is different. In the source language, the verb *passed* is qualified by an adverb *quickly* to

illustrate the speed at which it is passing. In the target language the swiftness is conveyed by the verb *liyabhabha* 'it flies'. The figurative meaning in both cases summons the conceptual metaphor: TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT.

Table 4.48: passed > *ukundiza* in *sandiza*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 528): The time **passed far too quickly.**	*(p. 407): Isikhathi savele **sandiza** nje.*

Ukundiza in isiZulu means to fly as in birds flying '*ukushweza noma ukuntweza emoyeni*' (Isichazamazwi sesiZulu sense 1). Figuratively this refers to something happening at a high speed, very quickly. In this sentence, the implication is that *time* moved very quickly. *Ukundiza* has a different literal meaning from *passed* but has the same figurative meaning as the expression *passed too quickly*. *Sandiza* and *passed too quickly* summon the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT.

It is interesting to note that both translators opted for *ukubhabha* and *ukundiza,* meaning to *fly,* implying moving at a high speed is associated with flying in TT1 and TT2. Birds move faster than chickens, just as aeroplanes move faster than cars. It is not surprising that both translators selected these verbs to convey the swiftness of the action. Both verbs were used figuratively.

4.4.3 A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning, based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language, can be rendered as a different word form with the different literal meaning and the same figurative meaning, based on a different conceptual metaphor in another language.

Table 4.49: thawing > *ukukhululeka*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 512): That spring we had felt a certain **thawing** on the part of the authorities, a relaxation of the iron-fisted discipline that had prevailed on the island. (p. 601): I found the trip instructive in another way because in that hospital I sensed a **thawing** in the relationship.	p. 415): *Ngaloo ntwasahlobo seva ngathi kukho **ukukhululeka** okuthile kwiziphatha-mandla, kwathotha okuya kusilawula ngegqudu bekusoloko kugquba apho esiqithini.* (p. 490): *Olo hambo ndalufumana lunemfundiso ngenye indlela kuba kweso sibhedlele ndaba nento ethi kukho **ukufudumala** kubudlelane phakathi kwabaNtsundu nabaMhlophe.*

In examining the contextual meaning of *ukukhululeka* it was found that it was about the leniency on the part of the prison authorities; they were no longer as strict as they were before. The literal meaning is *ukuba nakho ukusonjululwa, ukukhululwa* 'be possible to untie, loosen, release' *(GDX* 2003*).* The literal meaning of *ukukhululeka* is different from that of *thawing,* which has to do with melting of ice due to change of temperature. The figurative meaning is the same because both relate to the change in attitude and the way prisoners were treated on Robben Island. *Thawing* invokes the metaphor: CHANGE IN ATTITUDE IS CHANGE IN TEMPERATURE while *ukukhululeka* appeals to a different metaphor: PEOPLE ARE CAPTIVES. *Thawing* was also rendered as *ukufudumala,* meaning getting warmer or hotter. In this context, Mandela was in hospital to undergo an operation on his foot, where he noticed a pleasant relationship between black and white staff members, a kind of behaviour that never existed before. *Ukufudumala* was used as a metaphor because it referred to emotions, an abstract entity. The conceptual metaphor that underlies this expression is: AFFECTION IS WARMTH.

Table 4.50: thawing > ukuswabuluka; ukuncibilika

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 512): That spring we had felt a certain **thawing** on the part of the authorities, a relaxation of the iron-fisted discipline that had prevailed on the island. (p. 601): I found the trip instructive in another way because in that hospital I sensed a **thawing** in the relationship.	*(p. 395): Ngaleyo ntwasahlobo, sasibone sengathi iziphathimandla **ziyaswabuluka**, sesiyaxega lesiya sandal sensimbi ezazisiphethe ngaso esiqhingini.* *(p. 470): Lolu hambo lwami ngaluthola lunokuthile olungifundise khona ngoba esibhedlela laphayana ngathola ukuthi ubudlelwano phakathi kwabaMnyama nabeLungu sebuthanda **ukuncibilika**.*

The corresponding equivalent for *thawing* is *ukuswabuluka* and *ukuncibilika* respectively. The literal meaning of *ukuswabuluka* is to show signs of life (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary* sense 1), which is different from the literal meaning of thaw: the melting of ice. The figurative meaning of *ukuswabuluka* in this context is about a change of heart or attitude on the part of prison authorities. They were no longer as hard on the inmates as they were in earlier years. This meaning is similar to the figurative meaning of thawing. In another example, *thawing* was translated as *ukuncibilika*. The literal meaning of *ukuncibilika* is 'to melt, become liquid,' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary* sense 1) which is exactly the same as that of *thawing*. The figurative meaning is about the cordial relationship that prevailed between the black and white staff members. *Ukuncibilika* has the same literal and figurative meaning as thawing. *Ukuncibilika*, *ukuswabuluka* and *thawing* are based on the same metaphor: CHANGE OF ATTITUDE IS A CHANGE OF TEMPERATURE that can be related to the fact that thawing is caused by a warmer temperature and something springing to life if there is warmth.

It is interesting to observe how the translators treated the translation of *thawing* in their respective languages. *Ukukhululeka* corresponds with *ukuswabuluka* and *ukufudumala* corresponds with *ukuncibilika*. The figurative meaning of *ukukhululeka* and *ukuswabuluka* relate to having a pleasant, warm and happy attitude. *Ukufudumala* and *ukuncibilika* refers to change of a condition, caused by warm temperature. Their figurative meaning also relates to a positive attitude. These examples illustrate that the three languages conceptualise emotions in more or less the same way. It can be argued that the conceptual metaphor underlying these words is AFFECTION IS WARMTH.

Table 4.51 barred > ukungavunyelwa in wayengavunyelwa

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 504): She was **barred** from taking a train or car and had to **fly**, making the trip much more expensive.	*(p. 409):* ***Wayengavunyelwa*** *ukuba ahambe ngololiwe okanye imoto ke ngoko kufuneke* ***ahambe ngenqwelo-moya****, nto leyo eyayilwenza olo hambo ludle imali eninzi ngaphezulu.*

The verb *barred* was replaced by the verb *ukungavunyelwa,* the negative form of the verb *ukuvumela*, the applicative form of *ukuvuma*, which means 'to give consent, agree to, give permission' (*GDX* 1989 sense 3). The negative is to deny the person permission. The contextual meaning is the same as the literal meaning because it is about the government authorities denying Winnie permission to use the train when visiting Mandela in prison. They forced her to travel by aeroplane. *Ukungavunyelwa* in this sense is not a figurative expression but its meaning is the same as the figurative meaning of *barred*. This expression does not necessarily invoke any conceptual metaphor but it does correspond to the metaphor: CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING THE PEOPLE, aroused by the verb *barred*. The verb *fly* was rendered as a paraphrase *ahambe ngenqwelomoya* 'travel by aeroplane' and does not invoke any conceptual metaphor.

Table 4.52 barred > ukungavunyelwa in wayengavunyelwe

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 504): She was **barred** from taking a train or car and had to **fly**, making the trip much more expensive.	*(p. 389): **Wayengavunyelwe** ukuthatha isitimela noma imoto, kuthiwa **akasebenzise indiza** kuphela, into eyayenza uhambo ngalunye lumbe eqolo.*

As in TT1, *barred* was transferred as *ukungavunyelwa* in TT2. As in TT1 *ukuvumela*, the affirmative form of the verb is about agreeing, giving a person permission to do something as explained above (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English*). *Ukungavumeli* or *ukungavunyelwa* means that permission is denied. The TT2 word conveys the same figurative meaning as *barred* although it is not used as a metaphor. The verb *fly* was transferred as a paraphrase *akasebenzise* indiza, 'must use the aeroplane'. As can be seen from these examples, *ukungavunyelwa* and *akasebenzise indiza* are not metaphoric expressions and therefore do not arouse any conceptual metaphor. Both translators treated the translation of *barred* and *fly* in the same way by substituting them with the same word with the same literal and contextual meaning.

Table 4.53: hounded > *ukuphatha kakubi*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 561): They **hounded** him even after death – the state confiscated his ashes after his cremation.	(p. 456): **Bamphatha kakubi** nangoku selefile – umbuso wathimba uthuthu lwakhe emva kokuba etshisiwe.

The verb *hounded* was transferred as a verbal phrase *ukuphatha kakubi* (verb + adverb). The literal meaning of *ukuphatha* is about touching something with a hand '*ukuchukumisa, ukusa isandla emntwini okanye entweni*' (*GDX* 2003). *Kakubi* means 'badly'. The literal meaning of *ukuphatha kakubi* means 'to handle something badly'. The contextual meaning of *ukuphatha kakubi* is about the government making life difficult for Braam Fischer and his family. This meaning corresponds with sense 13 in the *GDX* which is *ukungonwabisi*, 'to cause unhappiness, to give a person hard time'. The literal meaning of *ukuphatha kakubi* is different from that of *hounded* because it is not about hunting, but the figurative meaning is similar. Being *hounded* means that Braam was always pursued harassingly or chased by the police. In this sense *ukuphatha kakubi* is similar to being *hounded,* although it does not convey that strong or harsh effect that is communicated by *hounded*. The conceptual metaphor underlying these expressions differs, however. *Hounded* arouses the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor because Braam was always hunted or chased like an animal. *Ukuphatha kakubi* on the other hand is an example of the metaphor: PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS.

Table 4.54: hounded > *ukuzingela* in *umzingele*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 561): They **hounded** him even after death – the state confiscated his ashes after his cremation.	*(p. 436): Umbuso wawusalokhu **umzingele** njalo ngisho eseshonile imbala, ngoba nomlotha wakhe wawuqhwaga ngemva kokushiswa kwesidumbu sakhe.*

In isiZulu *hounded* was rendered as the verb *ukuzingela* meaning Braam was hunted. The literal meaning of *ukuzingela* is 'to hunt, to pursue an animal' (sense 2 in *English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). The contextual meaning has to do with Braam being under surveillance all the time even after death. *Ukuzingela* has the same literal and figurative meaning as *hounded* and they both summon the same conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

As the examples show, the translators treated the verb *hounded* differently. The isiXhosa translator could have used the same word as the isiZulu translator, *ukuzingela* as it exists in isiXhosa as well and conveys the same meaning.

Because we do not know why he chose *ukuphatha kakubi* instead, we can only argue that he felt sorry for Braam and did not want to use the animal image to represent him and opted for a milder expression instead. The isiZulu translator wanted to stay as close as possible to the source text by keeping the image and the power of the original metaphor. This is another example showing translators as decision makers in their own right. They decide themselves whether they want to stick to the source text or project themselves as writers who have their own style of writing more so that the commissioner of the translation did not give them a brief on how to translate.

Table 4.55: stepping up > ukufaka amafutha athe chatha

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 603): Umkhonto we Sizwe was **stepping up** its sabotage campaign.	*(p. 491)Umkhonto weSizwe **wawulifaka amafutha athe chatha** iphulo lawo lesabhothaji*

Stepping up was identified as a metaphor-related word invoking the conceptual metaphor INCREASE IN STRENGTH IS GOING UP. This phrase was rendered as *ukufaka amafutha athe chatha, meaning* to add more fuel. This is a figurative expression that is about *Umkhonto weSizwe* intensifying its sabotage campaign. The meaning of this phrase corresponds with that of *stepping up*. The expression *ukufaka amafutha athe chatha* invokes the metaphor: ACTIONS ARE CONTAINERS/ MACHINES. The container metaphor is aroused by the idea of pouring petrol or fuelling this action, while at the same time actions can be seen as machines/vehicles that need fuel to move forward.

Table 4.56: stepping up > *usuwuqhubela phambili*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 603): Umkhonto we Sizwe was **stepping up** its sabotage campaign.	*(p. 471):UMkhonto Wesizwe wabe **usuwuqhubela phambili** umkhankaso wokucekela phansi,*

In isiZulu, *stepping up* was transferred as *ukuqhubela phambili,* literally meaning driving forward the campaign. *Ukuqhuba* means to drive and *phambili* is forward (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary).* The expression *ukuqhubela phambili* has to do with going forward or continuing with the campaign. The concept of driving evokes the conceptual metaphor: ACTIONS ARE MACHINES, because machines can be

driven. This metaphor that corresponds with the metaphor that is summoned by the isiXhosa expression. Here we appreciate the creativity of the translators in communicating the same conceptual metaphor through different linguistic expressions.

4.4.4 A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning, based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with the same figurative meaning that is expressed by a literal meaning/paraphrase in another language.

Table 4.57: plucked > *ukuthi xhakamfu*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 470): After they had made one circuit, one of the guards **plucked** me by the shoulder and said, 'Mandela, come, you will talk now.'	*(p. 380): Emva kokuba benze umjikelo omnye, omnye wabagcini-mabanjwa* **wandithi xhakamfu** *ngegxalaba wathi, "Mandela, yiza, uza kuthetha ngoku."*

Plucked was identified as a metaphor-related word because it was used to refer to humans and the way Mandela was treated. This word was transferred as an ideophone in isiXhosa *ukuthi xhakamfu* (*wandithi xhakamfu*) which is not a metaphor-related word. *Ukuthi xhakamfu* means 'to grab something or someone suddenly and hold firmly' (*GDX*). Although *ukuthi xhakamfu* is not metaphor-related, it carries the same figurative meaning and effect as the verb *plucked* (Nokele 2014).

Table 4.58: plucked > *ukuthinta* **in** *ongithinta*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 470): After they had made one circuit, one of the guards **plucked** me by the shoulder and said, 'Mandela, come, you will talk now.'	(p. 359-60): *Kwathi lapho sezizungeze kanye, kwaba khona ujele* **ongithinta** *ehlombe ethi, "Mandela, woza, uzokhuluma manje."*

The literal meaning of *pluck* is to hold firmly and pull the feathers off the body of a bird or to pull fruit off a tree. The contextual meaning which is the figurative meaning has to do with manhandling Mandela. The basic meaning of *ukuthinta*

which was chosen as the equivalent for *pluck*, has to do with touching or handling (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary; Isichazamazwi sesiZulu)*. The contextual meaning and the literal meaning are the same, therefore *ukuthinta* in this context does not have a figurative meaning. In other words, a metaphor-related word was rendered as a non-metaphor-related word. *Plucked* evokes the metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, but *ukuthinta* does not and does not arouse any conceptual metaphor.

Both translators rendered a metaphoric word as a non-metaphoric one. However, the isiXhosa translator decided on an ideophone, which gives the audience a vivid picture of the action which makes it come closer to the metaphor than an ordinary word. *Ukuthi xhakamfu* has more effect than *ukuthinta* in terms of portraying how the action occurred. Notwithstanding, both do not invoke any conceptual metaphor.

Table 4.59: wield > *ukusebenzisa*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 474): But the prison authorities **wielded** the classification system as a weapon against political prisoners, threatening to lower our hard-won classification in order to control our behaviour.	*(p. 383): Kodwa abasemagunyeni bentolongo **babeyisebenzisa** le nkqubo yokuhlelwa kwamabanjwa njengesixhobo sokulwa namabanjwa ezopolitiko, bagrogrise ngelithi baya kumthoba umntu kuluhlu lwakhe alufumene nzima ngeenjongo zokulawula indlela yokuziphatha kwethu.*

The verb *wielded* was identified as a metaphor-related word invoking the conceptual metaphor: CONTROL IS HOLDING. The basic meaning of *wield* is to hold a weapon or tool and use it. The authories at Robben Island used the classification system as a tool to discipline the inmates. This word *wielded* was rendered as *babeyisebenzisa* in the target language. *Ukusebenzisa* means 'to cause something to work' (*GDX* 1989). The literal meaning and the contextual meaning of this verb are the same, therefore it is not related to metaphor although it expresses the same meaning as *wielded*.

Table 4.60: wield > *ukusebenzisa*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 474): But the prison authorities **wielded** the classification system as a weapon against political prisoners, threatening to lower our hard-won classification in order to control our behaviour.	(p. 363): *Kodwa izikhulu zejele **zazisebenzisa** le ndlela yokufaka iziboshwa ezigabeni ezehlukene njengesikhali sazo sokulwa neziboshwa zezepolitiki, zide zisethuse ngokuthi zizosehlisa esigabeni esasisisebenzele kanzima ukuze zikwazi ukukubamba ngezandla ukuziphatha kwethu.*

The verb *wielded* was transferred as the verb *ukusebenzisa*. The literal meaning of *ukusebenzisa* is different from the literal meaning of *wield* in that it does not imply use of weapons as *wield* does. It means 'cause to work' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). Although the use of *ukusebenzisa* is not figurative, its meaning is the same as the figurative meaning of the source language word. Both relate to the use of power to enforce discipline at Robben Island. The conceptual metaphor which corresponds with this meaning is CONTROL IS HOLDING.

The verb *ukusebenzisa* was selected as the best option for the verb *wielded* in both target languages. As noted in both examples this word does not express any figurative meaning, but it does communicate the same meaning as the figurative meaning of *wielded*.

Table 4.61: glean > ukufumana in bafumane

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 474) Later I realized that this was simply a technique on the part of the authorities to **glean** information from us and I had fallen for it.	*(p. 384): Emva kwethuba ndaphawula ukuba le nto yindlela nje yokuba abasemagunyeni **bafumane** iinkcukacha ezithile kuthi yaye ndizibone sendeyele kuloo mhadi.*

In examining the contextual meaning of *glean,* it was discovered that it was about efforts made by the prison authorities to get information from Mandela and his colleagues. *Glean* was then identified as a metaphor-related word because it referred to an abstract entity and not the physical action of picking up corn in the fields as the basic meaning suggests. In isiXhosa *glean* was transferred as *ukufumana* which is not related to metaphor. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning are the same, that is, *ukuzuza into obuyinqwelela, ukwamkela*

'to obtain or receive' (*GDX* 2006). A metaphor-related word was rendered as a non-metaphor-related word.

Table 4.62: glean > ukuthola (bathole)

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 474) Later I realized that this was simply a technique on the part of the authorities to **glean** information from us and I had fallen for it.	*(p. 384): Kamuva ngathola ukuthi lokhu kwakuyiqhinga nje elalisetshenziswa ngabaphathi ukuze **bathole** ulwazi kithi: ngangiphoselekile-ke mina kuloo noxhaka.*

Glean was identified as a metaphor-related word invoking the conceptual metaphor: INFORMATION IS FOOD. Its counterpart is *ukuthola* in *bathole* (they obtain), meaning 'to get something'. According to *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu ukuthola means ukufumana okuthile ikakhulukazi obekukade kulahlekile* 'to get something especially that which was lost'. The literal meaning and the contextual meaning are the same; therefore, this word is not metaphor-related and it does not correspond to any conceptual metaphor.

This is yet another fascinating example where the translators decided on a word with the same meaning (*ukufumana* in TT1 and *ukuthola* in TT2) to replace the SL word. *Glean* was transferred as a non-metaphoric word in both languages. In both languages, the idea of food that is communicated by this verb is lost.

Table 4.63: waged > ukuqhuba in esasiwuqhuba; enza in eyenziwa

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 482): For us such **struggles** – for sunglasses, long trousers, study priviledges, equalized food – were corollaries to the **struggle** we **waged** outside prison.	*(p. 391): Kuthi, ezo mbulaleko **zomzabalazo** – wokufuna iindondo zamehlo, iibhulukhwe ezinde, amalungelo okufunda, ukutya okufanayo – yayizizinto ezihambisana **nomzabalazo esasiwuqhuba** ngaphandle kwentolongo.*
(p. 503): The advocates of hunger strikes argued that it was a traditionally accepted form of protest that had been **waged** all over the world by such prominent leaders as Mahatma Gandhi.	*(p. 407): Abo bamele ukwayo lokutya babeqhagiyela besithi leyo yindlela eyamkelekileyo yokuvakalisa inkcaso **eyenziwa** kwihlabathi liphela ziinkokheli eziphambili ezifana nooMahatma Gandhi.*

Umzabalazo was selected to replace the noun *struggle(s)*. The basic meaning is about an effort to free oneself from some physical constraint. This meaning is the same as that of struggle. The contextual meaning is about actions that were taken by Mandela and company, demanding certain rights from the prison authorities, such as sunglasses, study privileges, etc. This meaning corresponds with sense two of *umzabalazo* in the *GDX* (1989) which is the struggle for political liberation. This meaning also resembles the figurative meaning of the SL word. *Umzabalazo* and *struggle* both suggest the use of force, though not necessarily violence in their efforts to obtain their demands. In this sense, these words link with the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

The verb *waged* in the same sentence was also identified as a metaphor-related word based on the same conceptual metaphor. This verb was substituted by the verb *ukuqhuba* which was described as suggesting machines. In other words, *ukuqhuba* in this example implies that *umzabalazo* is a machine or a vehicle that is being driven. This then infers that ACTIONS ARE MACHINES.

In the second example, the verb *waged* was rendered as *ukwenza* in *eyenziwa,* meanings to do something. The contextual meaning is about hunger strikes that prisoners engaged in, inside prison. Hunger strikes were used as weapons to demand certain rights. In isiXhosa, this idea was conveyed by a paraphrase that does not arouse any conceptual metaphor.

Table 4.64: struggle > ukuzabalaza; umzabalazo; waged > ukuqhuba in esasiwubambe; ukusebenzisa in lwasetshenziswa

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 482): For us such **struggles** – for sunglasses, long trousers, study priviledges, equalized food – were corollaries to the **struggle** we **waged** outside prison.	*(p. 371): Kithina-ke, **ukuzabalaza** kanje umuntu efuna izibuko zelanga, amabhulukhwe amade, amathuba okutadisha, nokudla okufaneleyo, kwakufana **nomzabalazo esasiwubambe** ngaphandle kwejele.*
(p. 503): The advocates of hunger strikes argued that it was a traditionally accepted form of protest that had been **waged** all over the world by such prominent leaders as Mahatma Gandhi.	*(p. 387): Labo ababekhuthaza ukuteleka ngokuzilambisa babebeka isizathu sokuthi lolu uhlobo lokubhikisha olwemukeleke emhlabeni wonke jikelele, kanti futhi lwake **lwasetshenziswa** ngabaholi abaqavile njengoMahatma Gandhi.*

The noun *struggle* in isiZulu is translated as a verb *ukuzabalaza* and a noun *umzabalazo*. *Ukuzabalaza* is about standing firmly on the ground and the figurative meaning is about being stubborn. *Umzabalazo* is a firm stand. According to *Isichazamazwi sesiZulu* it is an association of people fighting for a certain cause. This is the figurative meaning that is communicated in this context. Like in the isiXhosa example, these words correspond with the same conceptual metaphor as the SL word *struggle*, which is: POLITICS IS WAR.

Waged was identified as a metaphor-related word. Its counterpart in isiZulu is *ukubamba* in *esasiwubambe*. The literal meaning of *ukubamba* is 'to hold' or 'to catch grip of something' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). The contextual meaning is about being engaged in a struggle for certain rights inside and outside prison. The literal meaning of *ukubamba* is different from that of *wage* but the figurative meaning is the same, 'being engaged in a battle'. *Wage* invokes the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR because human rights are political issues. The verb *ukubamba* suggests that *umzabalazo* is an object one can hold in the hand and it suggests a different conceptual metaphor, which is: POLITICS/ACTIVISM IS HOLDING.

In the second example *waged* was transferred as *ukusetshenziswa* 'to be used'. In this context, it seems as if the hunger strike is used as a way of enforcing their demands. Hunger strikes are objects or instruments, therefore ACTIONS ARE INSTRUMENTS.

Looking at these two examples one observes that both languages replaced *struggles* with *umzabalazo* and *ukuzabalaza* which are conceptualised the same way. The verb *waged* was translated differently in the two contexts in which it occurred. In both occurrences, it was rendered as a paraphrase.

Table 4.65: hunger > ukulangazelela in sizilangazelela

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 491): Within a month, we were receiving the Economist and reading the news we **hungered** for.	*(p. 398): Kungekapheli nenyanga sasiyifumana iThe Economist sizifunda neendaba ekudala sizilangazelela.*

The expression *hungered for* was rendered as *sizilangazelela* which means *ukunqwenela, ukufuna into ngamandla* 'we have been longing for' in isiXhosa (GDX 2003). This is not a metaphoric expression but it expresses the feeling one has when you want something badly, as expressed by the phrasal verb *hungered for*. Although *ukulangazelela* conveys the same meaning as the figurative expression, it does not invoke the same conceptual metaphor, that NEWS IS FOOD.

Table 4.66. hunger for > ukulangazelela in silangazelela

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 491): Within a month, we were receiving the Economist and reading the news we **hungered** for.	(p. 377): *Ingekapheli nenyanga sase siyithola i-Economist sifunda izindaba esasihlale **silangazelela** ukuzifunda.*

The meaning of the phrase *hunger for* is about desiring something ardently (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). It is a phrase derived from the noun *hunger*, referring to a feeling you have when you need to eat something. Hunger relates to food. The equivalent for this phrase in isiZulu is *ukulangazelela*, meaning to yearn for something, to desire earnestly. The desire could be for anything, not necessarily food. Although the contextual meaning of *ukulangazelela* is the same as that of *hunger for*, the word does not summon any metaphor while *hunger for* invokes the metaphor: INFORMATION IS FOOD.

The phrasal verb *hungered for* was replaced by a non-metaphor-related verb *ukulangazelela* in both target languages. Although it carries the same connotation as the SL phrase *hungered for*, it does not necessarily invoke the food metaphor.

Table 4.67: prey > *isisulu*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 505): She would be lonely and a **prey** for people who sought to undermine her under the guise of being her friends.	*(p. 410): Wayeza kuba nesithukuthezi abe **sisisulu** kubantu abajonge ukumsingela phantsi besithele ngesetyana lenkawu lokuba bangabahlobo bakhe.*

The noun *prey* was identified as an indirect metaphor-related word in the ST. The corresponding word used in the TT1, *isisulu,* has a different meaning from *prey*. *Isisulu* according to *GDX* (1989) is a noun which means *nayiphi na into efumaneka lula okanye efumaneka fele-fele* 'anything obtainable at comparatively little or no

cost or with little or no trouble'. The contextual meaning is about being an easy target, a person who is easily taken advantage of. Mandela was concerned that Winnie would be an easy target for those who would pretend to be her friends since she was on her own. Although the basic meaning of *isisulu* is different from that of *prey*, their figurative meaning is the same: 'a person who is easily deceived or harmed. Unlike *prey*, *isisulu* does not necessarily invoke the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor because it can refer to either a person or an animal. The implicature that would spring to mind is that of getting something at a very low cost. In this sense, the underlying metaphor would be PEOPLE ARE COMMODITIES.

Table 4.68: prey > *ukudlala* in *badlale*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 505): She would be lonely and a **prey** for people who sought to undermine her under the guise of being her friends.	*(p. 390): Wayezoba nesizungu, **badlale** ngaye abantu ababezofika bamedelele bezenza abangani bakhe.*

The noun *prey* was rendered as a verb *ukudlala* in *badlale* in TT2. The literal meaning of *ukudlala* is about doing something with the intention of entertaining, 'to play, have sport, make merry, frolic' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). This meaning is not related to the meaning of *prey*. The figurative meaning of *ukudlala* is about taking advantage of Winnie since her husband was in jail. The figurative meaning of *ukudlala* is similar to that of *prey* in that both refer to the vulnerability of Winnie. The conceptual metaphor that motivates *ukudlala* is, however, different from that of *prey*. *Prey* summons the: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor while *ukudlala* in *badlale* evokes the metaphor: PEOPLE ARE BALLS, suggesting that people are something you can play with.

The rendering of the noun *prey* was treated differently in TT1 and TT2. In TT1, the noun *isisulu* was preferred while in TT2 it was substituted by a verb *ukudlala*. These words have different connotations and therefore summon distinct conceptual metaphors as illustrated above.

Table 4.69: relished > ukuthanda; as I did > ngohlobo endandiwathanda ngalo

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 509): I think Walter was the only man on Robben Island who **relished** newspapers as much **as I did**.	*(p. 412): Ndicinga ukuba uWalter wayekuphela kwendoda apho eSiqithini **eyayiwathanda** amaphepha-ndaba ngohlobo endandiwathanda ngalo.*

The literal meaning of the verb *relish* is to enjoy good tasty food. The figurative meaning is about enjoying reading newspapers. The conceptual metaphor underlying the use of the verb *relish* is NEWS IS FOOD or INFORMATION IS FOOD. *Relish* is rendered as *ukuthanda* in isiXhosa, meaning 'to be fond of, have a warm, affectionate feeling for a person or animal' (*GDX* 1989). *Ukuthanda* in this example is not related to metaphor and does not invoke any conceptual metaphor. The verb *relish* has thus been rendered as a paraphrase. By virtue of being a substitute for the verb *relish*, the expression *as I did* was also identified as an implicit metaphor representing the conceptual metaphor: INFORMATION IS FOOD. In the isiXhosa version, this expression is rendered explicitly by using the same word as its antecedent, *ukuthanda* in *ngohlobo endiwathanda ngalo*. The phrase is not related to metaphor like its antecedent.

Table 4.70: relish > *ukukhonza*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 509): I think Walter was the only man on Robben Island who **relished** newspapers as much as I **did**.	(p. 392): *Ngicabanga ukuthi uWalter nguyena kuphela laphayana eRobben island **owayekhonze** amaphephandaba **njengami**.*

The basic meaning of *ukukhonza* has to do with 'paying homage, paying respect to, subject oneself to, serve' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary* sense 1). The literal meaning of *ukukhonza* is different from that of *relish*, but its figurative meaning is the same. The figurative meaning relates to how much Walter and Mandela loved reading newspapers. *Relished* was identified as a metaphor-related word, summoning the conceptual metaphor: INFORMATION IS FOOD. *Ukukhonza* evokes a different conceptual metaphor: TO LOVE SOMETHING IS TO WORSHIP IT. The expression that substitutes for *relish* in the ST was translated as *njengami* (like me) in TT2, which is not exactly the same as in the SL. In TT2 a

simile is introduced and MIPVU stipulates that, when a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, it should be marked as a metaphor flag (M-flag) (par. 3.4.1. step 5). *Njengami* therefore is an example of an M-flag replacing *ukukhonza* and it summons the same conceptual metaphor.

This is another noteworthy case in point where the translators handled the translation of the SL word differently. In isiXhosa *relish* was replaced by the verb *ukuthanda,* which did not arouse any conceptual metaphor, while in isiZulu it was substituted by *ukukhonza*, summoning the worshiping metaphor. *Ukukhonza* is also found in isiXhosa with the same connotation as in isiZulu, but the translator exercised his freedom and instead opted for *ukuthanda* that does not have the same effect.

Table 4.71: wither > *ukuphela*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 510): In the end, Lusaka confirmed the separation of the ANC and the party and the argument eventually **withered** away.	(p. 413): *Ekugqibeleni iLusaka yakuqinisekisa ukwahlulwa kweANC naloo pati, yaba ke ingxoxo **iyaphela** ekugqibeleni.*

In the section above, *withered* was described as a verb that is related to metaphor because in this context it does not refer to plants, but to an argument. It was also found that the underlying conceptual metaphor is: ARGUMENTS ARE PLANTS. In TT1, the verb that replaced '*wither'* is *ukuphela,* which was not used metaphorically. *Ukuphela* means ukufikelela esiphelweni 'to come to an end' (*GDX* 2003): the argument came to an end. This word does not carry the image of a dying plant as the source language word does, but it does convey the meaning that something was brought to an end.

Table 4.72: wither > *ukuphela* in *sekuphelile*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 510): In the end, Lusaka confirmed the separation of the ANC and the party and the argument eventually **withered** away.	*(p. 393): Ekugcineni, iLusaka yakuqinisa ukwehlukana kwe-ANC neqembu leli, ukuphikisana-ke kwagcina **sekuphelile**.*

The verb *wither* was translated into TT2 as *ukuphela* as in TT1, meaning 'to come to an end, get finished, completed' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). Although *ukuphela* conveys the same figurative meaning as *wither*, it is not related to metaphor because there is no distinction between its literal and contextual meaning. Therefore, it is not based on any metaphor.

As we can discern from these two examples, the verb *withered* was rendered as *ukuphela* in both languages. The plant metaphor conveyed by *withered* was not carried over in isiXhosa and isiZulu. The translators selected a neutral word instead.

Table 4.73: uprooted > *zagqugqiswa zaphela*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 521): Our structures had been discovered and **uprooted**;	(p. 421): *Iziseko zokuma kwemibutho yethu zabhaqwa **zagqugqiswa zaphela**;*

The verb *uprooted* was transferred as *zagqugqiswa zaphela* in the TT1. *Ukugqugqisa* means ukwenza into ngokupheleleyo, ngokufezekileyo 'to give your best in what you do' and *ukuphela* means to 'get finished' as illustrated above (*GDX* 1989, 2003). To uproot a plant is to pull it from the ground with its roots, giving it no chance to grow again. This meaning is not found in *zagqugqishwa zaphela*. The contextual meaning is about destroying the ANC structures so that they do not exist anymore. As discussed in the metaphor identification section (par.4.1.1.5), this verb summons the conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. *Zagqugqiswa zaphela* means the government authorities did their best to wipe out ANC structures. *Zaphela* means they were finished. *Zagqugqiswa zaphela* is not a metaphorical expression and therefore does not evoke any conceptual metaphor although it conveys the same figurative meaning as *uprooted*.

Table 4.74: uprooted > *ukusiphula*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 521): Our structures had been discovered and **uprooted**;	(p. 401): *Izinhlaka zethu zase zibhadanyiwe **zasishulwa**;*

The literal meaning of *ukusiphula* is u*kudonsa ukhiphe ngenkani noma ukhiphe nezimpande* 'to pull up by the roots' (*Isichazamazwi sesiZulu*; *English-Zulu-Zulu-*

English dictionary), which is the same as that of *uprooted*. The contextual meaning is about destroying the ANC structures by arresting its members. *Ukusiphula* was therefore used as a metaphor because it relates to people. The figurative meaning corresponds with that of *uprooted*. Both words invoke the same conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

The verb *uprooted* was translated as a paraphrase in isiXhosa, and does not express the plant metaphor that is suggested by the SL word. In isiZulu, it was transferred as a metaphor-related word, which communicated the same conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. The isiZulu translator therefore kept the image and effect of the metaphor of the source text. The individuality and creativity of translators are displayed once again.

Table 4.75: take out > *ukufunda;* **break down >** *ukoyisakala*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 540): What I **took out** of them was that character was measured by facing up to difficult situations and that a hero was a man who would not **break down.**	(p. 437): *Into **endayifundayo** kuyo kukuba isimo somntu sibonwa ngokumelana kwakhe neemeko ezinzima nokuthi iqhawe yindoda engasayi kuze **yoyisakale** naphantsi kwezona meko zinzima.*

As discussed above the phrasal verb *took out* was identified as an example of a container metaphor, where the human body is perceived as a container out of which something is taken. In this case, a lesson about character is taken out. In the isiXhosa version *took out* was translated as *endayifundayo:* 'which I learnt'. The literal meaning of *ukufunda* is *ukulesa, ukulesesha* (sense 2 *GDX* 2003). *Ukufunda* in this context is on an abstract level because it does not involve getting information from reading a book, but refers to a moral lesson about human character. In this sense *endayifundayo* is related to metaphor although it does not correspond with the PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS metaphor underlying *took out*. The conceptual metaphor that can be induced from this verb is a moral metaphor: EXPERIENCES ARE LESSONS.

The second phrasal verb was identified as a metaphor in this sentence, *break down* was rendered as *yoyisakale* in isiXhosa. *Break down* was identified as metaphor-related because the expression refers to human beings and not to

machines. It is machines that break down, which is the literal meaning of the phrase. The meaning of the figurative expression is that heroes never give in or yield to pressure. The conceptual metaphor that corresponds with this expression is: PEOPLE ARE MACHINES. *Ukoyisakala* means to be defeated or unable to cope with a situation. This verb is not related to metaphor and therefore does not correspond with the conceptual metaphor underlying its source language equivalent.

Table 4.76: took out > *fumana* in *engayifumana*; break down > *ukuphoqoka* in *eyayingaphoqoki*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 540): What I **took out** of them was that character was measured by facing up to difficult situations and that a hero was a man who would not **break down.**	(p. 416-7): *Into* **engayifumana** *kuyona ukuthi ubunjalo bomuntu babuye bulinganiswe ngokuthi ubhekana kanjani nezimo ezilukhuni, ngathola nokuthi iqhawe langempela yindoda* **eyayingaphoqoki** *ngisho ngabe izimo zase zixake kanjani.*

The phrasal verb *took out* was identified as an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor: THE HUMAN MIND IS A CONTAINER, from which we take out ideas. *Ukufumana* means *ukuthola* 'to find, come across' (sense 2 *English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary; Isichazamazwi sesiZulu sense 2*). The literal meaning and the contextual meaning are the same, but since the contextual meaning relates to an abstract entity, ideas, the basic meaning and the contextual meaning can be compared. In this sense, *ukufumana* was used metaphorically. The literal meaning does not imply taking out something from a container, like *took out*. Therefore, *ukufumana* does not invoke the same conceptual metaphor although it has the same figurative meaning. It invokes the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE OBJECTS.

The phrasal verb *break down* was transferred as *ukuphoqoka* which means to 'break into two' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*). When a machine breaks down, for example a car, it cannot function. Also, if something breaks down it separates into parts. In this sense, *ukuphoqoka* has the same literal meaning as *break down*. The contextual meaning relates to human beings and not machines or brittle objects, hence we can say *ukuphoqoka* was used as a metaphor. The figurative meaning of *ukuphoqoka* and *break down* is the same because both refer

to the strong character of a person. The conceptual metaphor underlying these expressions is: HUMANS ARE MACHINES OR BRITTLE OBJECTS.

Unlike in the previous example discussed above, the phrasal verb *took out* was reproduced as *ukufunda* in TT1 and *ukufumana* in TT2. The container metaphor was not transferred to the target languages. *Ukufunda* communicates the metaphor: EXPERIENCES ARE LESSONS while *ukufumana* does not infer any conceptual metaphor. The second phrasal verb *break down* was replaced by a non-metaphor in TT1, *ukoyisakala* and by a metaphor in TT2 *ukuphoqoka*. *Ukuphoqoka* summoned a different conceptual metaphor from its counterpart, which is: PEOPLE ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS OR THE MIND IS A MACHINE.

Table 4.77: peel away > *kusuke*

Ø > *irhorho* (*ingabi yile rhorho bacinga ukuba yiyo*)

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 542): I wanted to demystify the ANC for them, to **peel away** their prejudices.	*(p. 439): Ndandifuna ukuyiveza ngobunjalo bayo iANC kubo, ingabi yile **rhorho** bacinga ukuba yiyo, **kusuke** nezi zinto bazicingayo zingenjalo ngayo.*

To *peel away* something is to take the skin off, usually the skin from a fruit or vegetable (*English-Xhosa Dictionary*). The isiXhosa equivalent of this word is *ukuxobula* which conveys exactly the same meaning. In this context, *peel away* means to remove the bias or preconceptions people have about the ANC. The phrasal verb *peel away* was thus identified as a metaphor-related word invoking the conceptual metaphor: IDEAS ARE FOOD. In TT1, *peel away* was translated as *kusuke* which is derived from the verb *ukususa*. *Ukususa* means *ukuyithabatha into apha uyibeke kwenye indawo* 'to remove a person or a thing from a place by physical means' (*GDX* 1989). *Ukusuka* means 'to come off'. In this situation it means the prejudices will be erased from people's minds. *Kusuke* in this sense is related to metaphor because it refers to an abstract entity. It represents the conceptual metaphor: IDEAS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE REMOVED. Interesting to note in this example is that the translator added new information using a metaphoric expression where there was none. The clause *ingabi yile rhorho bacinga ukuba yiyo* is added information, qualifying or justifying the reason for demystifying the

ANC. The translator used the noun *irhorho* that was identified as being metaphoric in example 4.27 above. *Irhorho* is a ferocious animal that is used to frighten children in folklore/children stories. In this example, it invokes the conceptual metaphor: ORGANISATIONS ARE ANIMALS.

Table 4.78: peel away > *ukuqondisa*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 542): I wanted to demystify the ANC for them, to **peel away** their prejudices.	(p. 419): *Injongo yami kwakungukuyichaza kahle i-ANC ukuze kungabi yinto eyinkungu nje, ngenzela **ukuqondisa** imibono yabo etshekile.*

Ukuqondisa means ukuchaza 'to enlighten or to explain' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*). Here *ukuqondisa* means to correct a perception that is wrong to obtain a form of enlightenment. The distinction between the literal meaning and the contextual meaning is fuzzy. Since the verb relates to an abstract entity, ideas, it will be classified as being figurative. The literal meaning is different from the literal meaning of *peel away*. The figurative meaning is related since it has to do with teaching a lesson. Nevertheless, *ukuqondisa* does not invoke the same food conceptual metaphor as *peel away*, but suggests the metaphor: IDEAS ARE LESSONS.

As the examples illustrate *peel away* was treated differently in TT1 and TT2. In TT1, it was substituted by *ukusuka* that summoned the metaphor: IDEAS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE REMOVED. In TT2, it was replaced by *ukuqondisa* suggesting a lesson metaphor. More exciting to note in the TT1 example is the addition of new information, the use of the phrase *ingabi yile rhorho bacinga ukuba yiyo.* As mentioned above, the noun *irhorho* refers to the ANC and evokes the metaphor: ORGANISATIONS ARE ANIMALS. This is another interesting case of decision-making in the translation process.

Table 4.79: conceived > *ukusungula* in *wawusungulwe*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 602): The idea had been **conceived** in Lusaka by Oliver Tambo and the ANC, and the campaign was the cornerstone of a new strategy that would put our cause in the forefront of people's minds.	(p. 491): *Loo mcamango **wawusungulwe** eLusaka nguOliver neANC, yaye elo phulo yayililitye elitsha lembombo lenkqubo entsha eyayiza kuwubeka kumaqondo aphambili umzabalazo wethu ezingqondweni zabantu.*

The SL verb *conceived* means to conceive a seed or offspring, and was translated as *wawusungulwe*. *Ukusungula* does not have the same literal meaning as *conceive*; it means to make a start or to commence something (*GDX* 1989). The figurative meaning of *conceive* in this context has to do with planning or formulating an idea. This meaning corresponds with the meaning of *wawusungulwe*. The conceptual metaphor summoned by the use of these words is: IDEAS ARE PEOPLE.

Table 4.80: conceive > *ukusungula* in *wawusunguleke*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 602): The idea had been **conceived** in Lusaka by Oliver Tambo and the ANC.	(p. 471): *Lo mqondo **wawusunguleke** eLusaka usungulwa nguOliver Tambo nabe-ANC*

Conceive was identified as a being used as a metaphor in 4.1 and its counterpart in isiZulu is *ukusungula*. The literal meaning of *ukusungula* is *ukuqala into ebikade ingekho* 'to initiate something' *(Isichazamazwi sesiZulu; English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary)*. This meaning is different from the literal meaning of *conceive,* which is to become pregnant. The contextual meaning of *ukusungula* is the same as the literal meaning ensuring that this word is not metaphor-related. Notwithstanding, it conveys the same meaning as the figurative meaning of the verb *conceived*. Since *ukusungula* is not related to metaphor, it is not based on any conceptual metaphor.

The translation of the verb *conceived* as *ukusungula* in both isiXhosa and isiZulu illustrates the link between these languages. *Ukusungula* has the same meaning in both languages and it is interesting to note that the translators opted for the same word.

Table 4.81: drift (drifted) > *ukungena* in *sangena*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 569): One morning after breakfast, Kathy, Walter, Eddie Daniels and I **drifted** over to the garden at the southern end of the courtyard where we appeared to be having a political discussion.	(p. 462): *Ngenye intsasa emva kwesidlo sakusasa, uKathy, uWalter, uEddie Daniels nam **sangena** apho esitiyeni kwicala elingasezantsi leyadi apho senza ngathi siqhuba ingxoxo yezopolitiko.*

The verb *drifted* was replaced by the verb *ukungena* which literally means *ukuya kutsho ngaphakathi kwindawo evulekileyo okanye ebiyelweyo* 'to go in, into enter through an opening e.g. door, gate enclosure room etc.' (*GDX* 2003) This meaning is different from the literal meaning of the verb to *drift*, that is, to be pushed along by the movement of air or water. The figurative meaning is about Mandela and his colleague walking in the garden where they seemed to be in deep conversation. In fact, they were looking for a perfect spot to hide the manuscript of the book Mandela was writing, the book that is explored in this study, the *Long Walk to Freedom*. The figurative meaning of *ukungena* is the same as that of *drifted*. Although the meaning of these words is the same, the conceptual metaphor underlying the expressions is different. *Drifted* evokes the metaphor: PURPOSEFUL ACTIONS ARE JOURNEYS, while *ukungena* summons the metaphor: LAND IS A CONTAINER. It is not uncommon to hear the expression 'ukungena entsimini' entering the fields, among the isiXhosa speaking people in the rural areas when they refer to going to work in the fields or in the garden. The idea of going into a bounded space suggests a container hence the field or the land is conceptualised as a container (Kövecses 2010).

Table 4.82: drifted > *sahambela*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 569): One morning after breakfast, Kathy, Walter, Eddie Daniels and I **drifted** over to the garden at the southern end of the courtyard where we appeared to be having a political discussion.	(p. 442): *Ekuseni ngelinye ilanga ngemva kokudla kwasekuseni, uKathy, uWalter, u-Eddie Daniels Kanye name **sahambela** engadini engaseningizimu nebala lapho kwaba sengathi sinengxoxo yezepolitiki.*

In isiZulu *drifted* was rendered as *ukuhambela* meaning *ukuvakashela indawo noma abantu* 'to travel towards, or visit' *(Isichazamazwi sesiZulu; English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*). The literal meaning of *ukuhambela* is different from the literal meaning of *drifted*. The figurative meaning is the same, that is, about Mandela and his friend walking in the garden purposefully looking for a spot to hide the manuscript. *Drifted* and *ukuhambela* arouse the same conceptual metaphor, that is PURPOSEFUL ACTIONS ARE JOURNEYS.

In comparing the two translations, it was found that *ukungena* invokes a different image from *ukuhambela* although the contextual meaning was the same. It can be argued that the choice of *ukungena* by the TT1 translator was culturally motivated.

Table 4.83: won > *ukuphumelela*; small battles > *amadatyana*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 536): We had **won a host of small battles** that added up to a change in the atmosphere of the island.	(p. 433): ***Sasiphumelele*** *inyambalala* ***yamadatyana*** *amancinci awathi enza inguqulelo kubudlelwane obulapho esiqithini.*

Ukuphumelela was selected to replace *win* (past tense) in isiXhosa. *Ukuphumelela* means to succeed in doing something. The literal meaning of *ukuphumelela* is similar to the meaning of *win* in as far as succeeding in doing something. According to the *Macmillan Dictionary* winning is about achieving victory in a war or battle. *Ukuphumelela* on the other hand does not hint anything about war or fighting. According to *GDX* (2003) *ukuphumelela* means to succeed, be successful in education. The contextual meaning is about gains made in their struggles on the island that culminated in the change of atmosphere. The prison authorities had yielded to some of their demands. The small battles that are mentioned in the source text are the demands they put to the authorities, like long trousers, permission to study, etc. The noun *battle* was also used figuratively because it did not refer to physical fighting. The noun *amadatyana* is a substitute for small battles and it bears the same literal meaning and figurative meaning as *small battles*. It also summons the same conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

Table 4.84: won > *ukunqoba*; battles > *izimpi*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 536): We had **won a host of small battles** that added up to a change in the atmosphere of the island.	(p. 413): *Ziningi* ***izimpi ezincane esase*** ***sizinqobile*** *ezazidale ukuba kube khona ukuguquka komoya nje esiqhingini lapha.*

Ukunqoba is the isiZulu substitute for *win,* means defeating, conquering or overpowering (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*). The contextual meaning is about overcoming the challenges Mandela and others faced in prison, like fighting for the right to decent food, clothing (long trousers), studying, etc. Demanding

these was like fighting a battle. The noun *battle* was replaced by *izimpi* that has exactly the same meaning as *battle* (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary sense two*). Unlike *ukuphumelela*, *ukunqoba* conveys the same meaning and effect as the expression in the source text. *Ukunqoba* and *izimpi* also summon the conceptual metaphor: POLITICS IS WAR.

The verb *win* (past) was rendered as *ukuphumelela* in isiXhosa and *ukunqoba* in isiZulu as illustrated in the examples. *Ukuphumelela* is not metaphor-related and does not have the same effect as *ukunqoba* in that it does not convey the idea of coming home victoriously yet there is loss of life involved. It also does not summon a conceptual metaphor. *Ukunqoba* on the other hand is metaphor-related and it infers the same metaphor as its SL counterpart, that is, POLITICS IS WAR. *Amadatyana* and *izimpi* are substitutes for *battles* and are metaphor-related, since they do refer to fighting on an abstract level and they also summon the war metaphor.

Table 4.85: rekindle > *ukuvuselela* in *lawavuselela*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 603): The campaign for our release **rekindled** our hopes.	(p. 491): Iphulo lokuba masikhululwe **lawavuselela** ngokutsha amathemba ethu.

The verb *rekindled* was identified as a metaphor-related word that summons the conceptual metaphor: EMOTION IS FIRE or HOPE IS FIRE since the emotion that is being revived is hope. This word was replaced by *ukuvuselela* in isiXhosa, which means 'to revive, imbue with a new spirit' (*GDX* 1989). The literal meaning is different from that of *rekindle*, but the contextual meaning is similar to the figurative meaning. The figurative meaning is about the spirit of Mandela and his colleagues being revived by the fact that people outside had not forgotten about them. The ANC in Lusaka was calling for their release. *Ukuvuselela* does not summon any conceptual metaphor because it is not a metaphor-related word like *rekindle*.

Table 4.86: rekindle > *ukokhela* in *wokhela*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 603): The campaign for our release **rekindled** our hopes.	*(p. 471): Umkhankaso wokukhululwa kwethu **wokhela** ithemba elisha kithi.*

Ukokhela was selected to replace *rekindle* in isiZulu and it means to 'transfer fire to start another or to set alight' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English dictionary*). *Ukokhela* corresponds with *rekindle* in the sense that both have to do with starting a fire again. The figurative meaning is also the same because both relate to the spirit of Mandela and company being revitalised. *Ukokhela* also summons the same conceptual metaphor: EMOTION IS FIRE; HOPE IS FIRE.

What we see here are two different translation strategies, that is, translation by a neutral word or paraphrase in the case of TT1 and translation by the same metaphor in TT2. *Ukuvuselela* conveys the same meaning as *rekindle* but is not metaphor-related. *Ukokhela,* however, suggests starting a fire hence its use is metaphoric in this context. Like its SL equivalent it invokes the EMOTION IS FIRE metaphor. The isiZulu translator thus was more inclined towards the source text than the isiXhosa translator.

Table 4.87: erupting > *ukuvumbuluka* in *wavumbuluka*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 576): My comrades and I were enormously cheered; the spirit of mass protest that had seemed dormant during the 1960s was **erupting** in the 1970s.	*(p. 467): Amaqabane am kunye nam satsho savuseleleka kakhulu emixhelweni; umoya wokuvakalisa inkcaso okwenziwa zizihlwele owawukhangeleka ngathi uthothe kwathi nya kwiminyaka yoo-1960 iphela, wawuphinde* **wavumbuluka** *ngoo-1970.*

The verb *erupt* has to do with exploding from inside like a volcano. This word was transferred as *ukuvumbuluka* in isiXhosa, meaning 'to suddenly appear from hiding or underneath' (*GDX* 1989). The contextual meaning is about the re-emergence of the spirit of resistance and activism in the 1970s after a period of lull that followed the imprisonment of Mandela. This meaning corresponds with the figurative meaning of *erupting* in the ST which refers to the 1976 student uprising. When this occurred, it was like the country had exploded. *Ukuvumbuluka* in this sense, like *erupt*, was used as a metaphor referring to actions of people. Both verbs are based on the conceptual metaphor ACTION IS A NATURAL FORCE.

Table 4.88: erupting > *ukuvuka*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 576): My comrades and I were enormously cheered; the spirit of mass protest that had seemed dormant during the 1960s was **erupting** in the 1970s.	*(p. 447): Mina namakhonredi ami sezwa sikhuthazeka ngempela; ngawo-1970 wase* **uvaka** *futhi umoya wokubhikisha koquqaba okwakusengathi usulele ngeminyaka yawo-1960.*

In TT2, *erupt* was replaced by *ukuvuka*, meaning to wake up or rise (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). Although the literal meaning of *ukuvuka* is different from that of *erupt*, the figurative meaning is similar. *Ukuvuka* implies that somebody was sleeping before he woke up just like the volcano is quiet before it explodes or erupts. This is also suggested by the use of *dormant* in ST. The conceptual metaphor summoned by *ukuvuka* is: ACTIONS ARE PEOPLE. It is different to the metaphor: ACTION IS A NATURAL FORCE, underlying the verb *erupt*.

Although *ukuvumbuluka* and *ukuvuka* have the same figurative meaning, the effect of the expression is not the same. *Ukuvumbuluka* suggests a kind of power or force involved, whereas *ukuvuka* does not, hence one can argue that *ukuvumbuluka* is closer to *erupt* than *ukuvuka*. The translator had a choice to select the verb *ukuvumbuluka* because it does occur in TT2 and it means to rise suddenly, but he preferred *ukuvuka* instead. *Ukuvuka* lacks the property of suddeness conveyed by *ukuvumbuluka*. This shows again that translators are individuals who assign different interpretations to the same word, depending on how they conceptualise that word at the time.

Table 4.89: breed > *uhlobo*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 576): These young men were a different **breed** of prisoner from those we had seen before.	(p. 468): *Aba bantu batsha* **babeluhlobo** *olwahlukileyo lwebanjwa esasingazange silubone ngaphambili.*

The noun *breed* was defined as referring to a group of animals that have particular characteristics that make them different from other species (par.4.3.3 example 49). *Breed* was replaced by *uhlobo* in isiXhosa, a word that is given as its equivalent in the *English-Xhosa Dictionary*. *Uhlobo* in isiXhosa can refer to people, animals and

things. This is a general word that is not related to metaphor and is not based on any conceptual metaphor.

Table 4.90: breed > *uhlobo*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 576): These young men were a different **breed** of prisoner from those we had seen before.	(p. 448): *Lezi zinsizwa kwakuyiziboshwa* **zohlobo** *olwehlukile nje kulolo esasike salubona ngaphambili.*

The noun *breed* was translated as *uhlobo* in isiZulu as well. As in isiXhosa, this word means a kind or species that differentiates it from the other (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). It can refer to anything: plants, animals, people objects, etc. The basic meaning of *breed* relates to animals that have particular characteristics. In this context *breed* was used a metaphor-related word because it was used to refer to people. As a metaphor-related word, it summons the conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS that is not conveyed by the word *uhlobo*.

Table 4.91: turned > *ukuphethuka* **in** *zaphethukela*

Source text	Target text 1
(p. 605) As I grew older, my thoughts **turned** more and more often to the green hills of the Transkei.	(p. 493): *Ndithe njengokuba ndisiya ndiba mdala, iingcinga zam* **zaphethukela** *ngakumbi nangakumbi kwezo ntaba ziluhlaza zaseTranske*i.

The noun *turned* was replaced by *ukuphethuka* in TT1, meaning *ukujika, ukuguquka ujonge kwelinye* icala 'to turn or look the other side' (*GDX* 2003). The contextual meaning is about Mandela thinking more and more about his home in the Transkei. The basic and figurative meaning of *ukuphethuka* is the same as that of *turned*. *Ukuphethuka* in this context is used as a metaphor because it relates to abstract thoughts, while the basic meaning is more concrete because it is about the body physically turning or changing direction. In this sense, *ukuphethuka* infers the IDEAS ARE MOVING OBJECTS metaphor.

Table 4.92: turned > *ukuphenduka* in *ukuphendukela*

Source text	Target text 2
(p. 605) As I grew older, my thoughts **turned** more and more often to the green hills of the Transkei.	(p. 473) *Kwathi lapho ngiqhubela ngikhula, umqondo wami waqhubela* **nokuphendukela** *emagqumeni aluhlaza aseTranskei.*

In isiZulu, *turn* was transferred as *ukuphenduka*, meaning 'to turn, turn over, turn back, or turn round' (*English-Zulu-Zulu-English Dictionary*). The basic and contextual meaning of *ukuphenduka* is the same as that of the SL word. *Ukuphendukela* was used as a metaphor because the verb relates to an abstract entity and it invokes the metaphor: IDEAS ARE MOVING OBJECTS.

When comparing the TT1 and TT2 words, we find that the translators opted for words with similar basic meanings that infer the same conceptual metaphor. In this example, *turn* was rendered by a word with a similar literal and figurative meaning, based on the same conceptual metaphor in both target languages.

4.5   Conclusion

In 4.2 above the results yielded by the alignment of the texts were presented in detail. ParaConc concordancer proved to be a very useful tool for searching for key words and determining their frequency and distribution in the ST and TTs. These results were illustrated by means of graphs and figures. In the following sections I comment on the identification process, translation strategies and decision-making and style of the translators.

4.5.1   Metaphor Identification

Of the 66 metaphor-related words that were found in the ST, 50 were transferred as such in TT1 and 19 as non-metaphor-related words giving a total of 68 metaphors. The two extra metaphors are a result of the new MRWs that were introduced by the translator. Of these, 32 were structural metaphors, 11 ontological and only six were orientational metaphors. In TT2, 54 were rendered as metaphors, and 13 were paraphrased. There were 37 structural metaphors, 10

ontological and seven orientational. The table below illustrates how the metaphors were translated from SL into TT1 and TT2.

	English	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu
Structural	45	32	37
Ontological	14	11	10
Orientational	7	6	7
Non-metaphor	-	19	13
Total	66	68	67

Table 4.93 Showing types and number of metaphors

Graphically this can be illustrated as follows:
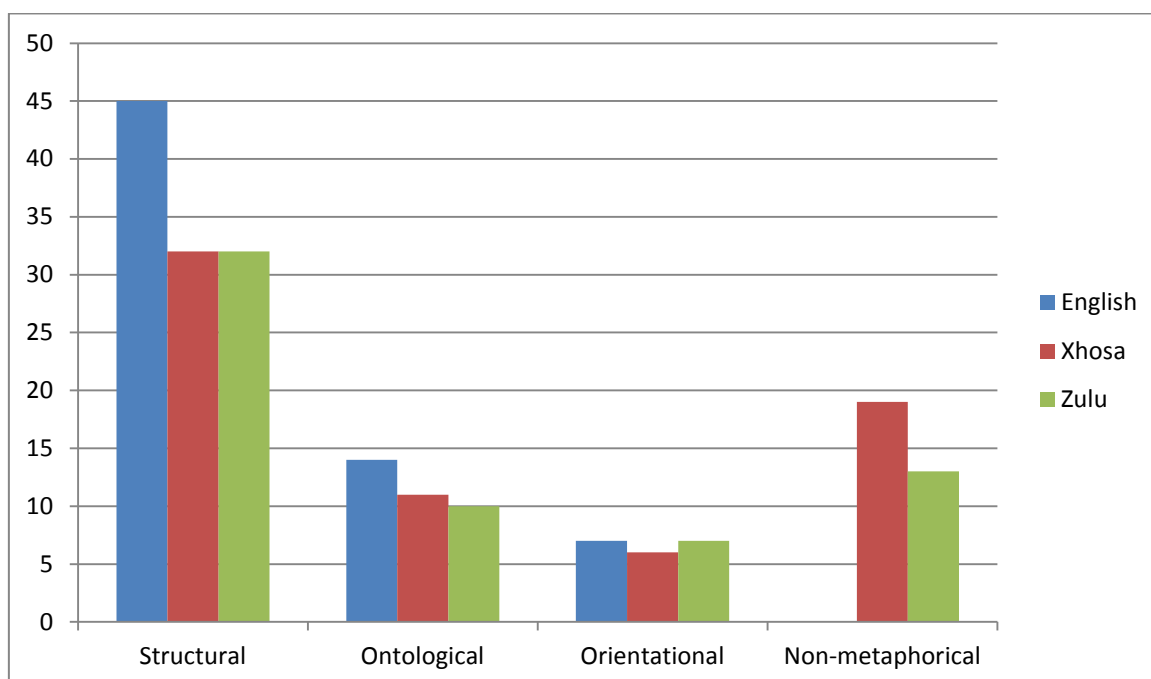
Graph 4.10 Showing conceptual metaphors identified in all three texts

What was interesting to note is the fact that MIPVU can be applied to Afircan languages although it was designed primarily for English, but it needs to be modified. For example, in Table 4.70 *njengami* 'like me' was identified as an M-flag that corresponds with *ukukhonza*. The morpheme *njenga-* in *njengami* which is a morpheme that stands for 'like' in English cannot be treated independently. It is the word and not the morpheme that is viewed as being metaphor-related.

4.5.2 Translation strategies and decision-making

The analysis of the translation strategies employed by isiXhosa and isiZulu translators has yielded interesting results. The following are the findings:

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning, based on a particular conceptual metaphor, was rendered by a word with the same basic meaning and figurative meaning based on the same corresponding conceptual metaphor in both TTs. For example, the verb *bark* was transferred as *ukukhonkotha* in both languages (cf. table 4.3 and table 4.4) and this verb reveals the same conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS that is invoked by the source word. Another example is the word *fight* that was rendered as *ukulwa/umlo* in both languages (cf. table 4.5 and table 4.6). These words convey the same basic and figurative meaning and they invoke the same conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR. Other examples: slows down> liyacotha, lihamba kancane (tables 4.9 and 4.10); raise > ukuphakamisa (table 4.15 and table 4.16)

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor, was rendered by a word with the same basic meaning and figurative meaning, based on the same conceptual metaphor in one language, and by a word with a different basic meaning but the same figurative meaning, based on a different conceptual metaphor in another language. An example of this case is illustrated by table 4.1 and table 4.2 where the SL word *rattling* was rendered as *ukukhenkcenza* in *yayisakhenkceza* in TT1 and as *kuzulazula* in TT2. *Ukukhenkceza* summons a container metaphor while *ukuzulazula* invokes a journey metaphor.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by a word with a different literal meaning but the same figurative meaning, based on a different conceptual metaphor in both languages. This was illustrated by means of table 4.7 and 4.8 where *restrained* was rendered as *ukuthintela in yathintelwa* in TT1 and *ukuvimbela in ngavinjelwa* in TT2. These words summoned the metaphor CONTROLLING IS HOLDING while the SL word invoked the metaphor PEOPLE ARE CAPTIVE ANIMALS.

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- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by a word with a different literal meaning but the same figurative meaning, based on the same conceptual metaphor in both languages. This is illustrated in tables 4.47 and 4.48 where the verb *passed* was rendered as *ukubhabha* (to fly) in *liyabhabha* (TT1) and *ukundiza* (to fly) in *sandiza* (TT2), which summon the same conceptual metaphor as *passed*.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by a word in the TL that is metaphor-related plus an ideophone with the same basic meaning and figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor. This was observed in TT1 (cf. table 4.21) where the adjective *full* was transferred as an adjective plus ideophone *ukuzala vingci* in *unokuzala vingci*. The ideophone is *vingci*. The use of ideophones could be viewed in the light of or as a perfect way of retaining the effect or power of the metaphor as Dagut (1976) and Van den Broeck (1981) would recommend since they appeal to the senses of the audience.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by a word in the TL that is metaphor-related plus an ideophone with a different basic meaning but the same figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor. An example of this is found in TT2 table 4.14 where *stamping out* was transferred as *kususwe nya*. The ideophone is *nya*.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by an ideophone that has a different basic meaning but the same figurative meaning but not based on a conceptual metaphor in one TL and as an ordinary word, a non-metaphor, in another TL. An example of this case is illustrated by table 4.57 where the verb *plucked* was rendered as *ukuthi xhakamfu* (*wandithi xhakamfu*), an ideophone in TT1, and as *ukuthinta* in *wangithinta* in TT2. Ideophones enrich or augment the image created by the metaphor, whether they are used alone or with metaphors.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by a word that is not

metaphor-related in both target languages. This is illustrated by table 4.79 and 4.80 where the verb *conceived* was translated as the verb *ukusungula* in both languages.

- Where there was nothing in the SL, a word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a corresponding conceptual metaphor was introduced or added. This added information was used to enhance the meaning of the metaphor preceding or following it. In TT1 this is found in table 4.24, which illustrates the translation of the noun *ogres* into *iirhorho namagongqongqo*. *Iirhorho* is a new word that was introduced in the expression to emphasize the cruel nature of the warders. *Iirhorho* and *amagongqongqo* summon the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. Another similar case is illustrated by table 4.77 where the translator had added the phrase *ingabi yile rhorho bacinga ukuba yiyo* (so that it is not what they think it is). *Irhorho* is the new metaphor-related word. In TT2 this is found in table 4.28 where the translator paraphrased the MRW *theorist* as *indoda ekwazi ukwakha amathiyori* (literally 'a man who can build theories') adding a new word *ukwakha* in the process.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was transferred as an idiom, that is, an explicit or a direct metaphor in one language and as a non-metaphor in another language. This was found in TT1 table 4.35, which illustrates the translation of the verb *eliminate* as *ukucima igama* (lit. to erase the name), an idiomatic expression meaning to kill. In TT2 *eliminate* was rendered as a paraphrase *ngibulawe*. Another case in point is illustrated in TT2 table 4.44 where the adjective *down* is expressed as *engashonisa phansi,* an idiomatic expression. In TT1 *down* was rendered as a non-metaphoric word *ukudamba* that means to be sad. This is not uncommon, as Waldau (2010) also observed in the study she conducted on the translation of metaphors in children's books.

The following section presents the summary of the translation shifts that were observed and hint at the style of the translators.

4.5.3   The translation shifts and the translator's style

The alignment of ST with its TTs made it possible to identify the grammatical and category shifts that occurred during translation. When contrasting isiXhosa and isiZulu translations, it was observed that in some cases the translators selected the same words for the SL word, for example, *ukukhonkotha* (tables 4.3 and 4.4) *ukukhula* for *grown* (tables 4.33 and 4.34); *ukusungula* for the verb *conceived* (tables 4.79 and 4.80*); ukulangazelela* for the verb *hunger* (tables 4.65 and 4.66) and so on. Their choices also indicate that they conceptualized the metaphor in the same way. There are cases where they used different words with the same meaning, such as example 4.31 *ukufilisha* (the process of negotiations for the bride) in TT1 and 4.32 *ukukhonga* (the process of negotiations for the bride) in TT2 for the verb *courting*; *ukufutha* (to let out steam) and *ukubila* (to boil) for *fuming*. As can be seen, these words are different but they are closely related in that *ukufutha* means to emit fumes or let out steam, which occurs when something is boiling (*ukubila*). All these examples evoked the same conceptual metaphor in both languages. This is not surprising when considering the fact that the two languages are related. It can be mentioned, however, that *courting* has not been lexicalised in the two languages yet because it is foreign in African culture. It is not surprising therefore that the translators opted for *ukufilisha* and *ukukhonga*. It can be argued thus that the choice of these words was culturally motivated.

There were cases where the translators opted for different words with different meanings, for example 4.17 *iqonga* (stage) in TT1 and 4.18 *inkundla* (court) in TT2 for *arena*. The isiXhosa translator was more inclined to the ST than the isiZulu translator who conceptualized the word culturally. Another example that illustrates a case where languages share a conceptual metaphor but expresses it in various ways linguistically is TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor. In the ST this metaphor is expressed through the use of the verb *passed* whereas in isiXhosa and isiZulu the translators chose the verbs *ukubhabha* (*liyabhabha*) and *ukundiza* (*sandiza*) which mean to fly. The translators could have selected *ukudlula,* an exact equivalent of *to pass*, but preferred to be creative instead. What is interesting here is the choice of a word with the same literal and figurative meaning and the same conceptual metaphor.

There are occurrences where an expression in the SL was conceptualized differently in the target languages as a result of which the translators selected different words that have different meanings. This confirms Kurth's argument (in Fernández 2013: 169) that the "SL metaphors may trigger associations in the translator that differ from the ones activated in the ST". For example, the lexical unit *prey* was rendered as *isisulu* in TT1 (table 4.67) and as *ukudlala in* TT2 (table 4.68). *Isisulu* is a noun meaning anything that is obtained easily or free of charge. It is usually used to refer to an item that is sold at a very low price or that is given free of charge, or a person who has a weak character. *Ukudlala* on the other hand is a verb meaning to play. It was used in a context where it means to play with, suggesting that the referent is a weaker party and can be easily taken advantage of. Although conceptualization is different, the implicature is the same. It can be highlighted that this is a case of the translators' creativity and individuality because they could have rendered *prey* as *ixhoba* in isiXhosa and *isilo* in isiZulu, which are words that are commonly used. In this example we also see a grammatical shift, where the noun *prey* in ST was rendered as a verb *ukudlala* (to play) in *badlale* in TT2. Another example with this kind of shift is illustrated in table 4.64 where the noun *struggle* was transferred as a verb *ukuzabalaza* in TT2. Another interesting example is the rendering of *the master builder* as *nguyena ngqondongqondo ekubumbeni* (he is the master mind in bulding) (cf. table 4.28). The translator shifted from the noun *builder* to the verb *ukubumba* in *ekubumbeni* (in moulding), describing what a builder does, although he used another word *ukubumba* (to mould) instead of *ukwakha* (to build).

It sometimes happens that the structural differences between the languages force the translator to not follow the structure of the SL. The sentence by sentence alignment also made it possible to notice the sentence structure variation between the languages. For example one complex sentence in SL was rendered the same in TT1 but was simplified into two sentences in TT2. Changes or shifts such as these form part of the decisions the translator has to make when translating. Here is one example:

SL: The warders provided us with sandwiches and cold drinks and Lieutenant van Wyk was perched in the back with us.

TT1: *Abagcini-mabanjwa basinika amaqebengwana ezonka kunye neziselo ezibandayo yaye uLeftenenti Van Wyck wayethe ngcu apha ngasemva kunye nathi*. (The prison warders gave us sandwiches and cold drinks and Lieutenant van Wyk was perched in the back with us.)

TT2: *Oojele basinika amasameshi kanye neziphuzo ezibandayo. ULeftenenti van Wyck yena wayehleli ethi chwa ngemuva kanye nathi*. (The prison warders gave us sandwiches and cold drinks. Lieutenant van Wyk was perched in the back with us.)

As the examples illustrate, the majority of the lexical items that were selected by both translators had the same meaning and evoked the same conceptual metaphor. The varied strategies adopted by the translators are evidence of their competence in their respective languages and the skill they possess as translators. The choice of lexical items by the translators also proves that human thoughts are metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a). They also show that the translators are individuals with different writing styles. There are cases where one translator translated the source language metaphor as a metaphor while the other translated it as a non-metaphor. Both created a metaphor where there was none in the source text and was located in different contexts. The fact that they were not given a brief as to how they should translate allowed them the freedom to showcase their skills. The translation shifts illustrated above confirm the arguments that translation can be viewed as reconceptualization (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010) or reformulation (Rydning and Lachaud 2010). Rydning and Lachaud (2010: 107) maintain that linguistic formulation is proof of the individual translator's "ability to construct a cognitive configuration". As noted in Chapter 3 (par.3.3.2.3) both translators are writers and professional translators, so it is not surprising that they were able to overcome the challenges they came across. In their reconceptualization process, they produced acceptable translations. In the next chapter, the researcher will conclude the study.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I conclude by restating the aims of the study and commenting on whether they were achieved. In the next sections, I give a summary of the chapters, offer a comment on the contribution of the study and make recommendations for future research. A remark on the limitations of the study is also provided.

5.1 Aims of the study

The main aim of this study was to investigate strategies employed by the isiXhosa and isiZulu translators of Mandela's *Long Walk to Freed*om in a rendering of the conceptual metaphors from English into their respective languages. Before that could be done, it was imperative that the metaphors be identified first in the source text. In exploring the translation procedures it would be possible to say which norms prevailed in the translational act. The second aim was to compare the isiXhosa and isiZulu translations to determine how they were similar or different since these languages belong to the same language family, the Nguni languages. This was done in order to understand the decision-making process and how translators themselves conceptualised the metaphors, which might reflect how speakers of the language conceptualise the metaphors they created. This would also reveal their individual styles of writing.

5.2 Overview of chapters

In Chapter 1 we began by presenting a brief background on the author of the source text that is being interrogated and a synopsis of the text itself, at the same time highlighting the challenges that go with translating an autobiography. The next step was to contextualise the research problem. In the past, metaphors were viewed as ornamental devices that were only useful for literary works. With the advent of conceptual metaphor theory, this perception changed and a lot of research was conducted illustrating that metaphor is pervasive in everyday language. The research done was mostly on European languages, and little was performed on Southern African languages. This research was an attempt to

provide fresh evidence concerning the study of conceptual metaphor and its translation as far as African languages are concerned, and add to the existing literature globally. In the past research concentrated on the translatability of metaphor, some scholars claiming it was impossible to transfer and others arguing that it could be translated. The present study aimed at examining and comparing the translation strategies adopted by the translators in their rendering of the conceptual metaphors from English into isiXhosa and isiZulu. This was done in order to determine how similar or different the languages are and to understand the decision-making process of the translators.

Chapter 2 dealt with the development of translation studies from the linguistic-based approach to the descriptive approach. In the past, translations were viewed with a prescriptive eye in that they were expected to mirror the source text. The fact that languages are structurally different and that culture is embedded in language was not considered. Later, translation scholars realised that translations occur within certain historical, ideological and socio-cultural conditions and therefore it was unreasonable to expect them to be exactly the same as the original. Theorists like Holmes (1978/2000), Even-Zohar (1979) and Toury (1985, 1995) were proponents of this new approach and for them the target text and its readership were the most important components of the equation. Toury (1995), and later Chesterman (1997), introduced the concept of norms to guide the translation process, product and how the translation would function in the community. Another school of thought that developed at almost the same time as the DTS was the functionalist approach. Functionalist theorists like Reis, Vermeer and Nord emphasised the importance of the brief and function of the text. Nord added the principle of loyalty. It is essential to note these theories, because they form part of the theoretical framework for this research.

Since the study adopted the corpus-based approach as its analytical framework, a brief background on corpus-based translation studies was offered. This included a brief discussion about the different types of corpora such as comparable, multilingual and parallel corpora. This study was based on parallel corpora. An overview of research accomplished in CTS in African languages was provided in order to situate the present study since it deals with African languages. CTS afforded a framework for the description of the translation product.

This chapter also provided a synopsis of conceptual metaphor theory as presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) and their supporters since this study involved the translation of conceptual metaphor. It also gave an overview of research accomplished on metaphor globally, noting that there is relatively little research done in African languages. The chapter provided a brief summary of studies showing attempts towards identifying metaphors in corpora. It also sketched research conducted on translation of metaphor. Among others, mention was made of scholars like Dagut (1976 and 1987), Van den Broeck (1981) and Newmark (1988) who are pioneers in metaphor translation. An overview of case studies dealing with the translation of conceptual metaphor was offered.

The analytical framework and research procedures used were presented in Chapter 3, where I explained in detail how metaphors were identified from the source text using MIPVU. After the identification process, the source text was aligned with its target texts using ParaConc, a tool that was developed by Barlow (2001) for interrogating parallel texts. This tool is very useful in searching for words and their equivalents. It is used to determine the frequency and distribution of key words in the texts. All the steps involved in loading, aligning and examining the texts were described in detail. The translation strategies that were identified were also expounded.

The findings and interpretation were explicated in Chapter 4. Although MIPVU was designed primarily to identify linguistic metaphorical expressions, it indirectly identified conceptual metaphors underlying the linguistic expressions. Contrasting the basic and contextual meaning of lexical items made it possible to link and therefore identify the corresponding conceptual metaphors. After applying the MIPVU, 66 metaphors were identified from the source text: 45 structural, 7 orientational and 14 ontological. When the texts were aligned, it was discovered that not all metaphors that were identified in the source text were rendered as such in the target text. For example, in isiXhosa there were 32 structural metaphors, 6 orientational, 11 ontological and 19 were transferred as non-metaphors. In isiZulu there were 37 structural metaphors, 7 orientational, 10 ontological and 13 non-metaphor-related. One of the non-metaphors was an ideophonic expression. Through the use of ParaConc parallel concordancer, it was

possible to search for certain keywords and obtain their frequencies in the corpus. It was observed that some of the words that were identified as metaphor-related occurred more frequently than others in the selected texts. The distribution results showed that the metaphor-related word *fight/fought* occurred four times in one page but thirteen times across the selected texts. There were 40 matches of the word *struggle* that was identified as an indirect MRW. Because of the structure of the African languages, the frequency count of the English words could not equal that of isiXhosa and isiZulu. However, the list of hot words that was generated showed possible translations of the identified words. If these could be considered in the calculations, the results would be different.

In exploring the conceptual metaphors underlying the metaphor-related words, it was interesting to find a variety of these hot words. The following were noted: POLITICS IS WAR, ARGUMENT IS WAR, PEOPLE ARE BUILDINGS, THE MIND IS A CONTAINER, EMOTION IS A BRITTLE OBJECT, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, ORGANISATIONS ARE PLANTS, TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT, CONTROLLING IS HOLDING, IDEAS ARE FOOD OR INFORMATION IS FOOD, CHANGE OF ATTITUDE IS CHANGE OF TEMPERATURE, AFFECTION IS WARMTH, SAD IS DOWN, BETTER IS UP, IDEAS ARE PEOPLE, PEOPLE ARE CAPTIVES, HUMAN MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT, HUMAN ACTIONS ARE BULDINGS, CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING FIRE, CONTROLLING THE SITUATION IS CONTROLLING PEOPLE, CONTROLLING IS CLOSING, BEING STRONG IS UP, OR HAPPY IS UP, ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS A PERSON, THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, BRAVE IS UP OR INCREASE IN SIZE IS INCREASE IN STRENGTH, IDEAS ARE CUTTING INSTRUMENTS, PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS, ACTIONS ARE CONTAINERS / MACHINES, PEOPLE ARE BRETTLE OBJECTS OR THE MIND IS A MACHINE, EXPERIENCE IS A LESSON, ORGANISATIONS ARE ANIMALS, PURPOSEFUL ACTIONS ARE JOURNEYS, HUMAN ACTION IS A NATURAL FORCE, IDEAS ARE MOVING OBJECTS. An observation to make concerning this procedure is that it is useful to second language speakers. The use of dictionaries in determining the meaning of words helps in eliminating misconceptions/human errors.

The translation strategies employed by the translators were discussed based on the framework provided by Kövecses (2003):

a. A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning, based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language, can be transferred as a different word form with the same literal meaning and

the same figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor in another language

b. A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with a different literal meaning but the same figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor in another language.

c. A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with a different literal meaning and the same figurative meaning based on a different conceptual metaphor in another language

d. A word form with a particular literal meaning and a corresponding figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor in one language can be rendered as a different word form with the same figurative meaning that is expressed by a literal meaning/paraphrase.

The analysis and interpretation of the findings exposed that this framework has limitations. Kövecses' (2003) hypothesis outlines four procedures only. The investigation into the translation strategies adopted by the two translators revealed that there are more than four possibilities especially when taking into account African languages. The following procedures were observed:

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by a word in the TL that is metaphor-related plus an ideophone with the same basic meaning and figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by a word in the TL that is metaphor-related plus an ideophone with a different basic meaning but the same figurative meaning based on the same conceptual metaphor.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was rendered by an ideophone that has a different basic meaning but the same figurative meaning but not

based on a conceptual metaphor in one TL and as an ordinary word, a non-metaphor in another TL.

- Where there was nothing in the SL, a word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a corresponding conceptual metaphor was introduced or added.

- The SL word with a particular basic meaning and figurative meaning based on a particular conceptual metaphor was transferred as an idiom based on the same conceptual metaphor.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the translators are well-known writers and translators in their respective languages so their competence and skill/creativity could not be missed. Although they alluded to the fact that Mandela used 'unfamiliar words and expressions' (Mtuze 2003), they were able to render the majority of metaphors by metaphor. It should be pointed out that the metaphors that were transferred by paraphrase were not the result of lack of equivalence or their incompetence, but were the result of their own decision-making. They decided whether they wanted to stick to the source text or project themselves as writers through their own style of writing. This was a decision that was also based on the fact that the commissioner of the translation did not give them a brief on the required translation offering. This reveals that the initial norm was at play. Therefore, they adopted the norm systems, which prevailed in their respective languages; in other words they translated according to the norms of the target language, especially with regard to the structure and rules of the language. But this does not mean they ignored the style of the original writer. As the examples illustrated, they could not be free enough to render the text as they wished since it is an autobiography, otherwise they would have created their own texts, as Honey (2006) would argue. The results confirm that use of metaphor has stylistic implications. This point was illustrated by the fact that the same linguistic expression was rendered differently by the translators thereby uncovering a different conceptual metaphor.

5.3   Contribution

The study makes a contribution in the following areas:

5.3.1   Conceptual metaphor theory

Although conceptual metaphor theory has been widely researched in the northern hemisphere, it is relatively new in the southern hemisphere and in South Africa particularly. As illustrated in the study, not much research has been accomplished in this field. This study therefore adds to existing knowledge by providing fresh evidence from authentic translated texts, especially in isiXhosa and isiZulu, which seem to be lagging behind.

5.3.2   Metaphor identification procedure - MIPVU

Existing literature has shown that identifying metaphors from texts has been a challenge. The metaphor identification procedure adopted in this study also adds new evidence as far as applying it to African languages is concerned, as it was designed for the English language. This procedure is particularly useful to non-native speakers of a language. In the case of Afican languages, however, it needs to be adapted to suit the agglutinating nature of the languages.

5.3.3   Translating conceptual metaphor

As shown in par. 5.2 description of the target text uncovered new possibilities of looking at the rendering of conceptual metaphor in the target language. This discovery contributes immensely to the theory of metaphor translation and metaphor theory with specific reference to African languages.
As the study has demonstrated how metaphor was translated, students of translation and practising translators can learn more about strategies and apply them when translating metaphors.

5.3.4 Cross-cultural comparison

The fact that the investigation into cross-cultural comparison was done using authentic texts, adds value as Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013: 104) noted that "authentic translations have hardly ever been used as input for such analyses". The results of the study confirm the hypothesis that some conceptual metaphors are universal, especially those that are embodied, although they may be expressed differently linguistically, and others are culture specific. The investigation of strategies using a multilingual corpus revealed that some translation procedures are universal, and others are language specific as illustrated by the use of an ideophone as a translation option.

5.4 Limitations

No manuscripts were available to trace the decision-making process, that is, to find out how the translators came to the final decision of using the lexical items that appear in the book. Both translators said they disposed of the manuscripts. The reasons supplied here as motivation for the choice of words or strategies are my own opinions based on the analysis of the texts; the translators were not interviewed to give their reasons. This could be explored in another study, which could focus more on the decision-making in the translation process.

For the purposes of this study and due to limited space, only a limited number of metaphors were identified. For that reason, the metaphors that were examined are not conclusive. Because the text was not examined line by line or word by word, more metaphors and possibly translation procedures could be identified.

5.5 Future research

The present study has demonstrated that metaphor is pervasive in language; therefore, it can be identified in all kinds of texts. In the quest for dissemination of information, more and more texts are being translated in our country. For the development of translation studies theory, more research should be performed on the translation of conceptual metaphor in African languages in health, legal and

financial documents. *Long Walk to Freedom* was translated into Afrikaans and Sesotho sa Leboa as well. It would be interesting to compare all the translations and discover how conceptual metaphor was dealt with, with a view to determining cross-cultural similarities and differences. Decision-making is crucial in the translation process, it would also be fascinating to uncover the decision-making processes involved. When contrasting the ST and TTs it was discovered that the translators rendered non-metaphoric expression as metaphors. This suggests that more could be uncovered if comparison can be from TT to ST.

This study concentrated only on conceptual metaphor as one aspect of discourse. Further research could be conducted on other aspects to determine the extent of their success in recreating Mandela in their languages. Although the analysis of metaphor and metaphoric expressions was the main purpose of this research, it was noted that the use of ParaConc concordancer as alignment tool revealed more about the styles of the two translators under investigation. It was interesting to note that the isiZulu translator preferred simplifying complex sentences. There are cases where he rendered one English sentence as two or more sentences in isiZulu. There are also instances where the isiXhosa translator rendered two English sentences as one sentence. This suggests that a study can be performed where the researcher investigates the style of the translators who translated the same text.

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