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Learner translation of metaphor: *Smooth sailing*?

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Abstract

This article explores metaphor translation strategies of novice translators: university students translating from L1 Norwegian to L2 English. We first describe the translation strategies they employ in their translated texts (TTs), thereby offering evidence of *what* translators do with metaphor based on multiple translations of the same metaphor-dense source text (ST). We then go beyond this descriptive analysis to discuss *why* these translators make their particular choices, analyzing the students' in-class discussion and individual written reflections about their translations. We thus illuminate the challenges that the novice translators consciously perceive (that is, *is* metaphor a problem?), as well as their motivation for and evaluation of their translation solutions. In this way, we shed light on the concept of the 'successful' translation of metaphor.

Key words: Learner translation; metaphor in translation; MIPVU; translation corpus; translation process; horoscopes

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1. Introduction

Metaphor is traditionally held to be a problem for translators, “a kind of ultimate test of any theory of translation” (Toury, 2012, p. 107; see also Steen, 2014). Translation scholars have traditionally approached this issue by focusing on the degree of translatability of metaphor (e.g. Dagut, 1987) or by developing prescriptive guidelines for metaphor translation (e.g. Newmark, 1988). Later approaches have explored metaphor from the perspective of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), investigating what translations actually are, rather than what they should be (Toury, 2012). In the transition from prescriptive approaches about what translators *should* do when faced with metaphor to descriptive approaches detailing what they *actually* do with metaphor, the main object of study has typically been a polished end product: published or official translations. As Philip argues, however, “By the time a translation has reached its definitive version, the strategies used by a translator, and the reasons for doing so, remain opaque” (Philip, 2019, p. 131).

The present study follows the DTS tradition by exploring metaphor translation strategies in translated texts. But rather than studying professionally translated texts, we investigate the translation strategies of novice translators: Norwegian university students enrolled in a degree program qualifying them as translators. We first provide an overview of the translation strategies they employ in their translated texts (TTs), thereby offering evidence of *what* translators do with metaphor, based on multiple translations of the same metaphor-dense source text (ST). We then go beyond this descriptive analysis to discuss *why* these translators make their particular choices, analyzing students’ in-class group discussion and individual written reflections about their translations. We aim to illuminate the challenges that novice translators consciously perceive (that is, *is* metaphor a problem?), the creativity they display

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in the face of ‘untranslatable’ metaphors, and the motivation for and evaluation of their translation solutions. In this way, the present study sheds light on what the students regard as ‘successful’ translation of metaphor.

2. Background

This study contributes to an under-researched area of translation studies: student translation into a second language (L2). Collections of student translations comprise a type of learner corpus having two defining characteristics: 1) multiple translations of the same source text, 2) written by novice rather than professional translators. Learner translation corpora may serve various functions, including enabling identification of individual or collective translation challenges from both linguistic and translation-related perspectives: “there is much to be learned about translation process and product by investigating the nature of texts translated by students” (Bowker & Bennison, 2003, p. 103). The most ambitious such corpus project to date is the Multilingual Student Translation corpus (MUST), currently under compilation.¹ The ST in the present study has been accepted into that corpus and our student informants are MUST contributors. Note, however, that we collected our data directly from the students because this allowed us access to their individual reflection notes about their translation choices (information not available in MUST).

To the best of our knowledge, there have only been two relevant studies of metaphor translation using multiple student translations as the primary data. Nacey (2017) investigated translation of metaphor in the Norwegian-English Student Translation corpus (NEST) to study how Norwegian novice translators dealt with metaphors in light of Newmark’s (1988)

¹ Information about MUST is found here: <https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/must.html>

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suggested guidelines. Her findings suggest that students employ different types of strategies based on the type of metaphor involved. For example, where the metaphor shows signs of deliberateness, students tend to preserve the source language images in the target language.

Philip (2019) examined metaphor translation in a corpus of L1 Italian to L2 English multiple student translations. She complemented the findings from her corpus data with information about the informants' language proficiency, measured by their end-of-year course grades, to determine the possible role that English language proficiency might play. She found that weaker students are less likely than higher proficiency students to adopt translation solutions that deviate from the original ST wording, and that lower proficiency students also have an increased tendency towards interpreting figurative language as literal, even when the context clearly suggests otherwise.

Both Nacey (2017) and Philip (2019) thus relied either primarily or wholly on corpus data in the form of multiple student translations, to gain insight into the process of metaphor translation. The underlying argument of such studies is that corpus data allows us to compare different translation solutions for identical ST items, and thus serves as a proxy providing evidence of translation strategies. The present study adds to this growing body of knowledge by not only providing additional empirical evidence concerning metaphor-related translation strategies, but also by going beyond this through incorporating the students' own retrospective reflections about both the perceived challenges presented by metaphor and the appropriateness of translation solutions. This provides more robust evidence about decision-making processes than corpus data alone. Note that the present study is grounded in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which holds that the metaphors we use in language reflect how we conceive of the world around us (see e.g. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Nevertheless, our

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focus is on linguistic metaphors only, making no claims as to any underlying conceptual metaphors.

3. Data and methodology

The primary written data for this investigation consists of multiple learner translations of the same ST. The students in question (eight in total) were third-year university students in Norway. In the first and second year, the study program included courses on subjects such as English language and culture, Norwegian language, translation theory and text linguistics. The translation course involved in this study focused on translation of various types of texts from the students' L1 Norwegian to their L2 English, and they were about halfway through the semester. As part of the course, the students submitted weekly individual translations to the teacher, along with written reflection notes about their experience of the translation process for the text at hand. Because the main aim of the course was to improve the students' translation skills, STs were selected with an eye towards potentially challenging contrastive differences between Norwegian and English, as well as towards more general challenges in translation regarding different text types, pragmatic equivalence, etc. Students were encouraged to use any available reference tools during the translation process.²

3.1. The Norwegian source text

The ST for the present study, *Dagens horoskop* 'Daily horoscope',³ was created by the authors of this study to readily fit into the progression of the course and was introduced by the

² This study was approved by the Data Protection Official for Research, at the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (<https://www.nsd.no/en/data-protection-services/>). The information letter provided to informants is found in the national research data repository, DataverseNO (<https://doi.org/10.18710/TG0I6G>). The entire dataset for this study, including the source text, translated texts and analysis of all metaphors in focus is also found here, as is the R code (see Footnote 5).

³ Translations are our own, unless overtly marked as student production (and hence, part of our data).

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teacher in the same way as other coursework. It was specifically designed to include a high number of conventional and less conventional metaphors in a natural context. As such, we chose the ‘horoscope’ text type, characterized by “a field of ‘predicting romantic, material and career events; a tenor of advice and warning; and a mode of direct address from writer to (generic) reader” (Eggins, 2004, p. 58). Although ostensibly based on the premise that life is predetermined, the dominant (western) cultural understanding is that horoscopes do not truly predict the future:

So we grow up seeing many adults flipping to the ‘Star Signs’, but we do not see the majority of them living their lives based on the advice or predictions they find there. For most (compliant) readers, then, horoscope texts are largely entertainment, not direction. However, for a minority of readers, ‘resistant’ to the practices suggested by dominant culture, horoscopes can be read ‘seriously.’ (Eggins, 2004, p. 83)

To create our ST, we spent a few weeks collecting snippets from published online Norwegian horoscopes.⁴ We then put together phrases and sentences to create twelve short texts – one for each zodiac sign – in a sequence that both adhered to the informal, sometimes grammatically incorrect style of magazine horoscopes, and also followed their general schematic structure (see Eggins, 2004, pp. 58-59):

1. general outlook (e.g. *there’s a lot of responsibility resting on your shoulders*),
2. prediction (e.g. *today there’s a chance for advancement*),
3. advice (e.g. *step it up a notch and be prepared*).

Our primary criterion for inclusion in our ST was that the phrases and sentences contain a metaphorical core. In this way, we hoped to inspire detailed and spontaneous discussion of translation challenges posed specifically by *metaphor* rather than any other textual feature, while never overtly alerting students to our research focus. In the end, the overall mean

⁴ From the daily horoscope section of <https://www.magic.no>.

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metaphor density of our ST ended up being 40.8% (i.e. number of metaphorical lexical units/total number lexical units).⁵

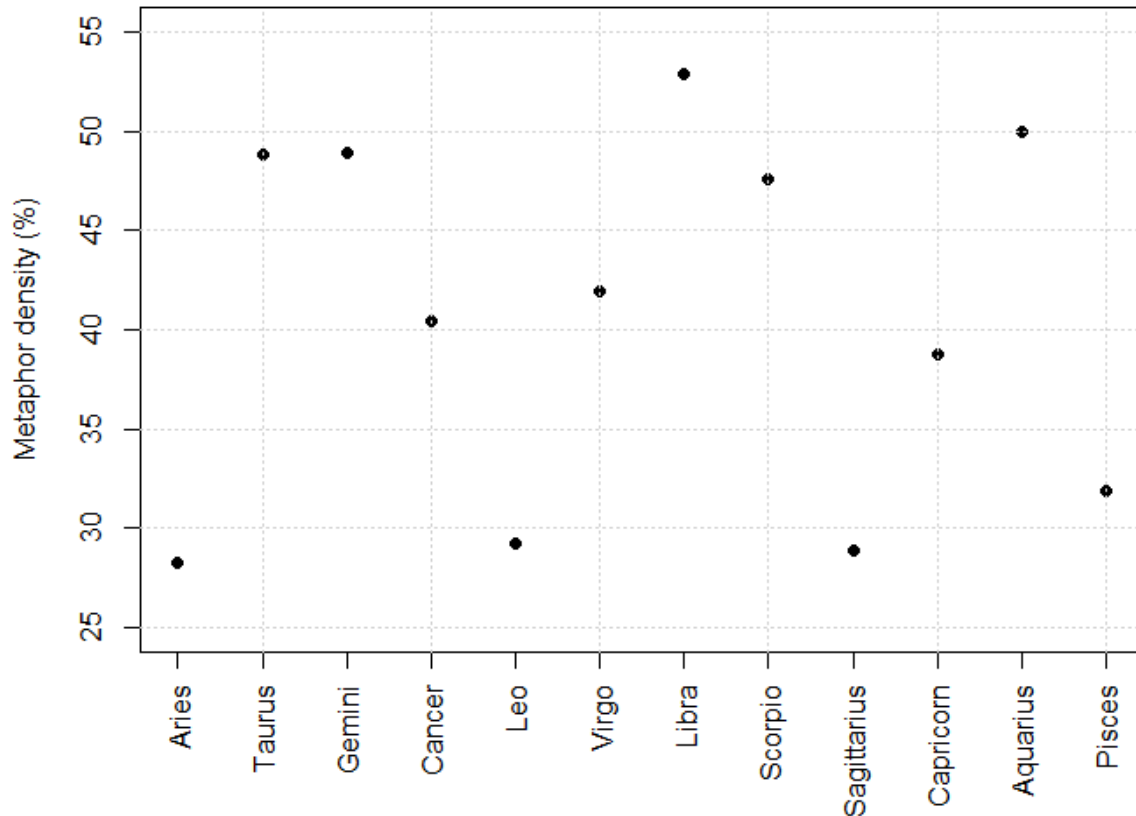


Figure 1. Metaphor density per individual ST horoscope

As Figure 1 shows, the metaphorical density of the individual ST horoscopes ranges from a minimum of 28.3% for Aries to 52.9% for Libra. This metaphor density is significantly higher than that in texts investigated in previous empirical studies of metaphor frequency. As an example, Steen et al. (2010, p. 195), who used MIPVU to identify all metaphors in approximately 200,000 words from the British National Corpus, report metaphor densities of

⁵ The R software environment for statistical computing (R Core Team, 2018) was employed to produce the plot in Figure 1.

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17.5% for academic texts, 15.3% for news, 10.8% for fiction and 6.8% for conversation (see also e.g. Nacey 2013; Nacey et al., 2019). Metaphor was thus unquestionably the dominant linguistic feature of our horoscope text. In addition, the ST length was consistent with that of the typical weekly assignment given to the students (547 words in total), an important consideration given the fact that the ST was also intended to naturally fit into the students' course.

3.2. Metaphor identification

Metaphors in the TTs were identified following the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU; Steen et al., 2010), while metaphors in the ST were identified using the Scandinavian adaption of MIPVU (Nacey et al., 2019). A thorough MIPVU analysis calls for metaphor identification on a word-by-word basis and is thus a time-consuming procedure, impractical to employ on large amounts of text. Although we applied the Scandinavian MIPVU to the entire ST to identify all metaphors there (and thus allowing for the calculation of metaphor density reported in section 3.1), no such complete analysis was therefore carried out on the TTs. Instead, the identified metaphors in the ST text were used to narrow our focus to a total of 91 different core metaphorical elements in the ST (words or short phrases), allowing us to record how these elements were translated in the TTs. Subsequent close readings of the TTs served to identify remaining TT metaphors that either had a non-metaphorical source or no linguistic source at all.

3.3. Categorization of metaphor translation strategy

Identified TT metaphors were categorized following the 'coupled' taxonomy outlined in Table 1, adapted from (Toury, 2012, p. 108).

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Table 1. Translation strategies

ST-based	1	M→M	metaphor into same metaphor
	2	M→M ₂	metaphor into different metaphor
	3	M→Non	metaphor into non-metaphor
	4	M→∅	metaphor into nothing
TT-based	5	Non→M	non-metaphor into metaphor
	6	∅→M	nothing into metaphor

Toury explains that the first four pairings proceed “from source-text items identified as metaphors”, with “most scholars who have done any work on metaphor and translation tend[ing] to fall into one of only [the first] three categories” (p. 108). The fourth ST-based alternative, where an ST metaphor is completely omitted, is frequently overlooked – something Toury attributes to a prescriptive view that the ST is the more important text. Toury’s four ST-based strategies directly parallel the advice about translating (figurative) idioms offered in the students’ course book (Baker, 2018, pp. 75-86).

Toury’s taxonomy has the advantage of two additional pairings that are TT-based, “inverted alternatives where the notion of ‘metaphor’ appears in the *target* rather than the source pole; as a *solution* rather than a *problem*” (p. 109, italics in the original) – that is, where a TT metaphor is linguistically unmotivated by the ST. He suggests that analysis from a retrospective perspective having its starting point in the TT facilitates descriptions and possible explanations of the translation process beyond what an exclusive focus on a prospective, ST-oriented perspective may offer.

3.4. Observation and student comments

In addition to the eight individual student translations, we also observed the subsequent classroom group discussions and the final plenum discussion led by the teacher. We did not

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take part in the discussion, apart from asking some clarifying questions at the end. In the group discussions, each student group of three to four students was allocated four zodiac signs and instructed to create a collaborative translation which included the solutions they considered the most successful or appropriate. These discussions provided us with retrospective insight into the translation process for the individual translations and the negotiation leading up to a collaborative translation document also provided us with the students' evaluation of successful or appropriate translation solutions. This insight was complemented with information from students' individual written reflection notes.

4. Product-based findings: *What* translators do with metaphor

This section provides an empirical description of translation strategies employed by the students in their TTs, presenting our findings with respect to the question of *what* translators do with metaphor. These findings are based on multiple translations of the same metaphor-dense ST, the products of the translation process. Section 4.1 provides an overview of ST-based strategies, while section 4.2 discusses TT-based strategies.

4.1. ST-based strategies

Table 2 presents a complete overview of the ST-based translation strategies employed in the eight individual TTs in our material. Perhaps most striking is the great variety of translation strategies chosen for the same item, differences made readily apparent by the color-coding of the table where each translation strategy has been assigned its own color. Each row represents one of the 91 different metaphorical elements identified from the ST (ID 1-91; explained in section 3.2.1). The columns TT1-TT8 indicate the strategies evident in each of the TTs; here we see, for instance that no student has any readily identifiable preferred translation strategy

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for metaphor. The final column presents the total number of different TT metaphors employed to translate the single ST metaphor.

As an example, we see in Row 3 of Table 2 that seven of the TTs have translated the ST metaphor with alternative metaphors (M₂), while only a single translation – TT6 – includes a non-metaphorical rendition. The ST metaphor in focus here is the use of the verb *knirke* ‘to creak’ in the context *samarbeidet kanskje knirker litt* ‘cooperation maybe creaks a little’, involving a metaphorical extension from the verb’s basic sense of a making a sharp (physical) sound to a figurative sense of having problems. The eight TTs rendered this idea of difficulty variously as being *shaky* (TT2), not being *smooth* (TT1, TT3, TT5, TT7, TT8), not being *up to par* (TT4), or not being *easy* (TT6). While none of the TTs reproduced the ST sound metaphor (the M→M strategy), TT6 translated the ST metaphor into a non-metaphorical expression the TT (M→Non), whereas the first three solutions exemplify the strategy of selecting an alternative TT metaphor (M→M₂). These M₂ solutions, while all exemplifying the same translation strategy, nevertheless represent three separate TT metaphors, something which the final column “No. of TT metaphors” indicates, i.e. that a single ST metaphor was translated as three different TT metaphors. In subsections 4.1.1 to 4.1.4 following the table, we continue by discussing examples of the four individual ST-based translation strategies.

Table 2. ST-based strategies

ID	TT 1	TT 2	TT 3	TT 4	TT 5	TT 6	TT 7	TT 8	No. of TT metaphors
1	Non	M	Ø	M	Non	Non	M	M	1
2	M2	Non	Non	Non	M2	M2	Non	Non	1
3	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	Non	M2	M2	3
4	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
5	M	M	Ø	M2	M	M	M	M	2
6	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
7	M	M	M	Ø	M2	Non	M	M	2
8	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
9	Non	M2	M2	M2	M	M2	M2	M	4
10	M	M	M	M	M	M2	M	M2	3
11	M2	Non	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	5

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LEARNER TRANSLATION OF METAPHOR

12	Non	Non	Non	Non	M	M2	M	M	2
13	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	M2	Non	1
14	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	1
15	M	M	Non	Non	M	M2	Non	M	2
16	M	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	2
17	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
18	M2	M2	M2	M2	∅	M2	M2	M2	2
19	M	M2	M	M	M2	M2	M2	M2	3
20	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
21	Non	M	M	M	M	Non	M	M	1
22	Non	M	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	1
23	Non	M2	M2	M2	Non	M2	Non	Non	1
24	M	M	∅	Non	M	M	M	M	1
25	M2	M2	M	M	Non	Non	M	Non	2
26	M2	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	1
27	M	M	M2	∅	M	∅	M2	M	3
28	M	M	M	Non	M	∅	M	M	1
29	M	∅	M2	Non	∅	M2	M2	M2	2
30	M	M	M	Non	Non	M	M	M	1
31	Non	Non	M2	Non	Non	M2	M2	M2	1
32	M2	M	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	4
33	Non	M2	M2	M2	M2	M	M2	M2	3
34	Non	M	M	M	M	M	M	M2	2
35	M	M	M	M	M	Non	M	M	1
36	M	M	M	M	M	∅	M	M	1
37	M	M	M2	M2	M	∅	M	M	2
38	M	M	M2	M2	M	∅	M	M	2
39	M	Non	M	M	Non	∅	M	M	1
40	Non	M2	M2	Non	M	Non	M2	M2	4
41	Non	Non	Non	Non	M2	M2	Non	M2	1
42	M	M	M2	∅	M	∅	M	M	2
43	M	Non	M	M2	M	Non	M2	M2	4
44	M	M	Non	Non	M	Non	M	Non	1
45	Non	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
46	M	M	M2	M	M	M	M	M	1
47	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	3
48	Non	M2	M2	M2	M	M2	M2	M	2
49	M2	Non	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	4
50	∅	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	6
51	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
52	M	M	M	M	M	M	M2	M	2
53	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
54	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	0
55	Non	M2	M2	Non	Non	Non	M	M2	3
56	M	Non	Non	Non	M	M	M	Non	1
57	Non	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M	5
58	M	M	M	M	M2	∅	M	M	2
59	M	M	Non	M2	M	M2	M	M	3
60	M	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M	5
61	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M2	2

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62	M	M2	M	Non	M	Non	M	M	2
63	Non	M2	M2	Non	M2	Non	M2	M2	2
64	M	M	Non	Non	M	Non	M	M	1
65	M	M	Non	Non	M2	M2	M	M2	4
66	M	M	M	M	M	∅	M	M	1
67	M	M	M2	M	M	M	M	M	2
68	M	M	M	Non	M	∅	M	M	1
69	M	M2	M2	M2	M	M2	M	M	5
70	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	1
71	M2	Non	M2	Non	M	M	M2	M	4
72	Non	Non	Non	M2	Non	Non	M2	Non	2
73	Non	M2	M	M	Non	M2	M2	M2	4
74	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	∅	Non	Non	0
75	M	M2	M	M	M	∅	M2	M	3
76	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M2	2
77	M	M	M	M	M	M2	M	M	2
78	M	M	M	M2	M2	M2	M	M	3
79	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M2	2
80	M	M	M2	M2	M	M2	M	M	3
81	M	M	M	Non	M	M	M	M	1
82	M	M ₂	Non	∅	M2	M2	M	M2	3
83	M	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	5
84	M	M	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	M	6
85	M2	M2	M2	M2	M2	Non	∅	Non	4
86	Non	M	∅	∅	M2	M2	M2	M2	5
87	M	M	∅	∅	M	Non	M	M	1
88	M	M	Non	Non	M	M	M	M	1
89	M	M	M2	M2	M	M2	M	M	4
90	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	0
91	Non	M	M2	M	M2	Non	M2	M	2

4.1.1. $M \rightarrow M$ translation strategy

In only 13 of the 91 instances did all students employ the identical strategy to translate a ST metaphor. In particular, eight ST metaphors are translated by the corresponding TT metaphors ($M \rightarrow M$ strategy; rows 4, 6, 8, 17, 20, 51, 53, and 70). Seven of these eight ST metaphors are direct translation correspondents of metaphors that are standard in both languages. An example is the verb *vokse* ‘grow’ in *du ønsker å vokse og utvikle deg* ‘you wish to grow and develop yourself’ (row 6), translated in all TTs as *grow*. In this context, the two words are codified metaphors in both Norwegian and English (from physical to mental growth). The eighth instance of identical of $M \rightarrow M$ translation concerns an uncoded metaphor, the

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compound noun in *(du har) en utrolig manøvreringsevne* ‘(you have) an amazing maneuvering ability’ (row 17) in the Gemini horoscope containing a number of ‘ship’ metaphors. All eight TTs rendered this noun by some version of the same term in English (*maneuverability, ability to manoeuver, manoeuvring*).

4.1.2. $M \rightarrow M_2$ translation strategy

Our data shows two tendencies with respect to the $M \rightarrow M_2$ strategy: when used, then either 1) most or all students selected the same alternative metaphor or 2) most or all students selected widely varying alternative metaphors. We see an example of the former tendency in row 14. This row represents the collocation *ta en avgjørelse* ‘take a decision’ where the verb *ta* ‘take’ is metaphorically used. All the eight TTs translate this verb as *make*, a metaphorical concrete-abstract extension. The *ta* ‘take’/*make* distinction simply represents two varying conventional, codified means of expressing the same meaning in the two languages – that is, two parallel linguistic norms.

By contrast, row 11 represents the translations for the phrase *(ha) is i magen* ‘(have) ice in the stomach’. This phrase appears in the ‘prediction’ phase of our Taurus horoscope proclaiming that ‘today there are possibilities for advancement if you believe in your own abilities and have *is i magen*’. While one TT uses non-literal language to translate the phrase (*[stay] calm*), the remaining six translations select one of five different metaphorical alternatives: *(keep/have) a cool head, (have) nerves of steel, (keep) your cool, roll up your sleeves, and sit tight*. Unlike the conventional metaphor from row 14, there is no standard English equivalent for this common Norwegian metaphor. When there is no obvious correspondence, we see that the individual solutions are varied and creative (see for example Jääskeläinen, 2012, p. 193).

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4.1.3. *M*→*Non translation strategy*

Cases where many or most of the students rendered metaphor by non-metaphorical language resemble the *M*→*M*₂ strategy exemplified in section 4.1.2 by the *ta* ‘take’/‘make’ distinction, where there is one main conventionally codified means of expression for the same concept in each language. In the *M*→*M*₂ cases, both the L1 and L2 are metaphors (albeit different metaphors). By contrast, in the *M*→*Non* cases, the Norwegian L1 term is a (conventional) metaphor, while the English L2 term is non-metaphorical. The most unambiguous such example in the data is found in row 54, where all eight students chose a literal translation correspondent for the expression *å være klar over* ‘to be clear about’. Although the term is metaphorical in use in Norwegian (involving a transfer from the concrete domain of light to that of understanding), five of the TTs employed *to be aware of* or *aware*, one uses *conscious of*, while the final TT rewrote the sentence in question to be able to use *remind yourself*. None of these options are metaphorical in English.

4.1.4. *M*→*Ø translation strategy*

Dropping the metaphor altogether is rare in the data, with only two cases where all or most of the students omitted the original ST metaphor. Row 90, for example, represents part of an introductory question in the Pisces horoscope: *Har du gått og ruget på bekymringer* ‘have you gone and brooded on worries’. None of the TTs include any obvious translation correspondent for the verb *gått* ‘gone’. That said, traces of its function expressing ‘on-goingness’ appear in most of the TTs in the form of the progressive aspect (e.g. *if you have been brooding over worries*). Norwegian, which lacks an ‘ing’-form, codifies the progressive aspect in other

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ways, such as the ‘go and’ expression. Syntactic differences between the L1 and L2 may thus prompt omission of metaphor.

4.2. TT-based strategies

As discussed in section 3.2, Toury’s taxonomy for translation strategies adopted in the present study allows for the identification of TT-based strategies, where a metaphor in a TT has no apparent ST motivation. Section 4.2.1 discusses situations where non-metaphorical ST items are translated by metaphors in the TT, while section 4.2.2 looks at cases where TT metaphors have no linguistic motivation in the ST.

4.2.1. *Non→M translation strategy*

Table 3 presents an overview of all identified cases where a non-metaphorical ST expression has been translated into a TT metaphorical expression in one or more of the eight TTs in our data. Table 3 adheres to the same color-coding of translation strategies as Table 2, thus affording an immediate impression of the variety of translation strategies our informants selected in these cases.

Table 3. TT-based strategy: Non→M

ID	TT1	TT2	TT3	TT4	TT5	TT6	TT7	TT8	No. of TT metaphors
92	M	M	M	M	M	Non	M	M	1
93	M	M	M	M	M	Non	M	Non	4
94	Non	M	Non	∅	Non	M	M	M	2
95	Non	Non	Non	Non	Non	M	Non	Non	1
96	M	Non	M	M	Non	M	M	M	4
97	Non	∅	Non	∅	M	Non	Non	Non	1
92	Non	Non	M	M	Non	M	Non	M	2

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As Table 3 indicates, we find relatively few instances of translations from non-metaphorical items into metaphor. As an example, consider row 92 representing the noun in the phrase *Bruk fornuften*, translated in seven of the TTs as *Use (your) common sense*. Following MIPVU analysis, the lexeme *fornuft* is classified as non-metaphorical because the word has no more basic meaning. By contrast, the English noun *sense* is metaphorical because its contextual meaning relates to (abstract) feelings or thoughts contrasts, whereas its more basic meaning related to our natural (physical) abilities of taste, smell, etc. Such cases thus seem to result from differing conventionally coded means of expression in the two languages – that is, incidental rather than deliberate use of metaphor in the TT.

4.2.2. $\emptyset \rightarrow M$ translation strategy

Table 4 presents all observed instances of the $\emptyset \rightarrow M$ translation strategy, where a metaphor appears in the TT, but has no apparent correspondent in the ST.

Table 4. TT-based strategy: $\emptyset \rightarrow M$

ID	TT1	TT2	TT3	TT4	TT5	TT6	TT7	TT8	No. of TT metaphors
99	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	1
100	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	1
101	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	1
102	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	M	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	3
103	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	1
104	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	1
105	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	M	M	\emptyset	M	M	2
106	M	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	Non	\emptyset	\emptyset	0
107	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	M	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	1

As Table 4 indicates, the $\emptyset \rightarrow M$ strategy of adding metaphor that has no source text at all is rare. When it occurs, it is often the choice of a single student, as we see for example in row 101 involving the translation of the Cancer horoscope. In this case, TT4 tacks the aphorism *A stitch in time saves nine* onto the tail end of the translation despite the lack of any such

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commentary in the ST, and is the only text to do so. This type of addition may function as a form of metaphor enhancement – that is, the text extends a metaphor that is already present. Alternatively, this additional metaphor may function as ‘compensation’, making up for loss of metaphor elsewhere in the TT in an attempt to maintain a similar metaphor density to that in the ST (see Harvey, 1995 for discussion of this term).

5. Process-based findings: *Why* translators do what they do with metaphor

This section discusses insight gained about the students’ translation solutions and evaluations through analysis of their written reflections and classroom discussion. The main focus here is thus on the process of translation, rather than the product. Section 5.1 first discusses student views in light of general factors that typically influence translations. Section 5.2 goes on to a case study focusing on translation solutions for a metaphor that is fairly specific to the Norwegian culture. The two sub-sections thus provide varying, albeit related perspectives highlighting motivation of the selected translation strategies outlined in Section 4.

5.1 Three main factors that shape translations

Any translation relies on more than just the ST. According to Harvey (1998), three main factors influence translation: 1) the intention of the ST (based on analysis of the text itself rather than possible authorial intention); 2) the presence and importance of textual features; and 3) the translation brief. With regard to Harvey’s first factor, the students explicitly reflected upon the intention of the ST at various points in their discussions, as well as in their individual written remarks. Some students interpreted the intention of the ST to be serious

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prediction of the future, read by people who believe in horoscopes (C3).⁶ Others viewed the horoscope text type as amusement, “build[ing] a relationship with the reader through simple, mindless entertainment” (C7). These students imagined the target readers as people who come across such texts in magazines “at a dentist’s office” (C2). In this way, their views mirror those of e.g. Egging (2004) who explains that the belief of the readers strongly influences their interpretation of horoscope texts as either entertainment or life advice (see section 3.1).

Turning to the second factor influencing translations – the ST textual features – the students explicitly identified metaphorical language as a defining stylistic feature. In this way, they aligned with our expectations when designing such a metaphor-dense ST (see section 3.1). These students regarded what they referred to as the “colorful” and “vague” figurative language to be a means of creating a personal connection with the reader, enhancing the appellative function of the ST. They saw the ST as informal and although one group referred to the style as more poetic and *spådameaktig* ‘fortune-telleresque’, the students generally considered the less formal translation solutions more appropriate.

Students viewed the high metaphor density as an enjoyable challenge rather a problem. Indeed, the only overtly perceived problem was one case where students were at a loss as to how to interpret the propositional content of a novel metaphor: *det er bedre å styre med hodet enn halen* ‘it is better to steer with the head than the tail’ (row 69). However, all TTs contained a translation solution, most of them retaining the head/tail contrast and leaving it up to the target readers to figure out the meaning. In their comments and discussion, the students agreed that the main emphasis in metaphor translation should not be on the propositional content of the ST, but on the connotative or expressive function. As a result, they felt

⁶ The students’ individual written comments are referred to as C1, C2, C3 etc., corresponding to TT1, TT2, TT3, etc., meaning that e.g. the author of C1 is also the author of TT1. Any unattributed citations are quoted from the group and class discussions.

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“metaphors and other language tools can be altered when there is a problem with equivalence” (C6), thereby arguing for the use of the $M \rightarrow M_2$ strategy as a successful translation solution in such cases. One motivation for metaphor selection, according to some of the students, was to preserve as much of the ST metaphor image as possible. As an example, many chose metaphors with *cool* to convey the coldness of *is* ‘ice’ from the ST Norwegian expression *is i magen* ‘ice in the stomach’ (discussed in section 4.1.2).

Harvey (1998, pp. 278-279) maintains that a conventional metaphor might have minimal textual effect and the translator may thus consider the omission of that metaphor in the TT as an insignificant loss; this may well be the explanation for the $M \rightarrow \text{Non}$ and $M \rightarrow \emptyset$ conventional metaphors discussed in sections 4.1.3. and 4.1.4. Student reflections, however, indicate that omission also occurs with metaphors that are not perceived to have a clear textual effect. Students mentioned that “some of the idioms had to be sacrificed”, particularly when they were not systematically linked within a zodiac sign. For instance, the metaphor *skille klinten fra hveten* ‘separate the wheat from the chaff’ (row 56) was omitted in at least one case with the explanation that it was not required to maintain thematic consistency, unlike “the ski theme in Scorpio or the weather theme in Aquarius” (C8).

Harvey’s final point concerns the translation brief. In order to explore the students’ conceptualization of the context and target audience for their TTs, no translation brief accompanied our ST. Students’ individual written comments reveal that they tried to compensate for this lack of instruction by constructing a quasi-translation brief including one or more of the main elements that such a brief typically includes: primary readership of the TT, purpose of the translation and target text type (Harvey, 1998, p. 280). The classroom discussions also started out with attempts to reconstruct a translation brief, particularly by determining the most likely target audience and a place of publication for the TT. These

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considerations clearly influenced how the students tackled metaphors in translation, as well as how they evaluated their own and their fellow students' solutions – a point that is further explored in section 5.2 below.

5.2 Culture-specific metaphors

While many of the metaphors found in the ST are shared by the Norwegian and Anglophone cultures and are thus transparent across languages, some of the metaphors are not. In both the individual comments and the discussions, the students paid particular attention to, and showed enthusiasm for, the zodiac sign Scorpio, one of the most metaphorically dense signs (see Figure 1). Our Scorpio text contains several non-conventional metaphors from the same semantic domain: skiing. This semantic domain is highly salient in the Norwegian culture, even to people who do not ski themselves.

One of these metaphors is *BlåSwix-føre* in the sentence *I dag blir det rett og slett BlåSwix-føre for deg* 'Today, it will simply be Blue wax conditions for you'. Here 'Blue wax conditions' refers to the variety of a particular brand of ski wax ('Swix') that comes in blue packaging, used for snow that is widely regarded as providing optimal skiing conditions. In context, the phrase is a metaphorical allusion where the outlook for perfect skiing conditions refers to the outlook for a perfect day. Table 5 shows the eight different translation solutions of the sentence. Five students opted to change the metaphor by choosing sailing imagery, two students retained the skiing image, while one student omitted the metaphor altogether.

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Table 5. Translations of *I dag blir det rett og slett BlåSwix-føre for deg*

TT	Translation	Strategy
TT1	Today is your day	M→Non
TT2	Today, it will simply be smooth sailing for you	M→M ₂
TT3	Today you will have smooth sailing	M→M ₂
TT4	You experience a smooth sailing today	M→M ₂
TT5	You will experience perfect skiing conditions today	M→M
TT6	This day is smooth sailing	M→M ₂
TT7	You'll simply have smooth sailing today	M→M ₂
TT8	Today you'll slide through life like a pair of skis through powdered snow	M→M

In the individual written comments, students who changed the metaphor to ‘smooth sailing’ argued for their solution by defining the skiing metaphors as too specific to the Norwegian culture to be understood by non-Scandinavian readers. They also noted that *BlåSwix-føre* is “an uncommon idiom” without an English equivalent (C4). Students who were less familiar with skiing required additional resources to understand the full implications of the metaphor, despite being L1 Norwegian speakers. Such resources ranged from newspaper reports about skiing to parental expertise (that is, one student consulted her father).

In the discussions, students viewed the TT sailing metaphor as successful, with one student pointing out that “smooth” expresses the same as perfect skiing conditions. Another student was particularly praised for maintaining the sailing image throughout the zodiac sign, mirroring the consistency of the skiing metaphor in the ST. The students emphasized that it was sometimes difficult to “hold on to” the same metaphor throughout the text, especially when they collated their individual translations into a single group version.

Students who chose to retain the skiing metaphor did not simply transfer the ST metaphor without any changes, however. In their individual comments, they explain that they had to generalize and use less “technical” imagery in order to make the metaphor understandable for

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TT readers. This solution was appreciated by the other students, who nevertheless felt that the metaphor ‘perfect skiing conditions’ may be more likely to be interpreted literally in the English TT. Further, some specifically drew upon their understanding of the presumed target readership, advocating for sailing metaphors because sailing in Britain and skiing in Norway “have the same formality” (C6). These students argued that the British view skiing as an elite sport for rich people who can jet off to the Alps, and that TT skiing metaphors would thus raise inappropriate associations not apparent in the ST. Consequently, the class as a whole concluded that the $M \rightarrow M_2$ translation strategy allowed for the more successful solution in this case, and the skiing metaphor disappeared from the collaborative classroom TT version.

6. Concluding thoughts

This article set out to shed to further light upon the translation of metaphor, focusing on two main questions: how translators deal with metaphor and what motivates their translation strategies. Our primary data consists of multiple learner translations of the same ST, deliberately manipulated to contain a high density of metaphor, together with the students’ reflection notes and discussion giving us insight into their reasoning for and evaluation of the different solutions.

Our empirical analysis shows a great deal of variety in the translation strategies employed by the students. This is especially evident in the summation of ST-based strategies (Table 2), where we show that using the same strategy for metaphor translation is the exception, rather than the rule. Such variation could result from the strengths and weaknesses of the individual translators, a possibility noted by (Toury, 2012, p. 110); after all, our informants are students who have mastered the craft of translation to varying degrees. Alternatively, this variation

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could indicate that most metaphors have more than one appropriate way of being translated, prescriptive rules and guidelines to the contrary.

Some metaphor translation solutions seem motivated by correspondence between linguistic norms in the two languages, as we saw in the $M \rightarrow M_2$ *ta* ‘take’/make example (section 4.1.2) and the $M \rightarrow \emptyset$ example involving the meaning of on-goingness expressed by the progressive in English (section 4.1.3). These cases involve ST metaphors that have become so conventionalized that they are probably not perceived as metaphor, even though MIPVU analysis shows that they involve a contrast between the contextual and basic senses that can only be resolved through figurative reasoning. We also find that for the TT-based strategy where a non-metaphorical Norwegian expression is translated by a metaphorical English expression ($\text{Non} \rightarrow M$), some cases may similarly be attributed simply to incidental TT metaphor use resulting from differing conventional codifications in the two languages.

Translation of expressions that are more obviously metaphorical, however, triggers a greater variety of translation strategies and alternative metaphors, as the translators are less able to rely on codified correspondences and have to therefore search farther afield for the best translation equivalent. One example is the translation of the Norwegian idiom *is i magen* ‘ice in the stomach’, discussed in section 4.1.2. Texts involving clusters of thematically consistent metaphors in close proximity also prompted our students to come up with varying creative solutions in attempts to preserve a metaphorical theme.

The rarest translation strategy in our data is the TT-based $\emptyset \rightarrow M$, the production of a TT metaphor with no apparent ST motivation. When it occurs, it is seldom in more than one TT – that is, it is never a default translation. Kamenická (2014) discusses similar examples in terms of “dynamised descriptions”, where the figurativeness of a translated text is deliberately enhanced to make it better fit into the genre in question. Toury (2012, pp. 109-110), by

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contrast, discusses such cases as possible instances of compensation, where translators try to make up for the loss of metaphor elsewhere. In text-based corpus studies, it is impossible to tease these two concepts apart and definitively prove that the metaphor was added to a TT to either enhance or compensate (or both, or neither). Through our additional data sources, however, we know that the students were acutely aware of the ST's rich metaphorical density, and that they were willing to sacrifice idioms because there was so much obvious metaphor. Although there was some discussion of compensation for such sacrifices, no mention was made of any need to enhance an already metaphor-dense text with unmotivated metaphor. This leads us to conclude that enhancement did not play a role in translator choices.

Looking further into motivation for translator solutions, our analysis of the students' reflections shows a high degree of awareness of the purpose of the translation (i.e. the translation brief), combined with a perceived need to preserve as much as possible of the dominant ST stylistic features, in this case clearly related to metaphor. Particularly for culture-specific metaphors such as *BlåSwix-føre* 'Blue wax conditions' discussed in section 5.2, the students' keen awareness that the target readership of a translation differs from that of its original text prompted careful consideration concerning appropriate translation strategies. Negotiation between the students to arrive at the 'most successful' solution support Shuttleworth's (2014, p. 55) contention that translations should not necessarily be viewed as right or wrong, but rather in terms of "degrees of appropriateness".

While there is thus (perhaps unsurprisingly) no one definitive answer as to what makes for successful translation of metaphor, our findings do provide clearer answers with respect to the so-called 'problem' of metaphor for translators – namely that there is no problem, except for cases where the ST itself is incomprehensible (see section 5.1). Although translating metaphor is regarded as challenging by these students, the task proved enjoyable rather than

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insurmountable. We also see that the students display a creativity and willingness to depart from the ST in their translation solutions which we might not expect to see among novice translators (see for example Bayer-Hohenwarter, 2010). Future research could explore the extent to which their translation strategies mirror those of expert translators, to shed greater light upon whether these students have begun to employ similar approaches to metaphor as do professionals (cf. Jensen, 2017). Furthermore, the same horoscope ST could be used with still other groups of informants to compare translations and translation strategies with the findings in the present study: e.g. other types of novice translators (such as teacher education students), L1 English speakers translating into L2 Norwegian, and/or other L2 Norwegian speakers.

Finally, we would like to highlight the value of methodological triangulation when it comes to corpus-based studies. Corpus evidence can only take us so far; as Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013, p. 97) point out, “when we have only the translation product available for analysis, we can at best speculate about the cognitive processes that led up to it.” In the case of the present study, while access to multiple parallel TTs enables us to uncover how novice translators translate metaphor, the analysis of the textual solutions gives us limited insight into the processes that led to the different solutions. Indeed, Philip goes so far as to maintain that “it remains largely impossible to investigate the decision-making process of each individual” (p.131). By contrast, Schäffner and Shuttleworth (2013, p. 98ff.) suggest several methods for process research, including keystroke logging, eye-tracking and think-aloud protocols. In our investigation, we have explored the translation process through students’ written comments on their individual translations and retrospective reflection in their classroom discussion as they negotiate among themselves to agree upon the ‘best’ translation solution. Observing translators as they overtly explain their translation choices and evaluate the choices of others provides insight that neatly complements findings from corpus evidence.

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