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# ALAPSZAKOS SZAKDOLGOZAT

# **Kardos Evelyn**

Anglisztika alapszak

Angol szakirány

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".... A szakdolgozathoz csatolni kell egy nyilatkozatot arról, hogy a munka a hallgató saját szellemi terméke...."

## **NYILATKOZAT**

Alulírott ( <i>Név és keresztnév)</i> ezennel kijelentem és aláírá	ísommal megerősítem
hogy az ELTE BTK	_
alapképzés/a	alapszak
szakirányán írt jelen záródolg	ozatom saját szellemi
termékem, melyet korábban más szakon még nem nyújto	ottam be
szakdolgozatként/záródolgozatként és amelybe mások m	unkáját (könyv,
tanulmány, kézirat, internetes forrás, személyes közlés st hivatkozások nélkül nem építettem be.	tb.) idézőjel és pontos
Budapest, 20	
	Aláírás

#### EÖTVÖS LORÁND TUDOMÁNYEGYETEM

Bölcsészettudományi Kar

# ALAPSZAKOS SZAKDOLGOZAT

Metaforikus gondolkodás a kultúrában és a fordításban:

A magyar és az angol nyelv összehasonlító elemzése

Metaphorical thought in culture and translation:

A comparative analysis of English and Hungarian

Témavezető: Készítette:

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#### **Abstract**

The present thesis is concerned with the analysis of linguistic and cultural differences revealed through the identification of cognitive metaphors in English to Hungarian translation. The aim of the research is to show that although human thinking is claimed to be universal based on shared human experiences (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2010), translation enables to reveal linguistic and cultural variation produced by language users, who make sense of the world differently with different metaphorical thinking. The analysis of the patterns of metaphor variation found between the chosen source and target texts is based on the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2005, 2010), and involves the integration of translation strategies (Toury, 1995) and aspects of metaphor variation (Kövecses, 2005) provided by research in cognitive linguistics and translation studies. Samples of metaphorical expressions were collected from five "BBC History Magazine" articles, and were presented both in the original English context and in the Hungarian translation. The analysis offers an illustration of how metaphorical meanings are transferred from one language to another and to what extent metaphor variation influences the result of translation. Findings suggest that Hungarian translations show a tendency to present more metaphorical linguistic expressions than the original English texts by applying the strategy of metaphor addition. Furthermore, they indicate a distinct, culture-specific preference of metaphor use towards the forming of ideas based on the PLANT source domain. These results contributing to cognitive linguistics are also complemented by novel findings regarding explicitation research in translation studies, proposing that the explicitation hypothesis (Blum-Kulka, 1986) expecting simplification and generalisation in target texts are disclaimed by creative and metaphorically rich translation results represented in the sample analysis.

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#### 1. Introduction

The topic of the present thesis, the identification and analysis of cognitive metaphor in translation from English to Hungarian, is considered to be a new area both in cognitive linguistics and translation studies. Although cognitive metaphor translation is moving more and more into the centre of interest, still the body of literature available on this topic is relatively scarce, especially with regard to metaphor translation from English to Hungarian.

The importance of gaining more insight to cognitive metaphor translation is essential and beneficial for several reasons. Concerning cognitive linguistics, it gives the possibility of learning more about the nature of language use and human thinking, as the way we form ideas is based on and operates with metaphors. Furthermore, regarding translation theory, new aspects and problems of translation may be investigated; revealing that translation as a linguistic and cultural reformulation of messages also necessitates an interlinguistic and intercultural skill in thinking and creating texts metaphorically.

The theoretical background of the investigation is based on the cognitive metaphor theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2005, 2010), and also relies on the findings about linguistic and cultural alternatives, metaphor variation possibilities (Kövecses, 2005) and translation strategies (Toury, 1995) with regard to the translatability questions of cognitive metaphor. After a survey of the literature, having established the theoretical and methodological background, this study will examine the cognitive pattern of metaphor translation from English to Hungarian in a particular set of texts selected from English "BBC History Magazine" articles and their Hungarian translations.

The aim of the analysis is to contribute to the investigation of metaphor translation from English to Hungarian, to show how these languages are metaphorically compatible with each other and how metaphors change in translation according to certain tendencies concerning their preservation or variation.

#### 2. Theoretical background

#### 2.1 Cognitive approaches to metaphors

In order to provide a proper discussion of the topic of cognitive metaphor, first it is necessary to place cognitive metaphor theory within the areas of linguistics and introduce a concise history of its development among other linguistic theories. Based on the history of linguistics elaborated by Kuhn (1970), cognitivism can be represented as part of the postmodernist paradigm of linguistic sciences. According to Banczerowski (2001, p. 5), this postmodernist framework of ideas, under which Kuhn means the most important "theoretical principles, norms, methodological devices, patterns and rules" (Transl.: Evelyn Kardos) evolved in the 20th century. The followers of this paradigm believed that any scientific activity must concentrate on understanding instead of striving at giving explanation of the unknown (Banczerowski, 2001).

Within the field of linguistics, the science of language, cognitivism plays a central role in adopting the postmodernist view on understanding. The cognitivist approach focuses on the "human factors" of linguistics, rather than the rules and logical construction of language. It claims that "in order to understand the nature of human language it is necessary to understand the processes of human cognition" (Transl.: E. K.), and, thus, language users themselves (Banczerowski, 2001, p. 19). Cognition, meaning the process of knowing or gaining knowledge is undoubtedly an inherent trait of language users belonging to the world of a given cultural context, which creates and shapes their immediate experiences and worldviews. This cultural community then influences how language users conceptualise their surrounding environment and, in other words, makes an impact on how they think and, consequently, how they use language. Hence, language becomes embedded in culture, and it will reflect how people think. Following this train of thought, one way in which it is possible to investigate how human thinking and cognition works is to start the investigation right with

the examination of language. At this point can metaphor, a partly linguistic and partly cognitive tool join the scientific investigation to bring us closer to human cognition, conceptualisation, language and the essence of human beings themselves.

#### 2.1.1 The rise of cognitive metaphor theory

Metaphor has been neglected in linguistic research for many years. Banczerowski (2001) highlights especially the generativist rejection towards metaphor, which, according to their strict formalist approaches cannot be analysed, as grammatical rules are not applicable to explain its existence in language. This made researchers believe that metaphor primarily belongs to literature, and that it is the task of literary researchers to place its importance in literary studies. Lakoff was among the first cognitivists to claim that, on the contrary, metaphor is a natural and crucial way of showing how our everyday language functions, as metaphor is not just a poetic trope or a stylistic device to ornament literary language, but is a fundamental element of our everyday language use and thinking. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that since we communicate with metaphors, they also reflect how human cognition and thinking works based on them, meaning that metaphor is not just a language-related issue: metaphor governs the way we think, act, and live our lives.

To illustrate this statement, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) introduced the well-known example of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. First, they listed some frequent expressions people use when they talk about arguments, such as "Your claims are indefensible." or "He attacked every weak point in my arguments." Next, they emphasised that while using these expressions in our everyday conversations, we simultaneously act as we would participate in a "verbal battle", and conceptualise the situation of arguing as if it was actually a war. For example, we often take our partner to be an adversary, whose intention is to conquer our ideas. This may make us want to fight back (with further arguments) or protect our own viewpoint from further verbal attacks. As the whole process of this kind of

conceptualisation happens unconsciously, the speakers are not aware of the fact that they speak automatically about argument in terms of war. In this way, the idea of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which states that metaphor resides not just in words, but in our thoughts and concepts in our mind concerning the world around us, is thus proved.

Kövecses (2010) continues the traditions of conceptual metaphor theory, and further develops the achievements of Lakoff and Johnson. As it has been found in earlier cognitive research, human thinking uses conceptual metaphor to facilitate the understanding of complex and often abstract aspects of life with more concrete, graspable things to which we can easily relate ourselves. In cognitive metaphor theory these are described as conceptual domains (Kövecses, 2010). In Kövecses's (2010) definition, conceptual metaphors are constituted by two domains. These are "coherent organizations of experience" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4) connected to an abstract target domain, which the metaphor intends to explain in terms of a more concrete source domain. The two domains are linked by conceptual correspondences, mappings, which show the similarities and analogies between the elements of the domains in relation. Referring back to the example of ARGUMENT IS WAR METAPHOR by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), these domains are easily identifiable based on the correlations between the concepts of argument (the target domain) and war (the source domain): people participating in the argument are two conflicting enemies, words used in the argument are weapons, viewpoints are targets to defend or attack, the aim of arguing is to convince the other party, or, in other words, to win.

Kövecses (2010) further distinguishes between conceptual metaphors and *metaphorical linguistic expressions*, which motivate conceptual ones and are the actual, identifiable realisations of conceptual metaphors in language. Different kinds of conceptual metaphors can be organized into different groups based on their function, complexity, conventionality and generality (Kövecses, 2010), and can be further categorised into larger

systems. Also, Kövecses (2010) establishes two major metaphor systems, the Great Chain of Being Metaphor and the Event Structure Metaphor. The previous one is regarded to be important in the conceptualisation of different elements (humans, plants, and animals) represented in a hierarchy of a relational chain. The latter one is in charge of the conceptualisation of the "structure of events", such as "states, changes and actions" (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 151-152).

According to Kövecses (2010), a certain group of conceptual metaphors can be further distinguished from the two above mentioned metaphor systems. This submetaphor system is the Complex System Metaphor, which plays a major role in the present thesis. The conceptual metaphors belonging to this subgroup share the common feature of encompassing target domains of complex systems such as economic, political systems, social organizations and human thoughts, which are understood in terms of four source domains typical of this submetaphor:

- machine (standing for the functioning of a system)
- building (representing the stability of a system)
- plant (showing the developmental aspect of a system)
- and human body (referring to the condition or the state of a system).

These sources highlight different aspects of complex systems, and help their understanding right through our most immediate experiences connected to the constructions of man-made realities (machines and buildings) and our natural environment (plants and our own body).

#### 2.2 The cultural aspects of metaphor

As Banczerowski (2001, p. 22) points out, "Human language reflects our worldview, and its context is the world itself" (Transl.: E. K.). Different cultures reveal different ways of thinking, and language, being an indicator of such cultural differences offers numerous

opportunities to examine in which way culture and thinking vary. Metaphor, being a partly linguistic entity is deeply grounded in culture, providing basis for culture-specific conceptualisation of domains, such as time, marriage or war. In return, as Kövecses (2005) observes, culture is one of the possible causes of metaphor variation according to different social and cultural contexts, such as power relations, social pressure and all those unique guiding principles, which characterise the value system of a given culture and the metaphorical choice of speakers.

The desire to get to know other points of views, to compare our thoughts to the worldviews of other cultures has always been an important driving force for humans, not just because we strive for gaining knowledge about others, but also to reach closer understanding of ourselves. In order to interpret messages other cultures symbolise, it is essential to reformulate what other cultures mean, and to make this meaning understandable to us. This is what translation aims at. Translation identifies common points in two cultures (generally in two texts), and after establishing the matching of "internal coherence", it re-creates the essence and meaning based on these shared elements, while enhancing mutual understanding under the same roof (Sturge, 2009, p. 68).

#### 2.2.1 Translating cultures

According to the definition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, cultural translation is a way to "mediate cultural difference, or try to convey extensive cultural background, or set out to represent another culture via translation" (Sturge, 2009, p. 67). The result of this process is beneficial not only for target cultures dedicated to understand other cultures, but also for source cultures, which are able to make their values known all over the world and thus, keep them alive (Katan, 2009).

Therefore, the task of translation is thus twofold: to some extent it has to preserve the uniqueness of the source culture, but at the same time it has to make its specific message

available and comprehensible to target cultures. Fulfilling these two requirements is not an easy task, especially with regard to the translation of metaphors. Since metaphor is a highly complex phenomenon grounded in language, mind and culture, it is unavoidable not to imagine that because of these specific aspects the perfect rendering of metaphor into other languages is nearly impossible.

#### 2.2.2 The translatability of metaphor

In the traditions of translation studies, which is a branch of applied linguistics consisting of theories examining the result and function of translation process (Klaudy, 2009), translation theorists represent different viewpoints considering the (un)translatability of metaphor.

Snell-Hornby (1995) proposes that metaphors are translatable by quoting Kloepfer (1967), who also claims that although differences arise because languages are different, the "structures of the imagination" bear resemblance in every human mind despite cultural differences, which enables metaphorical translation (Snell-Hornby, 1995, p. 57). Snell-Hornby adds that it is also the personal decision of the translator to estimate to what extent metaphors are translatable based on their "structure and function" in the text (1995, p. 58). This permissive approach suggests that whether translatable or not, metaphors have text-dependent factors and their preservation in translation reflects the preferences of translators.

In their paper, Fernández, Sacristán and Olivera (2003) mention Toury to be among those, who accept the translatability of metaphors, but handle the issue with reservation, claiming that metaphor translation cannot be realised without inequivalence. Toury (1995) collects the strategies generally applied to metaphor translation, and organises them into six categories. According to Toury, translation strategies proceeding from the source text may translate metaphors into: 1) the 'same' metaphor, 2) a 'different' metaphor, 3) a non-metaphor, or 4) zero, that is, nothing is preserved from the original metaphor. This list of

"translation decisions" is extended by Toury with two further translation solutions considering the perspective of the target text. In these interesting cases either 5) non-metaphorical expressions in the source, or 6) zero, that is, non-existing elements of the original text receive additional metaphor in translation (Toury, 1995, pp. 82-83). These two latter instances of translation, during which the incorporation of metaphor happens with the translation of an originally metaphor-free source text, are quite rare, Toury hypothesise (1995). Toury explains that the reason for this might reside in certain "target norms", which would require the creation of less metaphorical or figurative language (1995, p. 84).

Harsányi (2008) approaches the problem of the decreasing number of target metaphors with first referring to the explicitation hypothesis of Blum-Kulka (1986) and observes that translations always tend to be more explicit by providing additional explanation and elaboration to the original text. In addition, Harsányi (2008) extends this theory with the supposition of Levy (1965), who claims that next to the phenomenon of explicitation, generalisation is also present in translations, which is caused by selecting more conventionalised word-level target expressions.

To summarise, the general attitude regarding metaphor translation among the scholars of translation studies is that metaphors are translatable, but may result in a simpler and more conventionalised target text due to the translators' preference towards more general and accepted translation solutions. As a result, it is also suggested that the presence of metaphors in the source text, quite paradoxically, may even cause a, figuratively-speaking, duller translation result because of their different cultural conceptualisation during translation. In the following sections, the present thesis intends to show that in practice this is not always the case.

#### 3. Method

#### 3.1 Aims and research questions

Within the framework of an empirical research, the present study aims at the identification and exploration of metaphor variation through English to Hungarian translation, and is concerned with two research questions. First, in order to gain more insight to the differences of metaphor use in the English and Hungarian corpora, the investigation is designed to reveal the most frequent translation strategies applied through translation and the type of metaphorical results presented in target texts. Therefore the first question it seeks an answer to is the following:

1) How are English metaphors translated into Hungarian, i.e., what kind of translation strategies and what kind of target metaphors are used in translation?

The analysis regards metaphor variation as a modifying factor concerning the figurative level of target texts. Therefore, secondly it aims at showing the effects of metaphor translation and metaphor variation on Hungarian translation. Furthermore, the investigation also intends to explore the validity of the explicitation hypothesis (Blum-Kulka, 1986) in the sample metaphors offered by the analysis. Thus the second research question – connecting two related fields – may be formulated as follows:

- 2/a) How does metaphor variation affect the metaphorical level of target texts?
- 2/b) Does the chosen corpus provide evidence for the explicitation hypothesis?

The following sections elaborate on the characteristics of the selected English and Hungarian texts used by the analysis, and present the procedures and focuses of the method applied during the investigation.

#### 3.2 Corpus

The source texts providing basis for this cognitive metaphor analysis are English articles selected from the British "BBC History Magazine", which are going to be compared to their Hungarian translations published in the Hungarian edition of this magazine under the same title, "BBC History" (for an excerpt of a sample article and its translation, see Appendix A and B). Since all the articles in the British edition are written in English and not translated from any other languages, the analysis aims at examining translation from English to Hungarian. Accordingly, the reverse direction of Hungarian into English translation falls beyond the scope of this investigation.

Given the official profile of the magazine, the articles of BBC History are generally written about British and world history, describing topics connected to not just great historical events but everyday life and culture in various historical periods. The topics of the five pieces chosen for the analysis (see 'Sources included in the corpus' section for exact source references) involve war and battles (the most important British naval victories and the rebuilding program in Britain after the Second World War), the built-up of British society (during the colonization of America under the Tudors' reign and the history of the British gentry) and way of life and culture (life in medieval Anglo-Saxon England). During the analysis of conceptual metaphors, these themes are going to represent the main target domains of complex system metaphors serving their basis of their linguistic realisations in both source and target texts.

The majority of the authors publishing these essays and in-depth studies are well-known historians, university lecturers and researchers. Consequently, the language of the articles is formal, refined and very detailed, offering high-quality and reliable information concerning every topic. Still, their lively, enjoyable style suggests that their target audience is composed of everyday keen readers rather than scholars. Neither the wording nor the length

of these articles undermines this supposition; written from three up to seven pages, they are not considered to be too long and sophisticated readings.

As these articles are mainly content-centred writings, the main function of which is to convey information, they fit into the category of *informative texts* established by Reiss (2004, p. 170). Reiss believes that the genre of a given text is determinative with regards to the way it is translated. In this way, as Klaudy (2009) points out, when translating an informative-type text the most essential task of the translator is "to preserve the full concent and successfully convey the message of the source text" (p. 59).

The Hungarian translations of the original English BBC History articles preserve all the thematic, stylistic and genre-related characteristics required by the source texts, and consequently provide a remarkable example of high quality translations.

#### 3.3 Procedures and focuses of data analysis

Firstly, the analysis will focus on the identification and comparison of conventional, generally used conceptual metaphors appearing in English magazine articles and their translations published in Hungarian. In other words, an everyday, although more or less formal and elaborated textual context will provide instances for finding conceptual metaphors and will enable the possibility of supporting the idea of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who proved that metaphors do not exist only in literary texts, but also in simple language for general, informative purposes.

Cross-cultural and cross-lingual metaphor variation induced by translation is the second concern of the analysis, which intends to reveal how conceptual metaphors differ in source texts and target texts. In order to answer this question adequately, the analysis will consider how metaphor variation is affected by the way translators choose different strategies applicable to metaphor translation, and in return, how the process of translation generates inner changes in the structure of the metaphor itself in target language context.

Concerning the previous aspect, the analysis will rely on the findings of Toury (1995) and those six strategies already discussed in the Theoretical background chapter, which lists the most frequent translation decisions with regard to metaphors. The latter aspect analysing the structural changes of metaphors follows the research results obtained by Kövecses (2005), who, after translating several English metaphorical linguistic expressions to Hungarian, highlighted the four most notable "parameters" accounting for different levels of metaphor variation (p. 132). These include the changes in 1) word form, which means the pure grammatical linguistic realisation of the expression in language, 2) literal meaning, the primary, concrete meaning of the expression, 3) figurative meaning expressing the abstract meaning and 4) the conceptual metaphor the linguistic expression belongs to (Kövecses, 2005, p. 133). Besides, the analysis will also focus on the general effect translation has on source texts by examining to what extent metaphorical language is preserved in target text, and whether less figurative or more figurative the translation result will be.

The third concern of the analysis is to find out which are the most frequent metaphorical conceptualisations used both in the English and Hungarian corpora, and based on their conceptualisation differences in language and translation, what can they tell about further differences in English and Hungarian culture and way of thinking.

As already highlighted in the Theoretical background chapter, the analysis will concentrate on metaphors belonging to the category of Complex System Metaphor established by Kövecses (2010), as, according to my findings, this type of metaphor is the most commonly used in the analysed English BBC History articles, which have corresponding Hungarian realisations in their translations.

#### 4. Results and discussion

#### 4.1 Sample analysis

During the analysis, each metaphorical linguistic expression has been grouped into three subcategories of Complex System Metaphor: HUMAN, PLANT and BUILDING conceptualisations. In what follows, **metaphorical linguistic expressions** will be presented in their immediate textual appearance embedded in the relevant sentence of the given articles, along with the CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS they belong to. Expressions will be contested with their translations on one hand, by determining the translation strategy used by the translator based on Toury (1995), and on the other hand, by checking the four variation aspects also used by Kövecses (2005). The analysis will also be supplemented by personal reflections and interpretations concerning the English and Hungarian linguistic realisations of metaphors. Due to textual limitation set out by the genre of the thesis, only the most relevant, expressive or interesting samples of metaphors will be discussed.

#### 4.1.1 HUMAN source domain

(1) "The Spanish navy, already **in decline** when Trafalgar was fought, **never recovered**..." "A már korábban is évszázados **hanyatlásban lévő** spanyol flotta viszont **soha többet nem állt talpra**..."

This metaphor involves the conceptualisation of navies, as social-political organisations in terms of a human body. Hence, the conceptual metaphor NAVY IS A HUMAN means literally and figuratively the same in English and Hungarian: the bad state of a complex system, the navy, corresponds to the health problems of a human body. The translator used the strategy of translating with the same conceptual metaphor. Except for the word form, no other changes are indicated.

<sup>(2) &</sup>quot;Margaret Tatcher continued to blame the rebuilding programme for many of **society's** ills, denouncing planners who'd 'cut the heart out of our cities..."

<sup>&</sup>quot;Az újjáépítési program a **társadalom** számos **problémájáért** is okolható, és kitervelői **'városaink szívét szelték keresztül'...**"

Here, SOCIETY IS A HUMAN BODY and CITIES ARE HUMAN BODIES are the relevant conceptual metaphors, again conceptualising the hardships a society has to face as illnesses, while smaller social systems, cities are presented as having central areas of crucial importance (a heart) just like humans. The same conceptual metaphor is used in translation, with no variation in literal and figurative meaning.

(3) "The early argument for overseas settlement was, in truth, based around (...) settling indigent or criminal elements **monopolising** the distant fishing grounds..." "Igazság szerint a tengerentúli terjeszkedés alátámasztására – legalábbis kezdetekben – egészen más érvek szolgáltak: (...) a távoli halászterületek **bekeblezése**..."

This example illustrates the case, when the same conceptual metaphor SOCIAL GROUPS ARE HUMANS is represented from different point of view: the English version emphasises the dominating, controlling aspect of human behaviour, especially in an economic sense, while the Hungarian translation offers a more figurative solution, and interprets controlling as eating. As a result, the literal meaning differs, but figuratively the same message is conveyed.

(4) "German bombers had **seriously dented** the British economy (...) leaving the coffers of local authorities **severely weakened**."

"A német bombázók **komoly károkat okoztak** a brit gazdaságnak: **a földdel tettek egyenlővé** (...) ezer egyéb kereskedelmi létesítményt."

One of the two original metaphors in the above example, ECONOMY IS A HUMAN BODY is translated with a completely different metaphor, ECONOMY IS A BUILDING. The English text refers to the psychologically injured state of the economy as a human, as opposed to which the Hungarian version supports its conceptualisation as a building by referring to the concrete, objectified damages the bombers had caused. The second metaphor, AUTHORITIES ARE HUMANS, however, is preserved, although differences again arise from the emphasising of different aspects: the lack of strength and the complete state of termination after a devastating force produce different stylistic effects.

(5) "From rules, such as the Mayflower Compact, democracy in America was born."

"A Mayflower - szerződéstől kezdve sorra születtek azok a jogi formulák, amelyek **megalapozták** az amerikai demokráciát."

This example also represents the use of different conceptual metaphors in translation. The original metaphor of DEMOCRACY coming to life as a HUMAN changes to a BUILDING constructed on solid foundations. Consequently, literal and figurative meaning also changes.

(6) "Private property was at the heart of society's ills."

"A társadalom bajai főleg a magántulajdonban gyökereznek."

Another option for conceptualising SOCIETY as a HUMAN with organs and health problems is to choose PLANTS as source domain. Thus, in the Hungarian translation society becomes a plant with roots growing from "problems", which is a more neutral word than ills, and is not so evidently connected to human body and health. Therefore, different conceptual metaphors are used in the English and Hungarian texts.

(7) "The large number of Spanish emigrants is an indicator of **state support**, as is the composition of the groups that sailed."

"A spanyol birodalom teljes mellszélességgel támogatta a gyarmatosítást."

The literal meaning of *state support* in the original text more probably signifies the government subsidies and the financial aspect of support rather than referring to concrete bodily actions, in contrast with what is suggested in the Hungarian translation. The target text is more figurative in this case, presenting the STATE IS A HUMAN metaphor, in which the state is conceptualised as a person standing out and fighting for good reasons 'with its width of his chest'. This reflects the strategy of adding metaphor to target texts, resulting in changes concerning word form and literal meaning. However, in a figurative sense it remains the same.

(8) "Without private developers,' Flinn concludes 'the **actual rebuilding** of the worst of the **war-damaged areas** of Britain would have been far, far slower."

"A tanulmány szerint 'a magánbefektetők nélkül sokkal, de sokkal tovább tartott volna Nagy-Britannia **világháborús sebeinek begyógyítása**." This is another instance for conceptual metaphor addition to an originally non-metaphorical text. The English sentence is about real reconstruction and existing, concrete damages, whilst the translation turns it to the metaphor of STATE IS A HUMAN, interpreting damages as wounds on the "body" surface of Britain, which have to be healed, that is, rebuilt.

(9) "**Imaginings** of an idyllic rural age, **informed by** ideas of a lost medieval past, continue to make deep impressions..."

"De az idilli vidéki létről alkotott, egy elveszett középkori **múltból táplálkozó képzetek** még ma is nagy hatást gyakorolnak…"

THOUGHTS and IDEAS can also be made into metaphor by thinking about them in terms of HUMANS. *Informed by* in the original sentence means some kind of influence, which is not as vivid and imaginative as its translation into metaphor, in which ideas are 'nourished by the past', and are represented as eating food like humans. After the addition of metaphor, all aspects of metaphor variation (word form, literal and figurative meaning) are affected and thus, differ.

#### 4.1.2 PLANT source domain

(10) "Communities, localism, families, networks and neighbourhoods, all **bound together** in the metaphor of the **fabric**. **One, single, woven** social structure..."

"Közösségek, lokálpatriotizmus, családok, hálózatok és szomszédságok **kapcsolódnak össze**, a társadalom **élő szöveteként. Egyetlen, mindennel összefonódó** társadalmi struktúra..."

This example represents different conceptualisations of SOCIETY as a complex system. In English, it is conventional to think about society in terms of a well-knitted, inanimate, cloth-like TEXTURE. In the Hungarian conceptualisation, however, the texture of society becomes "alive", and turns into an organic whole as its components 'enwreathe' just like the branches of a PLANT. In this case, differences arise in literal meaning, but the abstract, figurative meaning of a bound composition as an image is preserved.

(11) "The great magnates (...) had **flourished through** their connections to one another..." "A (...) főurak egymáshoz (...) fűződő kapcsolataiknak **köszönhették hatalmukat**."

In the corpora used for the analysis this is the only available example for *metaphor omission*, a rarely used translation strategy suggested by Toury (1995). In this case, an originally metaphor-driven sentence referring to a SOCIAL GROUP IS A PLANT conceptualisation, in which the climax in the development of a complex system made through human connections and relationships, or gaining total power is the climax of the development of a plant when it is in full bloom, finally loses its figurative load through omission. Although the Hungarian sentence expresses the thankful attitude of those who gained higher status, the prosperous condition of this power is not mentioned in the translation, which is thus less figurative.

(12) "The nouveaux riches of previous generations (...) who had accompanied and **benefited from the conquest** by the successful prince of Denmark, Cnut the Great, in 1016..." "A korábbi generációk 'újgazdagjai', akik viszont I. (Nagy) Knut dán (...) király mellett harcba szállva **aratták le** 1016-os **hódításainak gyümölcseit**..."

In this example, an originally non-metaphorical English expression *benefit* meaning 'to derive advantage' translates in Hungarian into WAR IS A PLANT metaphor. War, being a well-organised complex system resulting from human activity aims at culminating in victory, here, is conceptualised as the fully grown, mature fruit of a plant. The Hungarian translation is made more complex by incorporating the reaper scheme into the harvest imagery, which, thus, literally translates to 'reaping down the fruits of the conquest'. By the addition of metaphor, the target text again results in more figurative language.

(13) "Danes, Anglo-Danes, but also those, (...) who **hailed from** the English shires." "Dánok, angol-dánok, de Anglia **tősgyökeres szülöttei** is képviseltették magukat."

In this sentence, the Hungarian translation applies a conventional, widely-used expression for people having been the resident of a given place for such a long time that in a figurative sense they have grown stems and roots. This expression is based on the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. In contrast, the original source sentence operates with a figuratively more neutral expression referring to the direct origins of a person and the places he or she comes

from. The metaphor addition results in changes in word form and literal meaning, but the figurative sense remains.

#### 4.1.3 BUILDING source domain

(14) "Alfred oversaw the **adaptation** of the Consolation of Philosophy (...) into English language of his court and kingdom."

"Alfréd útmutatásai alapján **ültették át** óangol nyelvre (Boethius) (...) De consolatione philosophiae (...) című munkáját."

Being a highly complex system, LANGUAGE can also be conceptualised as a PLANT because of its ever-changing, developmental aspect. As a result, if being a plant, its products or objectified embodiments, such as books, can be transplanted or translated to another language, which becomes a mixed image of plant and the soil for planting. Although the word *adaptation* may be used in reference to plants as well, and thus, the traces of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A PLANT can be found in the English context too, the metaphoricity of the Hungarian translation is again stronger.

(15) "Napoleon set his heart on attacking British India via a conquest of Egypt in the **crumbling** Ottoman Empire..."

"Napóleon (...) fejébe vette, hogy a **roskadozó** Oszmán Birodalomról elhódított Egyiptomból kiindulva rátámad Indiára..."

The same EMPIRE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor is found in both source and target texts, meaning that the conceptualisation of social-political complex systems as constructions is presented in both English and Hungarian in a similar way. Here, the weakened construction of the empire as a complex system represents the instability of a building, which is going to fall apart under significant pressure, most probably meaning social-political problems and difficulties affecting the empire. The literal and figurative meaning is preserved.

(16) "Anglo-Saxon society was less than egalitarian." "Az angolszász társadalom a legkevésbé sem az egyenlőségre épült."

This is a further example of metaphor variation during translation: SOCIETY IS A BUILDING metaphor is presented only in the Hungarian translation, in which society is 'not at all built upon equality'. On the other hand, the English sentence conceptualises this fact rather as a characteristic of society, and makes it available through *personification* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), that is, conceptualising society as a HUMAN, and with a different conceptual metaphor SOCIETY IS A HUMAN. In this way, word form and literal meaning shows variation, but the underlying figurative meaning remains similar.

(17) "Fighting men needed to have been affluent to do their jobs (just as the medieval knights of a later age needed a certain amount of wealth)..."

"A harcosoknak vagyonra van szükségük ahhoz, hogy dolgukat elvégezhessék (ahogy a későbbi középkori lovagoknak kellet a **stabil jövedelem** a hadba vonuláshoz)…"

WEALTH and money here is conceptualised in terms of a BUILDING. This metaphor, however, is not presented equally in the English and Hungarian sentences. The English text highlights the specificity of quantity, some 'amount of money' and wealth required for knighthood. The Hungarian text on the other hand emphasises the 'stability of income' fighters have to have, which is in parallel with a well-set, solid construction of a strong building. As a result, the Hungarian translation is again proved to be more figurative and metaphorical, conveying literally different, but figuratively similar message.

#### 4.2 Discussion

The analysis involves five BBC History articles translated from English to Hungarian, which were selected from 18 articles, as they showed mutual preference concerning the usage of Complex System Metaphor. Presenting and analysing 17 translated metaphorical linguistic expressions, the sample analysis above aimed at showing what kind of conceptual metaphors provide the basis for these metaphorical linguistic realisations, whether these conceptual metaphors can be grouped according to a certain systematicity, how these metaphors appear in translation and if similar metaphorical results are missing, what sort of

variation is induced either in the word form and meaning of the expression or the general metaphorical, figurative level of the texts.

All the 17 metaphorical expressions derive metaphorical parallels, *mappings* from the source domains of human body, plants and buildings, out of which the HUMAN source domain proved to be the most frequently used in conceptualisation both in English and Hungarian; nine metaphors out of 17 is ranked to this group. The tendency of the recurrent appearance of conceptualisation in terms of the human body reflects a shared, universal understanding of reality. This result, however, does not mean that the translation of human domain metaphors happens similarly: six cases out of nine bring metaphorical variation in translation. On the other hand, the application of the PLANT source domain differs in source, as well as target texts: the Hungarian translations reveal five instances of variation out of five, which means that this domain is highly preferred by Hungarian conceptualisation and language use, while it is somehow neglected in English. The frequent reliance on BUILDING source domain is also more noticeable on the Hungarian side than in the original English texts. Although less metaphorical expressions were found with this source domain, the presented three examples include two variations and one similar metaphorical translation result.

As far as the translation strategies are concerned, the most widely used choice for metaphor translation is the strategy of *non-metaphor into metaphor* suggested by Toury (1995). Out of the 17 analysed examples eight were translated with this strategy. In four other cases the *translation with different metaphor* strategy was applied. The rest of the metaphorical expressions reflect four further instances applying the *translation with same metaphor* strategy, and only one expression was identified with the strategy of *metaphor omission*.

Depending on the strategy the translator decided to choose, two main tendencies can be observed with regard to the variable aspects of metaphor. When opting for the *translation* with same metaphor, literal and figurative meaning remains the same. However, when difference is present either by the usage of a different metaphor or with emphasising a different aspect of the original metaphor, literal meaning will unavoidably differ and show variation.

#### **4.3 Summary of results**

To summarise the main findings of this analysis, it can be stated that the main differences in case of English to Hungarian translation arise in metaphor addition, different metaphorical choice and conceptualisation. Concerning Hungarian translation, concepts are often available or more easily accessible through conventionalised but figuratively more colourful language. In this respect, as difference in conceptualisation originates from the specific ways cultures make sense of the world, Snell-Hornby's suggestion regarding metaphor variation as "a matter of culture and not language system" is also supported by the present data (1995, p. 56).

The frequency of this kind of metaphor variation also coincides with the overall change in the metaphorical level of source text. In many of the cases analysed, Hungarian translation proved to be more figuratively expressive and metaphorically more involved in imagistic conceptualisation. Even though they often incorporate frequently used expressions in Hungarian, this makes the translations sound more natural to target readers.

What also follows from these results is that the explicitation hypothesis (Blum-Kulka, 1986), expecting translations to be lexically less creative and expressive than the original texts, does not always seem to hold.

#### 5. Conclusion

The comparison of English and Hungarian from the point of view of metaphor use and cultural variation in translation reveals that the difference between these two languages resides not just in the language system, but also in conceptualisation and way of thinking. The result of the process of interaction between language and culture is undeniable whenever a linguistic, cultural or cognitive metaphor difference is detected in translation, which is possible to be analysed through the cognitive metaphor theory and translation strategies developed for metaphor identification.

It has also been confirmed that conceptual metaphors do exist beyond the scope of literature, and are represented in simple, everyday texts such as magazine articles, in which they are not poetic devices but conventionalised expressions. By making the texts flow more smoothly they help target readers to understand and integrate ideas specific to another culture in to their own. In this way, it is further emphasised that metaphors provide keys to understanding, which are essential to the way our conceptualisation works and we understand other cultures.

Finally, based on the analysis it can be concluded that translation is indeed a redefinition and reverbalisation of not just the original text, but also of cultural ideas, values and ways of thought embedded in language. As it has been shown, through continuous interaction with others, the content of mental images in our mind created with personal knowledge and experience becomes conventionalised and fixed in a given culture. This is how cognitive structures are reflected in language, and this is why the translation of metaphors mediates shared and universal understandings in a way that target cultures are able to process its message and understand with their metaphorically defined, unique approach to the world and themselves.

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### Appendices

Sample excerpts from the article 'Britain's 10 most significant naval battles' written by Sam Willis (BBC History Magazine, 2012, August) as Appendix A, and from its Hungarian translation 'A britek 10 legfontosabb tengeri csatája' translated by Dániel Litván (BBC History, 2013, January), Appendix B.



