

Metaphorization in the Translation of Political Texts

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Author Note

Although the material used is political speech, we don't have political motives. We focus on one specific translation strategy of metaphor in this genre, with no intention to promote or criticize China, Chinese policies, or the Chinese president. We have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

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Abstract

The translation strategy known as “metaphorization” involves adding a metaphor to the target text when the source text contains either a non-metaphorical expression or nothing at all. This strategy has been identified by Toury (1995, p. 81) in the two abovementioned categories as “non-metaphor into metaphor” and “0 into metaphor”, alongside other typical strategies such as retaining the original metaphor. While there has been some research on metaphor translation strategies, the phenomenon of metaphorization remains relatively unexplored. Metaphorization highlights the extra effort translators make beyond conveying what is already in the source text. It is therefore interesting to explore what metaphors translators add to their translations, to understand the contexts in which translators utilize metaphorization, and to discuss the potential influence of metaphorization as such. Taking political discourse as a grounding owing to its richness in metaphor and expressiveness in communicating ideology, this paper seeks to provide some tentative insights into these questions based on a parallel corpus comprising Chinese source texts and English target texts. Drawing on recent developments in cognitive metaphor theories, the phenomenon of metaphorization is analyzed from linguistic, cognitive, and communicative perspectives.

Keywords: corpus analysis, metaphorization, metaphors translation, political discourse, translation strategy

Metaphorization in the Translation of Political Texts

1. Introduction

Metaphor is a translation challenge that has been regularly investigated in translation studies (Malmkjær, 2022, p. 211). While much attention has been paid to metaphor translation and related strategies, the specific phenomenon of metaphorization remains relatively underexplored compared to its littermates such as retention (i.e., retaining the original metaphor). By definition, metaphorization denotes: 1) the use of a metaphor in the target text (TT) for a non-metaphorical expression in the source text (ST), known as from “non-metaphor into metaphor”; or 2) the addition of a metaphor in the TT with no linguistic motivation in the ST, known as from “0 into metaphor” (Toury, 1995, p. 81). Therefore, metaphorization can be identified by comparing the TT with the ST. The identification process usually starts by screening the TT to highlight all metaphorical expressions. Then, each expression is traced back to the ST to determine if there is a corresponding metaphor. If not, the metaphorical expression in the TT is coded as an instance of metaphorization.

Political texts are often rich in metaphors and it is one of the classic themes in metaphor translation research. In political discourse, metaphors play a vital role in disseminating key concepts, explaining complex policies, justifying political actions, and eliciting emotional reactions from the recipients (Charteris-Black, 2014, pp. 200-215; Semino, 2008, pp. 83-124). Although metaphors are powerful, they are also subject to cognitive and linguistic variations when used in different social contexts (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Musolff, 2000, 2020; Schäffner, 2004b). Consequently, the interpretation of political metaphors can vary considerably depending on the context, especially between culturally distant languages such as Chinese and English. While efforts have been made to examine strategies for translating political metaphors between these two languages (e.g., Sun, 2018; Xiao, 2013; Yang & Zhao, 2020), literature with a focus on the phenomenon of metaphorization is scarce to find.

Unlike other translation strategies where translators may keep, modify, or remove the metaphorical segments found in the ST, metaphORIZATION showcases the translator's effort to bring new elements to their translations, which adds an extra layer to the information conveyed in the ST. Several interesting questions could be asked in this scenario. For example, what is the relationship between the metaphors added to the TTs and those in the STs? Under what circumstances do translators utilize metaphORIZATION? What potential influence does metaphORIZATION have on the overall presentation and reception of a translation? This paper seeks to provide initial insights into these questions, taking the translation of CPC (the Communist Party of China) literature as a case study.

The reason for choosing this genre is twofold. First, among the political texts in China, CPC literature is quintessential, comprising the works of political leaders such as public speeches, interviews, and political documents. Similarly, the translations of CPC literature are centrally managed: they are initiated, funded, and executed by state-owned translation agencies to "help the global community better understand the guiding ideology and major policies of the country" (Jia, 2011, p. 81).¹ Second, according to the literature, the translation of CPC literature must conform to the translation standards of "accuracy" and "fluency" (Gao & Huang, 2021, p. 81; Wang, 2002, p. 26; Yin, 2016, p. 79). This requirement makes the genre stand out for studying metaphORIZATION from Chinese into English: if metaphORIZATION exists in the translations of CPC literature, the additional information conveyed through metaphORIZATION is seemingly at odds with the "accuracy" standard required by the national translation agencies.

Therefore, this paper examines metaphORIZATION in the translation of CPC literature as a lens to understand this unique phenomenon. Specifically, the texts chosen for the analysis comprise the original Chinese texts of *The Governance of China* (2014) and its official English translations. These texts were selected because they represent the initial attempt that the Chinese government made to introduce Xi Jinping's government to the international community (Gao & Huang, 2021, p. 80) and they are proven to be rich in metaphorical expressions (Cao & Wang, 2017, p. 65).

2. Metaphorization in Metaphor Translation Research

The initial discussion on the translation strategies of metaphors can be traced back to Newmark (1980, 1988). Taking a prescriptive approach, Newmark (1988, pp. 106–113) proposed a list of translation strategies based on a generic categorization of metaphors. Later, following a descriptive approach, Toury (1995, p. 81) proposed a new list which includes the existence of added metaphors identified in the TTs. This seminal list indicates the development of metaphor from a “problem” to a “solution” in translation studies (Schäffner, 2004a, p. 257).

Subsequent research on metaphor translation has been largely fueled by the development of cognitive metaphor theories, which gives a more detailed insight into different layers of metaphor translation. In the late 1970s, cognitive linguists began to view metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Ortony, 1979, among others). As a result, metaphor scholars turned to examine conceptual metaphors, i.e., the overarching cognitive structure in our brain (e.g., TIME IS MONEY), which guides the manifestation of metaphorical expressions (e.g., we must *spend* our time wisely). Influenced by this cognitive turn in metaphor studies, researchers have introduced the cognitive layer of metaphor to translation research, for example, the “cognitive translation hypothesis” in Mandelblit (1995) and the “cognitive equivalence hypothesis” in Al-Zoubi et al. (2007). More recently, translation researchers have begun to distinguish linguistic metaphors from conceptual metaphors, which provides a more rounded framework for categorizing metaphor translation strategies (e.g., Merakchi & Rogers, 2013; Schmidt, 2015; Shuttleworth, 2017). The advancement in analyzing linguistic and conceptual metaphors also sheds light on the discussion of metaphorization and provides the basis to analyze metaphor translation from linguistic, cognitive, and communicative perspectives, as shown in Section 3.

Regarding political discourse, existing research on metaphor translation in this context tends to focus on translation strategies and the factors that influence the choice of strategies under the paradigm of conceptual metaphor theory (Schäffner, 2004a, 2012). In this thread, special concern

has been given to semantic transfer or expansion that core political concepts experience in translation, which reveals political motivation and patterns of ideological influence (Al-Harrasi, 2001; Schäffner, 1997, 2004b; Sharifian, 2007; Sharifian & Jamarani, 2013). Much of the research on the translation of Chinese political texts into other languages to date has focused on listing highly generalized metaphor translation approaches, such as “foreignization” and “domestication”. (e.g., Li, 2015; Sun, 2018; Yang, 2012). In those studies with a descriptive nature, instances of metaphORIZATION have been identified in the English translations of Chinese political texts (Lu & Chen, 2021; Sheng, 2021). Even though metaphORIZATION generates tension around the accuracy requirement of translating Chinese political literature, this phenomenon still lacks the attention that it deserves, which is especially the case when considering the recent theoretical development that explores metaphor from linguistic, cognitive, and communicative dimensions.

3. Three Dimensions of Metaphor

It is generally accepted that metaphor is a multi-dimensional phenomenon (Steen, 2014, p. 221), comprising the cognitive, linguistic, and communicative facets. This section explains the key concepts adopted for analyzing metaphORIZATION from the three aspects.

In cognitive metaphor theories, metaphor is perceived as “conceptual metaphor”, denoting a way of thinking that builds our conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). The analogical reasoning embedded in metaphorical thinking enables us to understand one experience (known as the “target domain”, which tends to be more abstract) in terms of another (known as the “source domain”, which tends to be more concrete). The two “domains” are connected by “mappings” – the similarities shared. Such conceptual mapping is partial in the sense that only some aspects of the source domain are involved in the understanding of the target. In this way, only some features of the target domain are highlighted, with some less relevant features hidden in the background. At the same time, mapping can bring with it the rich knowledge about the source domain and produce entailments for understanding the target domain (Kövecses, 2002, pp. 93–95), leading to the arousal

of certain emotions (Goatly, 1997, p. 158), as well as the articulation of points of view. Notably, some mappings are universal due to shared experiential and cognitive basis, while others witness intercultural variations because of different governing principles regarding key concepts, and natural and physical environments (Kövecses, 2002, pp. 163–198). Therefore, it is necessary to examine if metaphorization in interlingual translation contains any idiosyncratic features and if emotions, inferences, and entailments produced by such mappings can maintain or enrich the intended meaning and effects of the original text.

At the linguistic level, things become more complicated because the human conceptual system ranges from the most general to the most specific (Kövecses, 2020, pp. 51–55). The generic level of metaphors may be universal but filling in details sensitive to cultures at the specific level, foregrounding some conceptual elements of the source domain, and constructing the metaphorical scenario are not without problems (Musolff, 2004, p. 3; Semino, 2008, p. 10). Compared to “domain”, “scenario” denotes a smaller but richer mental representation, implicitly specifying the actors, actions and evaluation related to the source domain (Koller & Ryan, 2016, p. 136). Because metaphorical scenarios are text-based, they can only be distinguished by rich metaphorical expressions that activate the rich mental representation. The recent “text-based” turn (Semino & Demjén, 2017, p. 3) in metaphor studies highlights the importance of language attributes. As far as metaphorization is concerned, metaphorical scenarios constructed by added metaphorical expressions can be a good starting point to explore the tension between STs and TTs at a textual level.

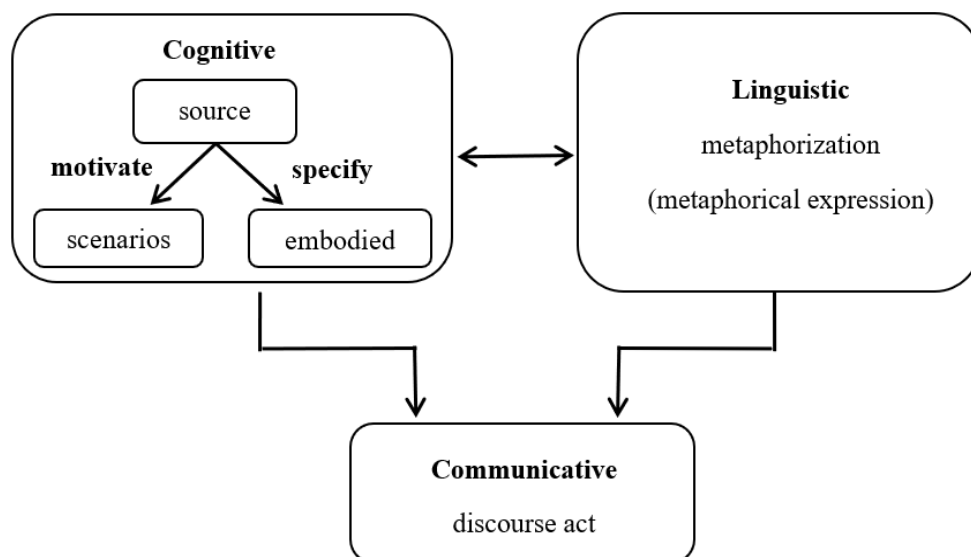
Last but not least, metaphor is a cognitive and linguistic phenomenon, but it is also an important means to achieve communicative purposes. It is an indirect way to articulate points of view and reveal how people feel about topical issues. The indirect expressions and emotional effects of metaphor can help users “tap into an accepted communal system of values” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 12), rather than bluntly imposing a set of extrinsic values on the recipients. In political discourse, metaphors are used by politicians to advocate their policies and it is among the most

effective means to influence the recipients. The message delivered by metaphors achieves a sound degree of persuasiveness, by creating a moral perspective on life, constructing a positive image of politicians or the party they represent, and appealing to emotions that are unconsciously formed by beliefs, values, and attitudes (Charteris-Black, 2005, pp. 11-18). In the same vein, metaphorization in the translation of political texts can carry similar communicative functions.

Based on the three facets presented above, examining metaphorization from linguistic, cognitive, and communicative aspects can provide a holistic insight into this phenomenon, as depicted in Figure 1 below. Such multi-dimensional study reveals how metaphorization transcends translational barriers imposed by different linguistic and conceptual systems and demonstrates whether metaphorization can serve the communicative purpose in interlingual translation.

Figure 1

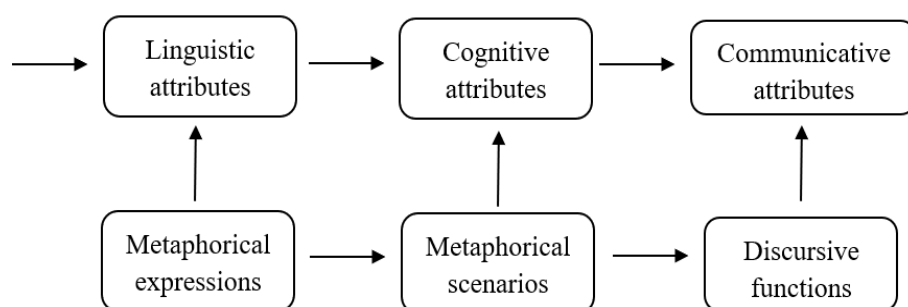
Three Dimensions of Metaphor



4. Data and Method

Examples discussed in the paper were sourced from a parallel corpus comprising the first volume of 《习近平谈治国理政》 (literally, Xi Jinping on the governance of the country and the organization of politics) published in 2014 and its English translation *The Governance of China* published in the same year. The ST compiles Xi Jinping's major works delivered between November 2012 and June 2014. The volume includes speeches, talks, interviews, instructions, and correspondence. It was the first of its kind, which features the Chinese government's official introduction to Xi's leadership under his governance. It was translated by China International Communication Group (a.k.a. the China Foreign Languages Publishing Administration). The ST and TT were aligned in ParaConc (Barlow, 2008) to build a parallel corpus, which contains 196,526 Chinese characters and 129,819 English words. The Chinese lexical analysis system NLPir-ICTCLAS was used for the segmentation of Chinese characters, yielding 108,073 Chinese words.

Figure 2 presents the workflow of data analysis. The analytical procedure begins with the identification of linguistic attributes of metaphorization examples. This allows us to identify the underlying conceptual attributes before examining their discursal functions. Metaphorical expressions were manually collected by screening the ST and the TT, guided by the basic procedures for identifying linguistic metaphors set out in MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010, pp. 5–11). Afterwards, candidate examples were further filtered based on their relevancy to political discourse. The identification process was carried out in two separate stages, which were set apart by three months. Controversial items were singled out for further discussion. The metaphorical expressions identified in the TT were then used as inputs in the ParaConc parallel concordance tool, in order to trace if there were metaphorical expressions in the ST. Phrasal verbs, compounds, proper names and polywords are regarded as one lexical unit because they indicate one concept or referent. If an idiom is used metaphorically, each component in it will be coded as a metaphorical expression (Steen, 2017, p. 80).

Figure 2*Analytical Procedure of the Current Research*

After the occurrences of metaphORIZATION were extracted, they were classified based on their respective source and target domains. The basic meaning of each lexical unit indicates the source domain. The existing literature on political metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2005, pp. 30–195; Semino, 2008, pp. 81–123) provides references for coding and grouping the source domains identified in the dataset. The online Macmillan Thesaurus (<https://www.macmillanthesaurus.com>) was used to determine the related words indicating the same source domain. Each source domain is complex in semantic structure, presupposing different aspects of related experiences and phenomena. The expressions belonging to the same conceptual domain were further categorized into conceptual clusters that focus on some aspects of prototypical knowledge and experience of the domain. For example, the metaphorical expressions such as *step* and *go ahead* imply “forward movement”. Therefore, they were categorized into the same conceptual cluster that foregrounds the conceptual element of STEP in the generic domain of JOURNEY. There are other conceptual clusters which profile the conceptual elements of PATH, SPEED and DESTINATION. Together, these different conceptual elements will build up the scenario of FORWARD MOVEMENT in the JOURNEY domain.

Apart from determining the basic meaning of the lexical units, Oxford English Dictionary online (<https://www.oed.com>) was used to evaluate whether a metaphorical expression is lexicalized or not, with a reference to the examples set out in Dickins (2005, p. 231) where lexicalized metaphors are defined as “uses of language which are recognizably metaphorical, but whose meaning in a

particular language is relatively clearly fixed”. In addition, natural language-based English corpora (e.g., BNC, COCA and iWeb) were used to illustrate the use of these added metaphors in English, showing their contextual traits and the level of acceptance in the target language.

5. Findings and Discussion

In total, 90 instances of metaphORIZATION were found in the English translation. Most of these examples have been proved pervasive in Anglophone political discourse, especially in political speeches (Charteris-Black, 2005, pp. 41–45, 91–97; Semino, 2008, pp. 90–105). Based on the method presented in Section 4, these examples were grouped into eight source domains, with eighteen sub-groups across the source domains. Table 1 presents a summary of the examples, at the levels of “source domain”, “conceptual element”, and “metaphorical expression” (from more general/conceptual to more specific/linguistic). The frequency of their occurrences is also shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Metaphorization in the Target Text: An Overview

Source Domain	Conceptual Element	Metaphorical Expression	Frequency of Occurrence
JOURNEY	STEP	step, move, stride, push, pace, go ahead, forge ahead, advance, follow in steps with, forward	18
	PATH	path, way, stray, blaze new trails	5
	GUIDE	lead (leading), guide, guidance	4
	SPEED	slow down, lag, fall behind	3
	OBSTACLE	barrier, stand in the way	2
	DESTINATION	lead to	1
WAR	FIGHTING	combat, fight	26
	PLACES	front line	1
LIVING ORGANISM	PLANTS AND THEIR FEATURES	growth, root, grow, rampant, fruit	7
	HUMAN BEHAVIOR	stand up, cradle, hand in hand	3
	ANIMAL BEHAVIOR	feather one’s nest, to give free rein, rein	3
BUILDING	BUILDING	build	7
	PARTS OF BUILDING	door, foundations	4

LINK	TIE	ties	2
FOOD	CREAM	cream	1
	NUT	nuts	1
PERFORMANCE	STAGE	lower the curtain	1
WEATHER	RELEVANT FACILITY	barometer	1
Total			90

5.1 Linguistic Features of Metaphorization

Regarding the linguistic aspect of metaphorization cases, a prominent feature is the use of lexicalized metaphors. The dataset comprises orthographic words (e.g., *pace*), phrasal verbs (e.g., *fall behind*), compounds (e.g., *frontline*) and idioms (e.g., *blaze new trails*, *feather one's nest*). These examples, drawing on popular source domains such as JOURNEY, BUILDING and WAR, can be frequently found in political discourse (Semino, 2008, pp. 81–109). As shown in Table 2, 53 instances of metaphors are categorized as lexicalized ones, which have metaphorical meanings recorded in their respective entries in the Oxford English Dictionary online, weighing 58.9% in the overall dataset.

These metaphors are conventional in English and can be easily understood by an English-speaking target audience. Adopting these lexicalized metaphors in the English translation can help explain political realities and policies rooted in Chinese culture in a more accessible manner.

Table 2

Lexicalized Metaphors in the Metaphorization Examples

Lexicalized metaphor	Metaphorical sense	Frequency
barometer	Something which reflects changes in circumstances or opinions.	1
cradle	The place or region in which anything is nurtured or sheltered in its earlier stage.	2
cream	The most excellent element or part; the best of its kind; the choice part; the quintessence.	1
hard nut	A difficult question or problem; a matter or undertaking difficult to accomplish; a person hard to deal with, conciliate, etc.	2
rein	To rule, guide, or govern.	8
root	The source, origin, or cause of a quality, condition, tendency, etc. (esp. an undesirable one).	20
tie	Something that ties or binds in a figurative or abstract sense.	1

frontline	A position at the forefront of new developments or ideas, or at the center of a social, political, or ideological debate; the vanguard.	3
blaze new trails	To lead the way, esp. in some new development or activity	4
feather one's nest	To avail oneself of opportunities for laying up wealth, to enrich oneself	1
follow in the footsteps of	To do the same job, have the same style of life, etc. as someone else.	1
to give somebody free rein	To give somebody complete freedom of action.	2
hand in hand	In close conjunction or association	6
lower the curtain	To bring something to an end; To finish something	1
Total		53

In addition, adding lexicalized metaphors can also deliver intended perspectives and activate associated emotions among the target readers. For example, the translator rendered the non-metaphorical statement 任其发展下去 (to let it develop by itself) as “allow it to *run rampant*”. Based on the context, the Chinese reference 其 (it) refers to bad ethos among some of the Party members. The added metaphorical expression “run rampant” retains the negative tone. According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online (2023), “rampant” compares the spread of bad ethos to the uncontrolled growth of plants, and the spread of negative moral phenomenon is described as wildly growing plants. In BNC, the most frequently used collocates of “rampant” include *inflation* ($MI^2 = 7.41$), *individualism* ($MI = 9.62$), *corruption* ($MI = 7.49$), *sexism* ($MI = 8.99$), *violence* ($MI = 4.78$), and *population* ($MI = 3.51$), in addition to *run* ($MI = 3.79$). This suggests that, in the general use of English, the adjective “rampant” is used as a modifier to form noun phrases, and the nouns that frequently collocate with “rampant” tend to be associated with negative social connotations, such as population expansion, discrimination, violence, or corruption. In the translation, the negative emotion associated with “rampant” not only delivers the meaning of 发展 (to develop) as in the ST, but also made explicit the negative connotation embedded in the ST, which enhanced the overall expressiveness in the TT.

5.2 Cognitive Attributes of Metaphorization

On the cognitive level, the metaphorical expressions added to the TT construct various scenarios to represent different political and social events mentioned in the ST. As shown in Table 3, the most salient metaphorical scenarios include FORWARD MOVEMENT, WAR LAUNCHING, and BUILDING CONSTRUCTION, taking up 68.9% of all the constructed metaphorical scenarios. These metaphors were mainly adopted to describe the Chinese government's plan for development and the Communist Party's policy to curb corruption.

Table 3

The Main Metaphorical Scenarios Constructed in Metaphorization

Source Domain	Metaphorical Scenario	Target Domain	Frequency of Occurrences
JOURNEY	FORWARD MOVEMENT	DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA	28
	STEP	THE DEVELOPMENT	
	GUIDE	THE BASIC SYSTEM AND PRINCIPLE	
	PATH	THE MODE OF DEVELOPMENT	
	BREAKTHROUGH	OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES	
	DESTINATION	ACHIEVEMENT OF DEVELOPMENT	
	BACKWARD MOVEMENT	LAGGING DEVELOPMENT	4
BUILDING	STOP OF MOVEMENT	ABANDONED DEVELOPMENT	1
	BUILDING	CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT	7
	PARTS OF A BUILDING (THE FOUNDATION)	THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT	4
	THE DOOR	ACCESS TO THE COUNTRY	
WAR	WAR LAUNCHING	ANTI-CORRUPTION	19
		DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY	4
		DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA	2
		CULTIVATING TALENTS	2
LIVING ORGANISM	GROWTH OF PLANTS	DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA	5
		DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE ECONOMY AND DIPLOMACY	
		FORMING THE SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE	1
	CONTROL OF ANIMAL	CURBING CORRUPTION	3
		IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES	1
	BEHAVIORS OF HUMANS	ACTION TAKEN BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT	3
Total			84

The majority of JOURNEY metaphors (28 out of 33) are linked to FORWARD MOVEMENT, such as *step forward* and *move forward*. They highlight different actions in the process of approaching a destination, denoting the concrete measures that the Chinese leaders tend to take in different contexts.

As an illustration, Example (1) talks about an appeal for cooperation between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. The translator rendered the non-metaphorical expression 采取更多积极举措 (to take more active measures) as “take more positive steps”. The scenario of FORWARD MOVEMENT, motivated by the linguistic metaphor “take steps”, corresponds to a positive change in developments. It conveys a positive evaluation of the corresponding elements in the target domain, i.e., the measures taken to enhance the cooperation between the two sides.

(1) ST: 两岸双方应该为深化经济、科技、文化、教育等领域合作采取更多积极举措。

[Literally: The two sides across the strait should take more positive measures to deepen cooperation in the fields of economy, technology, culture, and education, etc.]

TT: The two sides should take more positive steps to stimulate their economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and educational cooperation.

In the scenario of FORWARD MOVEMENT, relevant scenarios including PATH, GUIDE, and OBSTACLES are utilized, as exemplified by metaphorical expressions including *track*, *way*, *blaze new trails*, *lead to*, *guide*, *guidance*, *barrier*, *stand in the way* identified in the translation. These metaphorical expressions describe the way in which the Chinese government has chosen for its development, the political system that it has adhered to and will follow for further development, and various difficulties that it has and will overcome in the future.

Example (2) is a case in point. The non-metaphorical source segment addresses the uniqueness of the Chinese political system (i.e., socialism with Chinese characteristics), and the translation features the JOURNEY metaphor triggered by “lead...to...”, forming the mapping between the

element of GUIDANCE in the source domain and the element of CHINESE SOCIALISM in the target domain.

(2) ST: 只有中国特色社会主义才能发展中国

[Literally: Only socialism with Chinese characteristics can develop China.]

TT: Only Chinese socialism can lead our country to development.

The universal understanding of the role that guidance can play in a forward movement gives rise to the meaning that the political system under the guidance of Chinese socialism provides the basic principles for its development. This political system is also highlighted through the BUILDING scenario in Example (3), in which the development of Chinese socialism is compared to the construction of a building through the metaphor 建设 (to build). In the TT, this BUILDING metaphor was retained with the corresponding English word “build”. Notably, in line with this metaphor, originally existing in the ST, the nominal metaphor FOUNDATION was added to the translation, which helps to build coherence between the ST and the TT.

(3) ST: 深刻领会建设中国特色社会主义的总依据、总布局、总任务。

[Literally: Deeply understand the overall standard, the overall planning and overall task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.]

TT: We must have an in-depth understanding of the foundation, overall planning, and main mandate of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The understanding of the key role that a foundation plays in the construction of a building derives from the original metaphor in the ST but exceeds the persuasive effect of the original text. This added metaphorical expression highlights the significance of Chinese socialism for the development of China, complementing the information delivered in the ST.

In addition to the FORWARD MOVEMENT scenario, the WAR LAUNCHING scenario is the second most prevalent one in the dataset. It is manifested by verb metaphors (e.g., *combat*, *fight*, etc.) and

nominal metaphors (e.g., *fight*,³ *front line*, etc.). These metaphors are not used to emphasize the aggressiveness of political conflicts but to highlight the seriousness of these problems and present strategies to deal with these problems. For example, the CPC's movement to curb corruption was depicted as a war when the translator rendered the non-metaphorical expression 反腐 (anti-corruption) as "combat corruption". Here, corruption is described as an enemy that must be wiped out for the Party's development. This metaphORIZATION, powered by the embedded WAR metaphor, can remind the readers of the severity of corruption, the threat it poses to the Party's survival and the urgency of eliminating it, indicating the government's determination to eradicate it.

5.3 Communicative aspects of metaphORIZATION

The communicative function of metaphORIZATION mainly comprises three elements. First, the examples indicate that metaphORIZATION can facilitate the communication of Chinese political ideas. Second, with the help of metaphORIZATION, translators were able to adapt the narrative of the ST to the target audience, which contributes to the construction of a positive image of the topical entities narrated in the source texts, China, and its citizens. Third, metaphORIZATION makes it possible to either amplify persuasion or downplay controversial tones.

5.3.1 Communicating Chinese Governance

By highlighting the similarities between a familiar target domain and a source domain that addresses a foreign phenomenon in Chinese society, added metaphors in the TT make the translation more accessible for the target audience, hence enhancing the efficiency of communicating Chinese governance mentioned in the ST.

the Chinese phrase 只有...才... (only...when...) indicates a conditional relationship, in which the nominal group following the conjunctive 只有 (only) is the necessary condition to realize the action represented by the predicate in the clause. The meaning of the ST is this: "Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a sufficient and necessary condition for the development of China". As discussed in

Example (2), the translator added a JOURNEY metaphor, which is realized by the verbal group “lead...to...”. It constructs the FORWARD MOVEMENT scenario, in which the political system is described as the guide that provides the right direction to arrive at the destination. Such metaphorization in translation highlights the cause-effect relationship between the political system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the development of China.

In addition, added metaphors can provide logical support to governmental policies. In translating the Party’s policy against corruption, the translators add 19 instances of WAR metaphors. These conflict metaphors construct corruption as an enemy that threatens China’s development. Just like an enemy must be destroyed to survive a war, corruption must be eliminated to ensure China’s development. Any measures against corruption are regarded as rational and necessary policies. This to some extent legitimates the movement launched by the Party against corruption.

By representing China’s political reality through universally shared experiences, the translator brings the TT closer to the target reader and the abstract concepts rooted in a foreign culture more accessible to them. The explication of logical relationships conveyed by these metaphorization cases also provides solid support for political arguments and enhances the persuasiveness of the meaning conveyed by the translation.

5.3.2 Establishing Positive Images

The examples also show that metaphorization can produce a positive evaluation of the participants involved in the scenarios constructed by the added metaphors. The FORWARD MOVEMENT and BUILDING scenarios are mapped to China’s progress in various fields, including economy, military forces, social reform, and diplomatic relationships. As for domestic development, the various goals China is pursuing are represented as destinations and high-rise buildings. Active measures and strategies taken to achieve these goals are described as movement (towards a destination) or a process (of constructing a building). The people involved in this process are depicted as forerunners or builders, with the Communist Party being described as a guide or an

architect. Since the two scenarios are conventionally evaluated positively, the involved Party and people are described as enterprising participants.

In translating the statement about China's diplomatic policy, the translators sometimes replaced the non-metaphorical expressions with a BUILDING metaphor. For example, the non-metaphorical expression concerning the Sino-US relationship 新型大国关系 (a new model of super-power relationship) is translated into a BUILDING metaphor, as "*building* a new model of major-country relationship", which describes the achievement of this model as a process of constructing a building. This metaphor conveys an implied meaning that this diplomatic model can only be achieved through strategic planning and long-term efforts from the two sides. In this way, the necessity of cooperation in the establishment of Sino-US diplomatic relations is highlighted and the cooperative image of China is conveyed.

In addition, some other added metaphors illustrate that China is aware of the problems in its development. The OBSTACLE element and BACKWARD MOVEMENT scenario, constructed by metaphorical expressions such as "lag behind" and "barrier", foreground the difficulties that China must overcome for its development. The added WAR and PLANT metaphors were used to describe the corruption and moral deterioration among Party members, which shows the Party tends to reflect on its drawbacks and has a strong determination to eliminate them.

5.3.3 Managing Emotion

Apart from facilitating the communication of political concepts and policies and constructing positive images of the nation, metaphORIZATION also serves as a way to manipulate emotional impact and as a tool for toning down criticism that might cause controversy in the target culture.

The BUILDING metaphor, with a proactive tone, typically carries the meaning of converging efforts over an extended period of time for desired outcomes. Adding this metaphor in the translation could potentially help to deliver the information that the Chinese government intends to invite collaborative efforts from other countries and from Chinese people, for achieving alignment

with the international community and enhancing the moral of Chinese people. The highly expressive source domain of JOURNEY was added in the translation to integrate the positive experience of a successful arrival at a destination with various achievements in China's development. The WAR metaphor emphasizes the necessity and urgency of the policy against corruption. All these metaphors indicate a move to win trust and empathy from the target audience – a different group of recipients compared to its original Chinese audience.

In addition to increasing emotional impacts on the target audience, metaphorization could also help to alleviate negative emotions, showcasing the flexibility that metaphors can give the translators in their reiteration of the original meaning when facing different recipients. In a statement about the superpowers' diplomatic policies, Example (4) 国强必霸 (a strong country must be a bully) was used to criticize the superpowers for their strong will to control and dominate other countries. The sentence comes with a negative tone, suggesting that China will not implement the same diplomatic policy.

(4) ST: 我们不认可“国强必霸”的逻辑。

[Literally: We don't recognize the logic of "a strong country must hegemony".]

TT: It will never follow in the footsteps of the superpowers.

Retaining the explicit criticism of the superpowers' diplomatic politics in the translation could potentially lead to a negative emotional response among the target readers. Instead, the metaphorical idiom "follow in the footsteps" was chosen to characterize the behavior of adopting the same diplomatic policy as the powerful countries, ambiguating the specific entailments of "footsteps". Designated in a negative tone, the metaphorization here delivers the original meaning and reduces the possibility of offending target readers.

6. Conclusions

Drawing on examples collected from political texts, the case study presents the instances of metaphorization created by translators in Chinese-English political discourse, how they were used, and the potential influence that of these metaphorization examples.

Regarding their linguistic features, almost all the metaphorization cases were lexicalized metaphors. These expressions have been entrenched in the English language, motivating conventional conceptual patterns that can activate rich mental representation. They bring the translation closer to the target audience by building a bridge of shared human experiences. The relevant elements, relations and inferences of these familiar domains were recruited to explain the Chinese political system and the affiliated abstract political concepts, making less familiar notions more accessible to the target readers. The metaphorization examples identified in the corpus feature three prominent scenarios – FORWARD MOVEMENT, BUILDING and WAR, describing the measures that the Chinese government has taken, or will take, for its development and cooperation with other countries in global affairs and for eradicating corruption. These metaphorization cases not only enhance the arguments made in the ST, but also promote a positive image of the government and its policies. Owing to the fuzzy nature of metaphor, these metaphorization examples may enhance the persuasiveness of the TT and help to alleviate controversial criticisms that might push the audience away from the TT.

On top of the findings presented above, this paper also seeks to draw scholarly attention to the underexplored phenomenon of metaphorization, especially given its importance in understanding the translation of political texts. The case studies presented in the paper make an initial attempt to address the general questions relating to metaphorization. Apparently, more effort needs to be made. For future research, it could be helpful to expand the size and coverage of the corpus to investigate metaphorization across cultures, in order to obtain comparative insights into different discourses. Methodologically, ethnological methods can be incorporated to enhance the validity of

communicative aspects of metaphORIZATION, drawing on expertise in reader- and translator-oriented research. Also, experimental methods rooted in translation process research can be integrated to examine the cognitive aspects of metaphORIZATION, alongside the theoretical speculations made based on text-based corpora.

Notes

1. The translation of the CPC literature concerned in this research is funded and organized by the Chinese Foreign Languages Publishing Administration. The translators include both Chinese and English-speaking experts to ensure that the translated version meets the standard of “accuracy” and “fluency” (Yin, 2016).
2. MI denotes Mutual Information scores.
3. Different parts of speech of the same word fight and step were used metaphorically in the English translation.

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