

Translating English political metaphors into Arabic:

A cognitive perspective

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Declaration

I, Mohamed Alshniet, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Although the study of metaphor in Translation Studies (TS) has witnessed a considerable boom, little research has exploited the latest advances in Cognitive Linguistics (CL) for the purpose of investigating the translation of metaphors from English into Arabic. This study is an attempt to start to fill this gap. It investigates the translation of conceptual metaphors and their logical literal entailments in the speeches of American presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). It examines the extent to which developments in CL can help us to answer questions concerning metaphor translation. Recent CL research findings are used to identify and classify the metaphorical expressions in the research data and to analyse the methods of metaphor translation.

In the first part of the investigation, I test the Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) as a model for analysing metaphors translated into Arabic. In the second part, I apply the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to examine what source domains are used and what procedures translators employ to translate metaphorical expressions that relate to them. The third part investigates the presence of morality metaphors as suggested by Lakoff (1996/2002) in the research corpus. To achieve this, I use Degani's (2015) model to identify political metaphorical values, their logical entailments and their translations into Arabic.

The research achieves several significant results. Firstly, it emerges that CBT can be used effectively as a tool for investigating metaphor translation from English into Arabic. Secondly, the analysis of the data reveals significant features about the metaphors used in the speeches of George W. Bush and Barack Obama in UNGA. These metaphors are not of an ideologically loaded type. They do not constitute a significant translation problem to convert from English into Arabic. The study concludes that culture can be of great assistance to translators when converting metaphors from English into Arabic. The study also finds that G.W. Bush and Barack Obama are not exclusively committed to one cognitive family metaphorical model (Strict Father (SF) or Nurturant Parent (NP)) when reasoning about political issues. In fact, the data shows they embrace both models approximately to the same extent.

Impact Statement

This research targets two types of audience: academics who are interested in studying language and thought, and non-academics, especially politicians and their speech-writers. For academics interested in the translation of metaphors, the research provides insights derived from applying the Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) as an analytical model to examine the translation of metaphorical blends from English into Arabic. This is a new angle that is different from the more common practice of using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The explanatory power of CBT enables analysts to determine more accurately where and what sort of changes occur in the target language's metaphorical blends. This research will provide those interested in metaphor studies with an idea of the nature of conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends used in the specific sub-genre of political discourse; namely, the speeches given by two American presidents at the United Nations.

The insights of this research could also be of great benefit for non-academic stakeholders. For instance, the section relating to Lakoff's Theory of Moral Politics (TMP) (1996/2002) provides an explanation of how metaphors affect American politicians' perceptions of politics.

Politicians, political agents and political parties can use the outcomes from this research to avoid metaphors that may cause the kind of political misunderstanding and disagreement that can result from overlooking cultural and social sensitivities. Since metaphors influence our beliefs, values, attitudes and consequently actions (Charteris-Black, 2004:13), careful selection of appropriate metaphorical language would contribute to mitigating the political tensions our world is witnessing.

This research also emphasises the role that metaphor can play in helping politicians to design and communicate their policies, political agendas and electoral campaign discourse. I hope the insights and perceptions, relating to political language, that emerge from this research will help political agents to avoid those intercultural communication traps that can jeopardise societal peace and security.

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List of Abbreviations

CBT	Conceptual Blending Theory
CL	Cognitive Linguistics
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DMIP	Deliberate Metaphor Identification Procedure
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure
MIPVU	Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije University
MRW	Metaphorically Related Words
NP	Nurturant Parent
OMEED	Online Macmillan English-English Dictionary
SF	Strict Father
SL	Source Language
SLM	Source Language Metaphor
TL	Target Language
TLM	Target Language Metaphor
TMP	Theory of Moral Politics

TS	Translation Studies
TTR	Type-Token Ratio
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly

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Acknowledgments in Arabic

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1. Chapter One: Overview of the thesis

1.1 Introduction

Despite the widespread belief that “metaphor and translation enjoy an uneasy relationship” Gentzler (2000:71), translation scholars have focused considerable efforts on determining the methods by which metaphors are transferred from one language and culture into another. There is a common belief that the relation between metaphor and translation has now become less fraught, thanks to developments that have helped to reveal the nature of metaphor itself.

Since the 1980s the view of metaphor translation has shifted considerably, and the main interest of metaphor is no longer in searching for exact equivalents of poetic metaphors. This shift was a result of the radical change in viewing metaphor as a thought mechanism. This novel perspective has liberated translators from the shackles of achieving the exact equivalence into wider worlds of discovering the cognitive processes of metaphor creation.

This study aims to use the ground-breaking work of CL to interpret the translation of political metaphors; its starting point being that metaphor should not be viewed as a translation problem, but as a linguistic and cognitive phenomenon that plays an essential role in shaping reality.

The findings of this research will provide insights into the development of conceptual political metaphors in both English and Arabic since the data selected for analysis cover a period in which major political, economic and social developments have taken place. Furthermore, since the makers of discourse featured in the research corpus espouse different political ideologies, this analysis will reveal whether this factor affects the metaphor-making process and, if this is the case, how translators reflect such ideological metaphors in the target language.

1.2 The research focus

The focus of this research encompasses two branches of knowledge, namely TS and CL. The thesis seeks to investigate the translation of political metaphors from English

into Arabic using, critically, three analytical models: CBT, CMT and Degani's model (2015). The material that will be used as a source of data is the speeches delivered by American Presidents G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA. The analysis first aims to identify the conceptual domains and the mental spaces used to establish metaphorical expressions in the Source Language (SL). This will be followed by an examination of these metaphors in the Arabic version. In addition, the research aims to determine the mappings and projection processes that take place when establishing the source language's metaphorical expressions and their target language counterparts. Further research focus will be on studying the applicability of the theory of moral politics (TMP), or 'Family metaphor' (Lakoff, 1996/2002), to the research corpus.

1.3 The research context

Contrary to the oft-quoted idea that metaphor translation is an under-researched topic, I have found that metaphor is a popular topic in TS. The driving force for this increasing interest in metaphor translation has been the significant advances made in other branches of knowledge; especially those in CL. The ability to perform rigorous analyses of different aspects of metaphor (its creation, interpretation etc.) has encouraged TS scholars in their endeavours to interpret how translators handle metaphors in different languages.

However, the relationship between CL and TS is a reciprocal one as both have contributed to our understanding of metaphor. Studies conducted into metaphor translation have explored aspects of metaphor that could provide the missing pieces in the metaphor study mosaic. One obvious benefit of studying metaphor in translation is the ability to test whether or not the results achieved in studying metaphor in one language (English, for instance) can be generalised to others (such as Arabic, Spanish or Chinese). Thus, if a researcher studies the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger in English, the results obtained can be used to investigate whether or not the same conceptualisations are applicable to Arabic.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) examine the CMT hypothesis using English data. To gain more credibility, and to check the reliability of their results, we need to test their claims

using data from different languages. Studying metaphor in a TS context can accomplish this job impeccably.

Furthermore, I argue that TS has integrated a significant element in the study of metaphor that has been discounted in CL: that is, metaphor and culture. Research of metaphor in TS explicates how culture plays a major role in establishing or interpreting metaphors in different languages (Maalej, 2008).

Metaphors are part and parcel of political language and thought (Martin, 2014). We might talk about ‘economic growth’, or describe a constitution as a (العقد الاجتماعي) (al-‘qid al-ijtimā’ī) (social necklace), or label some policies as ‘wars’ on poverty or drugs. All these are examples which clearly support the claim that “speakers cannot escape metaphors that have become the established ways of referring to political ideas” (Charteris-Black, 2004:16). The investigation of political metaphors has received considerable interest in CMT. Scholars such as Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2013), Musolff (2004, 2016) and Degani (2015, 2018) have all devoted considerable part of their research to exploring the impact of metaphors on political language using CMT as the basis for their work.

In contrast, the study of political metaphor in TS has received less attention compared with the translation of metaphor in literary works. A search in *BITRA (Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation)*, covering the period 2001 to 2020 and using four keywords (‘metaphor’, ‘translation’, ‘political’, and ‘Arabic’), resulted in only four studies. Therefore, I can claim that the translation of political metaphors into Arabic is still an under-researched topic. This study is an attempt to address this gap in knowledge.

This study lies within the TS field. However, it will be obvious to the reader that an important part of it draws much from CL and Charteris-Black’s (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis theory. Drawing on theoretical frameworks from other fields of knowledge is to be expected given the interdisciplinary nature of the TS field itself. As Christopher (2019:235) notes, interdisciplinarity is an essential feature of TS. In fact, there is no such thing as TS alone; TS depends heavily on principles from other fields of knowledge.

1.4 The contribution of this study to the metaphor translation field

Shuttleworth and Abdullah (2013:610) argue that the translation of metaphor is a “widely debated” topic in TS. If this is the case, we need to establish what are the new insights that this study can provide. I believe the attention devoted to this topic in numerous publications, in various fields of knowledge, attests to the impact of Lakoff and Johnson’s seminal book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). However, advances in CL can be utilised more effectively to reveal insights about the transfer of metaphor between different languages and cultures.

The major contributions and originality of this study reside in the methodology adopted to examine the data, and the corpus adopted to investigate the study’s questions. The study will contribute to existing knowledge about metaphor translation in three ways:

It will examine the applicability of the CB model by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) as an analytical model to study metaphor translation. It is believed that this is one of the first studies to attempt to do this using the language pairing of English and Arabic.

It will analyse the metaphorical expressions used in the speeches of G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA. The analysis will explain what source domains are used to establish metaphorical expressions about particular target domains. Previous studies adopted the source domains as the criteria for analysis.

It will examine Lakoff’s hypothesis of moral politics in the context of the Presidents’ UN speeches. In previous research, the data used to test Lakoff’s theory were speeches delivered by politicians to a national audience (election debates, union speeches, and media interviews). In contrast, the data in this research derive from speeches directed to both national and international audiences.

1.5 The aims of the study

The general aim of this thesis is to cast light on the translation of political metaphor from English into Arabic. The study will apply some recent analytical models developed by cognitive linguists: Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT), Conceptual

Theory of Metaphor (CMT) and Theory of Moral Politics (TMP) (Lakoff, 1996/2002).

More specifically, the study aims to:

- test the effectiveness of the explanatory apparatus of CBT in analysing the conceptual blends of both English (source language) and Arabic (target language).
- explore the source domains utilised by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama to establish conceptual metaphors in their UNGA speeches.
- test the usefulness of Degani's model (2015) for investigating the presence of the NATION IS FAMILY metaphor in the speeches of Bush and Obama and how translators express them in the TL.
- investigate the role of cultural background, of both speakers and translators, in formulating metaphorical expressions.

1.6 Research questions

In general, this study seeks to present a new understanding of political metaphor translation from English into Arabic. Using theoretical frameworks from CL, this study sets out to answer the following questions:

1. What new insights can CBT provide as an analytical framework for metaphor translation?
2. What are the metaphorical choices opted for by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA? What are the source domains used to establish conceptual metaphors in these speeches? What are the translation approaches used to translate these metaphors into Arabic?
3. To what extent are political metaphorical and moral values reflected in the corpus of speeches given by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama? What are the translation approaches used to reflect these values in the Arabic version?
4. To what extent do G.W. Bush and Barack Obama each embrace the Strict Father (SF) and Nurturant Parent (NP) models in their UNGA speeches?
5. In what ways does culture appear to affect the translator's translational choices?

1.7 Research motivation

There are several reasons for selecting metaphor translation as the theme for my research. The most relevant of these is my previous research experience with metaphors as the subject of my Masters thesis. After reading an article about metaphor translation (Menacere, 1992) I decided to select this topic as my dissertation theme. Menacere (ibid.) suggests that metaphor is not a literary device but a thought mechanism that is an integral part of our day-to-day deliberations. The metaphors used by poets are simply extensions of more basic metaphors that we all possess. I found this claim intriguing and, with further reading, I learned that this was a recent theory at that time, known as Conceptual Theory of Metaphor.

How and why people perform mapping processes between various conceptual domains and mental spaces, to produce metaphorical expressions, is worthy of research. And new hypotheses, that propose metaphors are only reflections of more schematic patterns that control our thinking, make the CMT all the more promising. Therefore, I decided to continue working with metaphor translation but to expand the scope of my project. I thought that, as a genre, political speeches would be a fertile source for metaphors that perform communicative functions. Moreover, the scope of the research is no longer restricted to CMT but extends to explore other areas of more recent advances in CL; namely, Fauconnier and Turner's (1990s) CBT, and Lakoff's (1996/2002) Theory of Moral Politics (TMP).

1.8 Thesis overview

Overall, there are two major parts to the thesis: theoretical and empirical. The theoretical chapters aim to introduce a range of approaches to defining and describing metaphor. They explain definitions of the technical terms that will be used in the analysis stage. The theoretical chapters seek to sketch out the evolution of metaphor, starting with Classical views, through to the present time. The second part presents the empirical study and consists of three chapters, each applying a different theoretical model to a selection of examples. In each case, the analysis will start by examining the source language (English) metaphors followed by their counterparts in the target language (Arabic).

The thesis consists of nine chapters. The opening chapter seeks to provide readers with an overview of the entire thesis. It presents the aims and the research questions to be addressed and discusses the significance of this research. It also explains the major motivations for embarking on the research project.

The second, third and fourth chapters of the thesis have two aims. The first aim is to trace the development of the study of metaphor through different eras. The survey of the literature will chart how the view of metaphor developed from a purely linguistic device to an essential cognitive mechanism for thought. These chapters also aim to introduce the theoretical frameworks that will be used in analysing the research data. Secondly, in the theoretical part, we will explore how TS has responded to this development in the study of metaphor and to the major insights provided by CL. The paragraphs below will indicate in detail the contents and the aims of each chapter.

Chapter Two, titled ‘Metaphor: the journey from a linguistic to a cognitive view’, will be exclusively devoted to discussing the theoretical aspects of metaphor and the major tenets provided by different theories. This chapter will also discuss in detail the CMT, its evolution and development, its main tenets and the criticisms that have been levelled against it. The second part of the chapter will be dedicated to discussing metaphor and politics and will present Lakoff’s TMP (1996/2002).

Chapter Three introduces the CBT. In this chapter we will be acquainted with the main principles of the latest models in the study of metaphor in CL. As CBT is to be used as an analytical framework, this chapter discusses its main principles, defines its key terms and provides an analysis of a selection of authentic conceptual blending examples. The chapter also establishes the principal differences between CMT and CBT. It concludes by highlighting the potential effectiveness of this theory as an analytical tool for dealing with metaphor in translation.

Chapter Four, titled Metaphor in Translation Studies, reviews the existing literature on the translation of metaphor and considers the different views that have been presented about metaphor translation. Adopting a chronological order, the discussion will start by presenting the earliest views on metaphor translation, known as the ‘linguistic view’. This will be followed by an examination of the more recent cognitive approach

to metaphor translation. The chapter will also touch upon the cultural aspects of creating and translating metaphors.

Chapter Five introduces the research methods and data analysis protocols. In this chapter I will describe the methodology adopted for analysing the data. A rationale will also be provided to justify the major methodological decisions taken when conducting this study. A discussion of the corpus selection and a description of the procedures used for identifying metaphors will also be presented in this chapter.

Results of the analysis of the research data are presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight with each chapter adopting different analytical models. Chapter Six, Translating conceptual blends from English into Arabic, explores the translation strategies used to translate metaphorical blends using CBT. It also considers how CBT may be used to provide plausible justifications for translators' decisions.

Chapter Seven sheds light on the translation of conceptual metaphors from English into Arabic. In this chapter the focus will be on the analysis of metaphors using CMT as an investigative model. This analysis will determine which source domains speakers (G. W. Bush and Barack Obama) resort to when presenting various political themes or target domains. The chapter will also acknowledge the translation strategies used to transfer metaphors from English into Arabic.

Chapter Eight, 'Translating political metaphorical values from English into Arabic', has three main objectives. Using Degani's 2015 model, the first objective is to identify the political moral values embedded in the corpus. The second is to establish whether these political moral values are expressed literally or metaphorically. The third is to determine if these values are translated metaphorically and which translation strategies are used to transfer these moral values into Arabic.

Chapter Nine summarises the concluding remarks and the main findings of the analysis of the examples. The chapter also discusses the limitations of this study and the lessons to be learned from it. It will make suggestions about directions for future research in the political metaphor translation area.

1.9 The major contributions of the study

This study will implement relevant theories concerning the relationship between cognition, language, politics and translation based on data derived from the speeches of American presidents, G.W. Bush and Barack Obama, in the UNGA. The originality of this thesis is twofold: first, the research data, and second, the analytical models used to analyse the data. The research corpus (English speeches, and their Arabic counterparts, of G.W. Bush and Barack Obama) has not been subjected to translational analysis before. The research genre has been examined in the light of three analytical frameworks: CMT, CBT and Degani's model for moral political reasoning. These three models are introduced in the first three chapters of the thesis.

In the Chapter Two, we will start our journey of exploration into metaphor by tracing how intellectuals have attempted to theorise metaphor over long periods of time.

2. Chapter Two: Metaphor, the journey from a linguistic to a cognitive perspective

2.1 Introduction

The major aim of this chapter is to introduce the main theoretical aspects related to metaphor within the context of the current study. To make the reader more aware of the shift in the history of metaphor study (from a linguistic into a cognitive device), the chapter will commence with a brief historical narrative about developments in the study of metaphor. The second part of the chapter will examine one of the empirical aspects of metaphor, i.e., how metaphor affects the way politicians forge their rhetoric, and consequently, the way they act. As the thesis seeks to analyse political texts, this chapter will present a definition of political discourse, as well as examine different types of political discourse and the features of UN General Assembly speeches.

Metaphor is an issue that has received a notable amount of investigation. Searching the keyword ‘metaphor’ in the *Benjamin Bibliography of Metaphor and Metonymy*¹ yielded as many as 1094 result pages. Booth (1979) (cited in Gibbs (1999) mentions ironically that by 2039 there will be more students of metaphor than people in the world. A possible reason for such interest is that metaphor research is not restricted to linguistics or philosophy: various fields of study have started investigating the potential role metaphor can play in shaping or creating knowledge in them (Hodgkin, 1985; Brookes and Etkina, 2007; Jandausch, 2012).

The study of metaphor goes back to the time of Plato in the fourth century BC (Wang, 2013). The common perception at that time was that metaphor is linguistic device used to make texts more appealing. It is a type of deviation from the ordinary use of language. For Socrates (Bowdle and Gentner, 2005), metaphor is an act of intelligence used by speakers to win an argument, but it cannot be a medium for knowledge transfer. Plato considers metaphor as a powerful tool for influencing conviction, but he criticises the use of metaphor by poets to deviate people from the truth (Way, 1991). Despite the importance of Plato’s and Socrates’ contributions, it is Aristotle in the Classical school who commands most recognition for his explanation of metaphor.

¹<https://benjamins.com/online/met/>

This can be attributed to the fact that Aristotle's explanation is one of the earliest attempts to demystify the nature of metaphor in language (Forrester, 2010:623). The following section will shed light on the issue of metaphor definition.

2.1.1 Metaphor definition

Ray Gibbs, a prominent metaphor theoretician, was travelling to a metaphor conference. When security officials at the airport asked him the purpose of his visit, he answered that he was attending a conference about metaphor. The officials asked about the meaning of the word 'metaphor', but Gibbs could not provide a quick answer to the question (Glucksberg, 2001). This sort of hesitation in defining metaphor, by metaphor theorists, indicates that there is no comprehensive description to determine all features associated with metaphor. In a similar vein, Samaniego Fernández (2002:205) mentions that translation scholars evade the issue of metaphor definition. A possible explanation for this lack of consensus is that scholars have different perceptions of the nature and functionality of metaphor.

Two important issues should be taken into consideration in any attempt to define metaphor. Firstly, to discuss definitions of metaphor, presented by different schools of thought, without a unified bond between those definitions, will only produce a scattered picture of the term. Metaphor is not only restricted to language; it can be found in music, paintings, dance and other expressive media (Kittay, 1990:3); therefore, different people will have different eyes with which to appreciate it. Secondly, the attempt to expose all definitions of 'metaphor', up to this moment, is an unattainable goal. Any effort to define metaphor should be subject to narrowing down the scope of metaphor-meaning itself. For this purpose, I will adopt the functionality aspect of metaphor as a principal parameter for metaphor definition. The reason for this is that language is purposeful activity, especially in politics, and metaphor is an essential component in any purposeful communicative act. Therefore, functionality can be adopted as a significant factor in defining the term. The discussion of metaphor definition will be restricted to the three overarching views of metaphor: substitutional, comparison and interaction views. Later on, we will interrogate how a CMT definition of metaphor is different from those presented in interaction, and substitutional and comparison theories.

In the Aristotelian view of metaphor, mastering metaphor is a mark of genius. Aristotle states that "...to make good metaphors implies an eye of resemblance" (Richards, 1981:48). But the question here is why naming something with the name of something else can give the speaker or writer such high intellectual status, and why this eye of resemblance is an exclusive feature for some speakers and writers rather than others. Does using the sentence "X is a lion" indicate any signs of genius? In fact, it is a comparison between "X" and the animal "lion". Although the intention is to convince the addressee that "X" shares with the lion the characteristics of strength and courage, in this case the entire identity of the animal "lion" is transferred to "X". It is a sort of fact breaching and the purpose is to achieve a rhetorical impact. I assume that one possible explanation of the genius claim is the dichotomy of words suggested by Aristotle. He classifies words into current, ordinary, strange or ornamental words. He places metaphorical words between the strange and ornamental types (Guldin, 2016:4). Since not all people can create metaphors out of strange and ornamental words, a conclusion can be drawn that metaphor, for Aristotle, is a deviation from normal use and aims to decorate texts.

The substitutional view of metaphor considers it as a different way of expressing the same literal facts (Black, 1962; Soskice and Martin, 1985). As the name suggests, metaphorical expression in this theory is a replaceable version of a literal counterpart. For Al-Harrasi (2001:38) the substitutional view reveals a sort of internal contradiction. He exemplified his argument with the metaphorical expression "war is contagion". It has been argued that, to solve this contradiction, a simile like "war is like a contagion" can be an option. However, Al-Harrasi did not explain whether this contradiction is an idiosyncratic feature of substitutional metaphors or can appear in other figures of speech. The replacement of literal with metaphorical suggests two critical issues. Firstly, metaphor is an extra-linguistic effort that can be avoided. Secondly, which should be given priority in any meaning project: a metaphorical or a literal expression? In terms of the functionality view of metaphor, one can infer that metaphor does not have a great role to play in establishing meaning since it can be replaced by a literal equivalent without any distortion of the intended meaning. The function of metaphor, based on the principles of the substitutional view, is to entertain the receptor or to show high intellectual capabilities (Black, 1962:34).

The comparison view of metaphor was established as a replacement for its predecessor, the substitution view. In its essence, comparison theory does not differ significantly from substitution theory. The main purpose of metaphor is to perceive some common properties between two unrelated entities (Kövecses, 2018). Although raising similarity is the goal of the substitution theory, the comparison view argues that the principle working mechanism of a metaphor is to highlight the similarity between the topic and the object. For Goatly (1997:118) it is an elliptical version of a simile or comparison. Therefore, the “X is a lion” metaphor, in comparison view, represents “X is like a lion” not “X is brave”. Metaphor, in comparison view, seeks to accentuate the vehicle (the image or thing used to establish the non-literal meaning) or to make the metaphorical scene closer to the truth than in the substitution theory. In this regard, Kjærgaard (1986) suggests that both substitution and comparison views are reducible to literal language. This can be interpreted as suggesting metaphors do not have any cognitive functions and their role is only to make discourse more attractive.

Proponents of interaction theory suggest a different view of metaphor. Their departure point is the rejection of metaphor as an implicit simile; the rejection of the old view of metaphor initiated by Romanticism. They contend that metaphor is more important than merely reviving similarity or ornamenting texts. Kittay (1990:6) argues that “metaphor shaped through the imagination, does not record pre-existing similarities in things; rather, it is the linguistic means by which we bring together and fuse into a unity diverse thoughts and thereby re-form our perceptions of the world”. Unlike the previous theories, metaphor in interaction view is assigned a different role; it is a lens through which we perceive the world in a different way. In other words, the functionality of metaphor shifts from an ornamental role to become an interpretation mechanism for our complex surroundings.

I.A. Richards is one of the earliest exponents of interaction theory of metaphor. He suggests that “As individuals we gain our command of metaphor just as we learn whatever else makes us distinctively human. It is imparted to us from others” (1981:90). This statement indicates that all people can develop skills in using metaphors; using metaphors is not an exclusive skill for those with abnormal talents. People can develop how they use metaphors; consequently, the interaction theory challenges Aristotle’s claim that only people of genius can master metaphor.

The main hypothesis of interaction theory is that metaphor is a result of a tension or interaction between its tenor (the concept, the item or the person that is being modified by metaphor) and its vehicle (the image or thing used to establish the non-literal meaning), and that metaphorical meaning is irreducible. This view is opposite to the substitution and comparison perspectives (Lyon, 2000). Richards (1981:93) argues that “when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction”. Therefore, the creation of metaphor is the result of the interaction of two objects which are not similar. New meanings are created. These meanings were not ascribed to these elements before. Old denotations disappear and new relations exist. Therefore, the function of metaphor, in the interaction view, is not to decorate the text, but to establish new ideas or create new realities. In the interaction view, metaphor is not a mere semantic deviation from the original meaning of the lexical item, but a human cognitive experience. This shift in perceiving metaphor constitutes the foundation for the cognitive turn in studying metaphor.

2.1.2 Metaphor creation mechanisms

One of the common conceptions of using metaphor is that we resort to the secondary meaning of words or phrases to refer indirectly to different meanings. However, it seems cumbersome to probe this issue without a sufficient knowledge of other related issues such as the reasons for speaking indirectly, and whether or not speaking metaphorically can help enhance communication. This aspect is still an under-researched topic in metaphor studies (Beatty et al., 2017). Notably, research has been directed to investigate the issue of metaphor comprehension when this comes after a more critical phase that is the way in which metaphor is created. In this section, I will highlight briefly the most common mechanisms metaphor scholars suggest to produce metaphor.

The earliest mechanism for establishing metaphors was proposed by Aristotle in his book *The Poetics* (Glucksberg, 2001:4). He proposes that metaphor can be made from genus to species, species to genus, species to species and by analogy. For instance, the word ‘chameleons’, in the sentence ‘some politicians are chameleons’, is used to denote the idea of politicians’ ability to change position according to the situations

they find themselves in. Verbs may also be used to produce predicative metaphors. The verb ‘to heal’ in ‘reconciliation will heal the war atrocities’ is an instance of this. In both examples, the writer has substituted one word with another to communicate a different idea.

The intentionality element is clear in the case of substitution mechanism. Metaphor is not an accidental outcome of a linguistic combination, but it is the end-product of a predetermined connection of metaphor parts. This can be achieved by creating new semantic relations between an existing topic and a vehicle. More about this issue is available from Gibbs, (2011:578).

Black (1962) suggests that metaphor has two main components: the literal primary subject (frame) and the metaphor secondary subject (focus). According to Black (ibid.) each of these subjects has a distinctive set of associated ideas and beliefs which are well-known to the language community members. The metaphorical meaning of the word does not result from the substitution of word meaning, or the replacement of the literal with the figurative usage, but it emerges as an outcome of an interaction process which occurs between the focus and the frame. This interaction causes the activation of a “system of common places” in the discourse receiver’s mind (Burkhardt, 2010:315). In the metaphorical sentence ‘this man is a wolf’, the man has acquired some characteristics of ‘wolf’. In fact, the cause of this sort of knowledge exchange is the activation of our acquaintance with the common features of both entities. Furthermore, the new meaning is neither a substitution nor a comparison to the old one.

In contrast to the previous metaphor creation mechanism, the interactional approach does not consider similarity as sole relationship that speakers or writers prefer when creating metaphors. The mechanism in this case relies on creating a state of tension between the tenor (the concept, the item or the person that is being modified by metaphor) and vehicle (the image or thing used to establish the non-literal meaning). In the sentence ‘the less fortunate are the slaves of the modern world’, the metaphor has been created by the projection of some characteristics of slaves onto the “less fortunate” people. The relation in this case is not established on a similarity basis; instead, it is established by finding some common properties between the tenor and

vehicle. Hence, the tendency to consider metaphor as simply a linguistic device starts to shift. The essence of interactional view is that metaphor is the interaction between its two parts (Black, 1979). This new understanding of metaphor has set the scene for the cognitive view of metaphor. The cognitive turn of metaphor will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

2.2 Conceptual theory of metaphor (CMT)

In our attempt to interpret the complexities we face, we use various sources and different mechanisms. For instance, humans acquire knowledge through observation. Early attempts at aviation by humans were developed through observing the flight mechanisms in birds. Through experience, children recognise that fire burns. However, there are other complex concepts that, the more you experience them, the more complex they become. Love, hate, and revenge are a few examples in a longer chain. To figure out and to deconstruct the complexities of these experiences, a novel metaphorical interpretation was put forward in 1980 by two cognitive linguists, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.

Cognitive linguists believe that metaphor can be an effective mechanism in explaining complex abstract concepts. Proponents of the ‘cognitive turn’ believe that metaphor is not a matter of language alone (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Gibbs et al., 1997; Ruiz De Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández, 2011; Kövecses, 2004; 2010; 2015), but a matter of thought and action. This new perception of metaphor has been named Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (CMT). Since the launch of this new theory, the study of metaphor has witnessed a noticeable boom in different areas, such as the way people conceptualise diseases and sports, and how metaphor can facilitate communication about natural phenomena like climate change (Brown, 2003; Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001; Burnes, 2011; Elkind, 1998).

In essence, the CMT seeks to provide an interpretation for metaphorical expression based on the relation between concrete and abstract domains. In other words, metaphor uses well-known objects and concepts to help people understand vague and complex ideas. Before we commence explaining the CMT’s principles, we need first to

understand the basis upon which this theory has been established and the reasons it has been so well received.

The experiences we go through, or that we observe, are of two types: concrete and abstract. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) use the term ‘basic-level’ to refer to concrete identities and concepts. Cognitive linguists argue that these concrete identities and concepts are easily recognisable to us. Examples of basic-level concepts are: pens, trees, sand. Turner (1991:1) states that “basic-level concepts are rich and familiar, enabling us to activate detailed ranges of it (experience) at will”. Hence, we will face no issues in describing, talking about and expanding on these concepts. Our brains have the ability to reason about such concrete experiences effortlessly. Lakoff and Johnson (1999:27) state that “our perceptual systems have no problem distinguishing cows from horses, goats from cats, or elephants from giraffes.”

In addition to basic-level concepts, there is another type of concept that we experience, but it is less delineated. Lakoff and Johnson (1999:58) call this type ‘skeletal structure concepts’. Examples of such concepts are: love, death, anger. Let us take as an example here the concept of anger. We all know that anger is a strong feeling we go through when we are subject to unfair action or unpleasant behaviour. Although the anger feeling is complex in nature and includes many associations, we often cannot find sufficient language to talk about it without resorting to metaphorical means. Therefore, we resort to other, more familiar, experiences or concepts to talk about anger as an abstract concept. You would have heard people saying:

‘S/he makes his/her blood boil.’

‘Smoke is going to come out of my manager’s ears.’

‘Don’t get hot under the collar.’

In the examples above, lexical terms of heat have been used to talk about anger. In CL terms, we resort to the source domain of ‘heat’ to reason about the target domain of ‘anger’. This new understanding for the way we grasp abstract concepts is the main reason for the wide acceptance of the CMT by different fields of knowledge. For instance, Alejo (2010), Đurović and Silaški (2010) and Wang et al. (2013) study the

impact of metaphor in economic texts. Johnson and Larson (2003); Schröder (2012) devote their studies to exploring the presence and impact of metaphor on musical language. These are only a sample of the acceptance of this theory in academia. Gibbs (2009:15) argues that the main reasons for the widespread adoption of CMT are:

1. The new dimension of the relation between language, thought and behaviour that CMT has added to the study of metaphor. Language is not autonomous from mind as in the case with generative grammar. Gibbs (2009:15) argues that this enables the theory to seek the links between language and cognition, or between language and experiential action.
2. CMT provides a theoretical framework and empirical method to test the pervasiveness of metaphor in our everyday language. The prevalence of metaphor in language led to the conviction that metaphor is not a luxurious device for intellectuals but an essential mechanism to structure our thought.
3. The theory presents novel insights about the relation between our bodies, language and thought: “embodied cognition”.

These new insights have contributed significantly in the shift from studying metaphor only in literary or creative texts to include an array of specialisations. Furthermore, the theory contributed to our ability to approach new avenues that were not practically possible before. For instance, in the TS field, the new understanding of metaphor as epistemological tool will enable translation researchers to approach metaphors in scientific texts with different skills from those required when approaching metaphor in a decorative context. Translators will be aware that metaphors are an inherent component of scientific texts, and that their function is pedagogical or explanatory. Therefore, the translation procedure selected to transfer these metaphors (literal or non-literal) will be decided based on functionality parameters rather than on format parameters. The following section will present the main tenets of the CMT, specifically those relevant to the research objectives.

2.3 Main tenets of CMT

This section provides the principal insights of CMT. As I explained above, the main and most significant contribution of CMT is proving systematically that metaphor creation is not a sign of genius as argued in Classical views (Evans, 2007:34;

Kövecses, 2016). Metaphor has a great role in interpreting the way we think and the way we act. The major insights the theory presented will be discussed in detail below.

2.3.1 Metaphor is a matter of everyday language

In their introduction to the CMT, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:xi) argue that “...metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphoric in nature”. Although this statement has been widely quoted in studies about conceptual metaphor, it has not received sufficient analysis as the cornerstone argument in the cognitive turn.

I will commence with the concept of conceptual system. According to the CL glossary (Evans, 2007:38), conceptual system is “the repository of concepts available to human beings. The repository constitutes a structured and organised inventory which facilitates categorisation and conceptualisation.” This reservoir of concepts in fact represents our worldview. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that this conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. This can be interpreted as meaning that metaphors exist or are available there (in the inventory) before we express them. The inference of this argument is that what appears on the surface, when using metaphor, are metaphorical expressions which are only a trace of the conceptual metaphor.

2.3.2 Linguistic metaphors as evidence of the metaphoricity of the conceptual system.

CMT claims that the locus of metaphor is thought, not language (Gibbs, 1994; Chilton, 2006; Sweetser, 1991). Language manifests many schematic patterns that exist in our minds. In his analysis of the way English people talk about love, Lakoff (1993:206) gives the following example: ‘Our relationship has hit a dead-end street.’ This utterance has further metaphorical implications: that love has been described in terms of a journey. The lovers should change the course (change the way they act) or end their journey (end the relationship).

Lakoff argues there is a general principle that governs this type of communication. The principle in question is how to understand one semantic domain in terms of another. This can be explained by a different example. In front of the General Assembly of the United Nations, President G.W. Bush (2001/2) said ‘terrorism is a disease’. Contrary to the Aristotelian view that metaphors lie in the double, strange and unusual categories of words (based on his dichotomy of words into simple or double, current or strange, common or unusual (cited in (Gentzler, 2000:491) no words are special or strange in the example above. The lexical items used are familiar and are not beyond the normal usage. This may be the reason that words can go unnoticed as metaphorical expressions. G.W. Bush has cognitively linked the phenomenon of terrorism with the experience of disease. The question here is: on what basis did the speaker select the domain of illness to talk about terrorism? We are aware that terrorism is not an illness but a very dangerous act that leads to severe atrocities for humanity. We are aware, on the other hand, that illness also has severe consequences, whether financial, social or psychological. Therefore, one can infer that the source of such surface metaphorical expression is a pre-existing cognitive pattern in our thought. The linguistic metaphor used by G.W. Bush is in fact a manifestation of a pre-existent, more schematic pattern which is **TERRORISM IS A DISEASE**. This conceptual pattern is known in CMT as conceptual metaphor.

2.3.3 Metaphor as a mechanism of thought.

In my view, this is the most significant contribution CMT produced, not only for metaphor studies, but for endeavours in meaning creation and interpretation. The reason for this is clear: this theory has changed our perception of metaphor from being a poetic device to being a frequent cognitive process. To use a metaphor for eliminating vagueness, reasoning about complex issues or explaining scientific facts, was not a common practice before the emergence of this theory. In Lakoff and Johnson’s approach, metaphor, rather than literal language, dominates (Mio and Katz, 2020).

The evidence for the wide presence of metaphors in our everyday use of language is the data gathered by CMT scholars from different resources. They found a wealth of linguistic metaphors in TV and radio, magazines and newspapers, dictionaries and

conversations (Kövecses, 2016:14). Furthermore, metaphor research in different types of genre confirms the enormous significance of metaphor in explaining facts and framing various issues (Zheng, 2015; Soskice and Martin, 1985; Meisenberg and Meisenberg, 2015; Papadoudi, 2010).

But, more specifically, in what ways are conceptual metaphors so prevalent in our language? To answer this question, let us consider the following linguistic metaphors. Expressions such as ‘the world is still recovering from the worst economic crisis’, ‘we will move forward with investment’, ‘every nation that travels the road to freedom moves at a different pace’ are linguistic metaphorical expressions. The above expressions are not literal, as the highlighted words are not used in their direct meaning. They are not a creative sort of language (poetry or novel), but sentences that we may use frequently. However, they have been used to reason or understand very complex issues. According to Kövecses (2016:14):

“Most, if not all, linguistic metaphors are part of the native speaker’s mental lexicon. They derive from more basic senses of words and reflect a higher degree of polysemy and idiomaticity in the structure of the mental lexicon. The magnitude of such cases of polysemy and idiomaticity in the lexicon was taken to be evidence of the pervasiveness of metaphor.”

Two inferences can be drawn from the argument above. The first is that the creation of metaphors is a matter of exploiting the polysemous meaning of lexemes, and that the degree of creativity in making them depends on the ability of the author in exploiting or manipulating them. Second, Kövecses (ibid,) emphasises the fact that metaphors are essential cognitive devices that contribute to shaping our understanding of the world around us. Johnson (2013:x) asserts that this new understanding of metaphor defies the objective view of meaning which states that “the world as it is, no matter what any person happens to believe about it, and there is one correct ‘God’s-Eye view’ about what the world is really like.” Contrary to this view, conceptual metaphor proponents suggest that metaphor has a major role in understanding abstract concepts, and that our conceptual system, in terms of which we think and act, is metaphorical in nature.

2.3.4 Idioms in CMT

The traditional linguistic approaches perceive idioms as figurative expressions whose meaning cannot be inferred from the lexical items that they are made from. Early definitions of idioms emphasise two issues: firstly, the unpredictability of the meaning of idiomatic expressions; secondly, that metaphorical images triggered by idioms would not be related to the meanings these idioms indicate, because frequent usage leads these idioms to lose their metaphorical nature. The CMT view of idioms is fundamentally different. Gibbs and O'Brien (1990) and Li (2010:1) argue that some idioms are predictable as they are only manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors.

Cognitive linguists do not consider idioms as arbitrary units of meaning, rather they are motivated, and consequently they fit a pattern existing in our conceptual system (Langlotz, 2006; Gibbs et al., 1997; Kövecses, 1996). Gibbs and O'Brien (1990:38) suggest that idioms are understood in terms of the wider conceptual metaphorical system of English. They exemplified this argument using the idiom 'spill the beans'. The mapping process occurred between beans (ideas) that have been described as out of a container (mind). The motivation for establishing this idiom is the mapping between concrete objects (beans from a container (mind)) and abstract ones (ideas). Kövecses (2010:232) analysed the idiomatic expressions containing the word 'fire' or one of its associations. Phrases such as 'spitting fire', 'set fire to something', 'spark off', 'burning the candle', 'snuff out' and 'fan the flames' show that what plays a significant role in establishing the idiom is not the lexical words, but the concept itself. In other words, we use our knowledge of fire to create idioms, and words are only manifestations of this knowledge. Kövecses (ibid:232) concludes that "idioms (at least the majority of them) are conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature". Since idioms are conceptually motivated, they reflect underlying conceptual patterns. They tend to be more conceptual rather than merely linguistic devices; consequently, idioms will be valid to reason about complex abstract issues (as in the case of politics).

2.3.5 Mapping between conceptual domains.

The main thrust of CL is to elucidate the relationship between language and features of human cognition. Cognitive processes such as categorisation, schematisation and analogy have been used to probe this link. Conceptual metaphor proponents, such as Grady (2010: 189) argue that metaphor can provide the clearest illustrations of human cognitive processes.

To illustrate the mechanism of conceptual metaphor creation, CMT theorists came up with the term 'Mapping'. This concept of mapping is suggested by cognitive linguists to explain the basis on which speakers establish links between abstract and concrete domains (Kövecses, 2010). Holme (2004:17) explains that the meaning of the term 'mapping' is to transfer meaning from one domain to another domain. It is the systematic process of linking a set of correspondences between two unrelated domains of experience. The outcome of the mapping process is a conceptual metaphor of the formula 'A is B' (where A is the target abstract domain and B the source concrete domain). Lakoff (1993:2) asserts that the meaning of the word 'metaphor', in the contemporary theory of metaphor, is "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system".

The level of mapping and the source domain used will result in a conventional metaphor or an unconventional metaphor. The more complex the mappings are and the more incongruent the source domains used, the more unconventional the metaphorical expressions will be. For instance, the mapping of basic concepts such as 'sad' and 'happy' to orientational basic concepts 'up' and 'down' results in more conventional metaphorical expressions like 'the news lifts her spirits up' and 'he is feeling down'. Kövecses (2010:xi) describes conventional metaphors "...that may have been alive and vigorous at some point but have become so conventional and commonplace with constant use". However, unconventional metaphors are established through more complicated mappings. Charteris-Black (2004:22) defines unconventional metaphor as "a metaphor that has not previously been taken up and used in a language community, thereby heightening awareness of its semantic tension." Talking about growth of the economy using fire terms, or using weather terms to describe recession, are examples of unconventional metaphors. Analysis of

the examples in Chapter Seven will shed more light on conventional and unconventional metaphors and the nature of mappings conducted to create them.

A good example of the mapping concept is terrorism. It is an abstract concept which enjoys a lack of consensus about its definition even among politicians (Callinicos, 2003). To explicate the complexities associated with it, politicians and politics researchers conceptualise this concept variously. In a paper prepared by Matthew B. Ridgway, Centre for International Security Studies, Stares and Yacoubian (2007:9) suggest that conceptualising ‘Islamic terrorism’ in an epidemiological model can provide many benefits for policy makers; for instance, conceiving the terrorists’ ideas and beliefs as infectious, granting this ideology epidemic-like qualities. This view of the terrorism concept can capture the key elements of the concept in a systematic manner. The epidemiological view of terrorism is a dynamic one. As diseases’ complications, causes and side-effects change, in a similar manner factors associated with terrorism can change as well. Furthermore, describing terrorism as a disease can persuade the public of the procedures the American administration intends to take. It creates a state of acceptance of controversial actions. When doctors face critical situations in treating a disease, they may need to sacrifice healthy cells or even to remove some parts of the body to save the patient’s life. Likewise, politicians may justify the killing of civilians as a part of major operations to protect other citizens.

Metaphor is considered a powerful persuasive tool as it can influence the way the public perceives any social reality (Charteris-Black, 2004). However, one can assume that, in the case of terrorism, metaphor not only has a persuasive function but a manipulative one as well. Bates (2004:451) argues that, in war rhetoric, politicians resort to metaphor as a decisive alternative to reshape the public’s view of the enemy, and to leave no choice but war. In this case, metaphor is not an illustrative device but a reality constitutive mechanism.

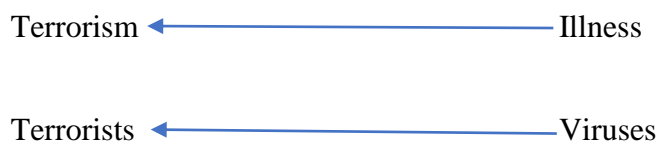




Figure 2:1 Mapping correspondences from (illness) source domain to (terrorism) target domain

It is worth mentioning here that not only is the mapping process conducted on the level of structural elements of the source concept, but also on the level of logical inferences that we could draw as a result of the mapping processes between conceptual domains. For instance, if preventing a disease costs less than fighting it, then working to prevent the reasons for terrorism will be a cost-effective policy rather than thinking of military confrontation as the easiest solution.

The systematic projection of elements of the source domain into the target domain, above, cannot convey all structural elements in the target domain. For example, in the conceptual metaphor *TERRORISM IS DISEASE*, I could not find a correspondence for ‘terrorism funding’ in the disease domain. This constraint on the mapping process is called the invariance principle (Grady, 2010:3; Kövecses, 2016; Chau, 2015). Invariance principle suggests that in conceptual metaphors we cannot map all elements of the source domain into the target domain. Lakoff explains (1993:215) the invariance principle in this way: “metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive typology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.” However, the mapping should not encompass the entirety of structural elements of the source domain into the target one.

Although the invariance principle is suggested to control the mapping of correspondence between the source domain and the target domain on the level of image-schema structures (basic cognitive structures that arise in the mind as a result of repeated interactions with the physical contours of our world), nevertheless the constraint aspect in the ‘terrorism funding’ case is on the structural level. Therefore, we may argue that the invariance principle cannot give answers for the absence or lack

of mappings between the elements of the source and target domains in a conceptual metaphor.

Knowledge of the mapping process can make translator scholars aware of the mechanisms that generate metaphors, and such knowledge will assist in the decoding process. But does the invariance principle affect the process of transferring metaphors into different languages and cultures? Should translators adhere to it, and are there any consequences of its violation? The analysis of the examples in Chapter Seven will answer these enquiries.

Grady (2010:195) casts some doubt about the entire concept of mapping. He investigates whether the mapping concept presented by CL is realistic rather than a “real clever invention of the analyst” in an attempt to account for their data. In response to Grady’s argument, cognitive linguists suggest two different evidences to confirm the reality of the mapping of correspondences when establishing conceptual metaphors. First, the volume of literature which has appeared since the CMT emerged contains abundant examples which resiliently prove that the link between concepts’ structural elements is not an accidental but a systematic process (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Turner, 1991; Gibbs, 1994). Secondly, the gestures we use when we speak are evidence of cognitive links. When we want to mention a past action or event, we use our hands referring backwards, whereas when mentioning future events or when we want to express the idea of progress we spin them in a forward direction. This indicates the metaphorical idea that time is a moving object or we are moving through different points in time. If metaphor has such potential to provide these insights about human cognition, I assume a relationship of a reciprocal nature can exist between CL and TS. Metaphors in the source language (SL) and their counterparts in the target language (TL) can be used to reveal what exactly happens when establishing metaphors and transferring them into new language and culture.

The views of cognitive linguists about the role of metaphor in understanding abstract concepts and how these metaphors are established can help translators decode metaphors more conveniently. TS can show whether conceptual metaphors are universal or subject to specific restrictions in different languages and cultures. Having said that, Al-Harrasi (2001:2) states that TS has not kept up with important discoveries

about the role of metaphor in cognitive science (this issue will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Three section 3.2)

2.4 Limitations of CMT

It is an undisputable fact that the emergence of CMT has changed the course of studying metaphor. However, the theory has been subject to considerable criticism. This section intends to highlight the major criticisms of CMT and how cognitive linguists responded to tackle these shortcomings. Several researchers (Kennedy and Vervaeke, 2004; Medhurst et al., 1997; Murphy, 1996; Thibodeau et al., 2019) have criticised many aspects of the theory; such as, the methodological approaches used by CMT initiators, the verbalisation of conceptual metaphors (looking for conceptual metaphorical patterns based on linguistic metaphorical expressions), the embodiment nature of metaphors and the relation between metaphor and culture. I believe the major criticism directed at the theory is that “many of the metaphor judgments made by cognitive linguists are suspect and biased in favour of the theory” (Gibbs, 2017:58). In fact, such criticism could shake the credibility of the entire theory. Merakchi (2018:65) summarised some of the points of criticism as:

1. The theory gives thought the upper hand over language although its main claims are based on linguistic data.
2. The data used in supporting the arguments of CMT are artificial i.e. they are not authentic examples which appear in written or spoken language.
3. In the earliest version, the theory has overlooked the significance of presenting a rigorous procedure for metaphor identification.
4. Domain delimitation: another methodological problem in CMT is the delimitation of the source and target domains and inferring conceptual metaphors from the linguistic data.
5. CMT gives more attention to the conventional metaphors rather than the novel or creative metaphors. Cameron and Deignan (2006:672) argue “Cognitive linguists do not generally seek to provide an account of novel metaphor use in non-literary discourse”.

In addition to the list above, Gibbs (2009:19) mentions that one of the weak aspects critics noticed is the reliance on intuition to verbalise the conceptual metaphors.

Pitcher (2013) warns that using one's intuition is not rigorous or repeatable since different people may come up with different inferences about the same metaphor.

Kövecses (2008) thinks that the wave of criticism results from the lack of reading of the increased literature about CMT. It can be argued that not only lack of reading or understanding around the theory is a main reason for the amount of criticism raised against CMT; the sort of revolutionary ideas presented could be a reason for such criticism.

Although the previously mentioned criticism was plausible when the theory first emerged, nevertheless considerable improvements have happened since then. Interest in this theory has increased and more work has been done to handle most of its shortcomings. For instance, CL researchers adopted corpus linguistics approaches to examine Lakoff's hypothesis. Researchers started to use a huge number of texts in various genres. This might be in response to the criticism that the theory used inauthentic data when first presented. Metaphor Identification Procedures (MIP) and Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije University (MIPVU) were established to overcome the issue of subjectivity in determining the metaphors. This significant milestone development limits the subjectivity involved in deciding the metaphoricity of lexical items. Steen (2011) suggests a procedure for verbalising conceptual metaphors out of linguistic ones. In addition, more developed theoretical frameworks to investigate the creative side of conceptual mappings emerged. Chapter Three will introduce CBT which is an extension of CMT that came into being to analyse creative metaphorical expressions. CBT examines the shift in the perception of metaphor from dual domain mappings to multiple mental spaces projections, and the impact of this new view on the study of metaphor in TS.

After this critical overview of the main principles of CMT, the following section will be dedicated to finding out how politicians use metaphors as a cognitive device to communicate their views, policies or personal convictions. However, we need first to shed light on political discourse, its features and its types. The next part will also highlight some features of a certain type of UN political discourse.

2.5 Political discourse

Language and politics are closely interrelated. Linguists believe that language is a vital and indispensable tool for politics. In fact, politics is based on communication and without language any political interaction would be unimaginable. Any sort of political text could be labelled as a political discourse; from a presidential speech to a ‘friends and family’ talk about a specific political issue. As the scope of this research is to analyse political speeches and their translations, we need first to clear the way and define what we mean by political discourse.

Kampf (2015:1) argues that the definition of political discourse is a “slippery” issue. Similarly, Wilson (2015:788) maintains that defining political discourse “is not a straightforward matter”. One reason for this is that the term draws from two disciplines: politics and linguistics. Kampf (2015:3) defines political discourse as “talk and text produced in regard to concrete political issues (language in politics) or through the actual language use of institutional political actors, even in discussions of non-political issues (language of politicians)”. Chilton (2004:201) defines political discourse as a language that humans consider as political. Wilson (2015) considers the focus of the study of political discourse to be on aspects of language structure as it constitutes and displays specific political functions. Wilson (*ibid*), in his definition, emphasises the functionality side; however, this is far from presenting exactly what a political discourse is. My understanding of political discourse is that it is any linguistic activity directed at a specific audience (whatever the size of the targeted audience) to achieve political goals or to persuade the audience of a specific political idea. Another aspect that has been overlooked in previous definitions is that of collective and institutional political discourse, i.e. the discourse produced by political institutions such as NATO, the European Union and the African Union. It is noticeable that attention has been paid more to studying the discourse of professional political agents (presidents, kings and statesmen / women) than to political institutional discourse.

From a TS point of view, the major contributions to political discourse analysis were suggested by Christina Schäffner. She devoted several of her works (1996; 2004a; 2009; 2010; 2012) to studying the translation of political discourse. Schäffner defines political discourse as:

... a complex form of human activity. It is realized in a variety of discourse types (or genres), whose discourse organization and textual structure is determined by the respective discursive practices.... For political communication, some of these discursive practices operate within the internal domain of policy-making and have politicians as both text producers and addressees. Other discursive practices are aimed at the general public and communicate, explain, and justify political decisions. Text producers in such cases can be politicians, political scientists, civil servants, or journalists, with the mass media playing a decisive role in the circulation of the discourse (2010:255).

Schäffner's definition is a little broad in nature; however, it still proposes significant information about what political discourse is. This broadness in the definition could be ascribed to the fact that the discussion of political discourse analysis in TS, itself a relatively new independent field of knowledge, is still in early stages. Examining political texts in TS, researchers need to conduct a binary examination process for the source and target texts. This could be metaphorically described as a dissection process that researchers conduct on both texts based on the objectives set for the research (whether to examine rhetorical, syntactical, semantic, pragmatic or ideological aspects in the text). The main literature surveyed about the translation of political discourse indicates that the focus was predominantly on revealing the ideological aspects for both the ST and the TT. Therefore, TS has developed "concepts with which it is possible to describe and explain target text profiles, the translation strategies used, the appropriateness of those strategies, the conditions under which the translator operated, and the effects a text has had in its receiving culture" (Schäffner, 2004a:132).

2.5.1 Features of Political Discourse

Political discourse is the product of the interaction of various elements. These elements or features that contribute in shaping political discourses are linguistic, semantic and pragmatic. The linguistic features include manner (formal and informal), lexis and grammar, whereas the semantic features include word and sentence meanings. Pragmatic aspects of the text include intentions of the speakers, the effects of an utterance on the audience and the knowledge and beliefs about the world upon which speakers and their audiences depend when they interact (Crystal, 2015:124). Furthermore, rhetorical devices are vitally important components of political discourse (Throne, 2008).

Vuković Stamatović (2017:281) argues that politicians use figurative language to “hide agency, disclaim responsibility and project themselves as saviours”. In addition, political agents, in some cases, intend to make their messages ambiguous. This can be used to send indirect messages to an intended audience and to avoid facing the implications if a political utterance is misunderstood or when political agents miss a point. An instance of political ambiguity is the use of pronoun ‘we’ by American presidents in domestic speeches. This pronoun could refer to the political party that the politician belongs to, or to both political parties (Republicans and Democrats) or to the American people at large (Degani 2015:19).

Such ambiguity in reference could be a translation issue. Although the discourse utterance has a direct meaning, unless the translator is aware of the political interactions of the SL and its culture, significant symbolic linguistic patterns will be lost in the TL. That said, the use of clichés and ambiguity are not desirable in certain political genres, such as international agreements or political negotiations, where clarity and straightforwardness is of the highest priority.

2.5.2 Types of political discourse

The term ‘political text’ is a general umbrella term for different types of texts (Schäffner 1997). The decision to label a text as a political text can be arrived at using various criteria (It is worth mentioning here that the word ‘text’ refers to any communicative piece of information that is written or spoken.) A text could be categorised based on the functions it performs (informative, discursive or persuasive), or the position of the political agent initiating it (president, queen, Prime Minister, Member of Parliament), or on institutional genres (the political language produced by national and international institutions, world parliaments and parallel legislative organisations).

Schäffner (1997) classifies political texts into three types based on the functions these texts perform. Firstly, diplomatic discourse communicated in multi-national institutions. Examples of this type are bilateral and multilateral treaties. Such texts show special conventions in terms of the vocabulary and syntax used to make them. The second type comprises of speeches and statements made by politicians. There are

two kinds of such discourse: internal communications (directed within close circles of politicians) and external communications (targeted at wider audience groups). The third type encompasses politically relevant texts by non-politicians.

Although these typologies are useful attempts to determine the different characteristics that various political texts show, nevertheless, in our current time, they are not exclusive. The technological boom has yielded novel types of texts (digital media) that politicians heavily use to communicate their political messages. For instance, social media platforms nowadays are essential tools to send political messages. However, the categorisation of this new type of political text will not be a straightforward task (they could be formal or informal, internal or external). The translation of such new political texts could be a challenge. For instance, there are two prime issues translators may face in translating tweets. The first is that translators need to maintain the features of the original tweets (short, to the point and engaging), and the second is the technical restrictions imposed on translators, such as the limited number of characters or letters for each tweet.

2.5.3 American presidential speeches in the UNGA

American presidential speeches comprise one of the genres extensively studied in political discourse research. Extensive research literature exists about genres such as inaugural speeches (Biria and Mohammadi, 2012; Romagnuolo, 2009) (Kambash and Jawad, 2019; Xue et al., 2013), state of the union addresses (Ambrosio et al., 2020; Burgers and Ahrens, 2020) and American election speeches (Khajavi and Rasti, 2020; Benoit, 2003). Despite this interest in American presidential discourse, American presidential speeches in the UNGA are still an underexplored topic. A survey on the literature about American presidential speeches in the UNGA resulted in only one study, by Hoyt (2015). However, that study does not show clearly the linguistic or semantic features of this sort of discourse, but provides a more general chronological description of the speeches delivered in the UNGA platform.

American presidential addresses in the UNGA can be seen as a prepared, non-spontaneous sort of speech. Each US presidential speech in the UNGA is special and peculiar to the period in which the speech delivered. Unlike the case of inaugural

speeches where a president seeks to ease the transition of power after an election or to unite the nation (Kambash and Jawad, 2019), the main function of UNGA addresses is to communicate American foreign policy to the world.

2.5.4 Characteristics of American presidential speeches in the UNGA

A president's speech could be considered an institutional sort of discourse (representing the American Presidency as an institution) and embraces the personal linguistic style of each speaker. For instance, it has been noticed that Obama's speeches are longer than G.W. Bush's. The first speech Obama delivered in 2009 (5103 words), for example, is about double the length of Bush's speech in 2001 (2487 words). American presidential addresses in the UNGA become an internationalised and significant event to the world media. This is rather unsurprising given the supremacy role the United States plays in the world. These speeches show regularity of purpose (they happen at regular intervals for the same reason) and uniformity of theme. A typical UNGA presidential address looks to the future, while including current events, and reinterprets the past by restating the core values and beliefs of American culture: freedom and liberty. American presidents utilise this occasion to emphasise the American Dream at home and abroad. Based on an analysis of fifteen presidential addresses in the UNGA, most of these speeches include the following themes: freedom, democracy, war on terror, and the economic situation around the world.

The audience for this type of speech includes both American citizens and people in other parts of the world. Hence, the translation of these speeches should reflect the presidential messages as clearly and efficiently as the speakers intend. Study of the current research corpus suggests that the key characteristics shared by American presidential speeches are:

1. they express American policies on global issues.
2. they repeat communal values drawn from the past.
3. they recount what has been achieved since the last session.
4. they set forth the political principles of the current administration.
5. they use appropriate rhetorical strategies.

American presidential speeches in the UNGA consist of three parts: introduction, main body and conclusion. In the introduction, usually presidents greet the UNGA president and the UN member states. The main body includes the themes the speaker wishes to cover. Topics such as world peace, fighting terrorism, economy, environment and climate change are presented here. To communicate ideas effectively and to assure that their messages come across in the ways intended, Musolff (2017) stresses that politicians deploy various semantic elements successfully to trigger more influence and achieve their proposed goals. This section will shed light on some semantic features of American presidential speeches in the UNGA.

2.5.4.1 Figurative language

Figurative language is predominant in all domains of language use, including politics. The common perception in studying figurative language is that, in today's international era where the figurative use of language by politicians is immediately translated into several languages, the socio-cultural awareness of figurative language brings about the risk of cross-cultural misunderstandings which have the potential to cause significant harm to international relationships (Sharifian, 2009). However, the majority of the metaphorical examples identified in the speeches of G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA would not seem to be culturally sensitive, hence are more likely to prove unproblematic. This could be attributed to the fact the speakers want their messages to be as clear as possible without any possibility of misinterpretations.

2.5.4.2 Lexical richness

The speeches of G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA sessions are lexically rich. This is highly predictable given the nature of the UNGA meetings where heads of state (or high-ranking politicians, in some cases) aim to cover several issues in one single speech. However, to make this claim more reliable and to determine the extent of richness, we need to identify the type-token ratio (TTR) of the speeches. TTR is a lexical feature index used to determine the lexical diversity of a given stretch of language. It is the most commonly used indicator of vocabulary richness (Liu, 2017). Xiao and Sun (2020:118) define TTR as “the ratio of different word types to the total number of word tokens”. To calculate the TTR of a text, Xiao and Sun (ibid) suggest

that the total ratio of different words should be divided by the total number of token words. Dai and Liu (2019) argue that the closer the TTR ratio is to 1, the greater the lexical richness of the segment. The following extract by G.W. Bush will explicate the idea of TTR:

Time is passing. Yet, for the United States of America, there will be no forgetting September 11th. We will remember every rescuer who died in honor. We will remember every family that lives in grief. We will remember the fire and ash, the last phone calls, the funerals of the children (G.W. Bush, 2001).

Bush's extract contains fifty-one different words (tokens), but many of those words, like 'we', 'the', 'will', 'every', occur more than once, so there are only thirty-two unique words, or 'types'. The TTR of the sentence is $32 \div 51 = 0.627$. Similarly, the TTR of the research corpus can be calculated as follows: the total number of unique words or 'types' ($57,275$) \div total number of tokens ($63,591$) = 0.90

2.6 Conceptual metaphor and political language

Politics revolves around decision-making and, prior to any resolution, politicians need to guarantee sufficient public support to get consensus about their decisions. Charteris-Black (2011:1) argues that "The more democratic societies become, the greater the onus on leaders to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be trusted." Language is an indispensable device in achieving this task (Charteris-Black, 2011; Koller and Semino, 2009; Cox, 2012). Martin (2005:553) argues that "language is a medium and substance of political life; it is simultaneously how we communicate and, often, it is what we communicate about". Mio (1997:113) wittily describes language in politics as "the lifeblood or mother's milk of politics".

It can be argued that all decisions taken by politicians have political implications; however, these decisions are various in terms of complexity and the issues and problems they attempt to handle. For instance, building a bridge or a water dam does not carry the same implications as establishing or rupturing diplomatic relations with a country or going to war. The mobilisation of resources for the latter resolution requires specific characteristics of language. The language of war is emotional, patriotic, inflammatory and seeks to gain people's sympathy. Politicians must succeed

in convincing the public that going to war is a better option than negotiating peaceful options (Schäffner, 2004a:118). It seems, on first sight, that war is a straightforward concept. Heads of state ask their armies to move towards the rival countries, soldiers start the battle and it ends with a winner and a loser. However, war is not as simple as that. There are numerous political, economic, social and diplomatic implications of such a decision. In fact, people do not easily accept the choice of war. Therefore, politicians need to perform two tasks here: first, to simplify the complex relations and associations of war, and, second, to be persuasive in communicating their reasons for such a significant decision. At persuasion stage, the role of metaphor emerges as a cognitive device to make abstract concepts more concrete. In the following section, we will see how metaphor can play an effective role in shaping public opinion about various political issues.

2.7 The role of metaphor in shaping politics

Metaphor as a linguistic and cognitive device is part and parcel of political language. It has a pivotal role in persuasion as politicians appeal to our hearts through our minds. Metaphor is visible in basic political terminology such as right and left wings, hawks of war and doves of peace. Although the ubiquity of metaphor in political language has received considerable attention, the ways in which politicians harness metaphors to influence the public's opinions about political matters has not adequately been accounted for. Before discussing how politicians harness metaphor to serve their political aims, we need to differentiate, briefly, the difference between political metaphor and metaphor in politics.

The main difference between political metaphor and metaphors in political texts is that, in the case of political metaphor, speakers or writers do not use metaphors as a strategic device to shape their discourse. Metaphor plays a marginal or secondary role in serving the political aim of the metaphor user. It is an incidental, instant, innate and undeliberate metaphor. Political metaphor is not restricted to a specific situation, place, social class, or event. It could occur in a friendly conversation with a friend, or even as a joke. An example of metaphor in a political discourse is the one suggested by Conservative MP Tom Tugendhat. During a questions session with PM Theresa May about Brexit, Tom states that the relationship between the UK and Europe after Brexit

could be like “a friendship with benefits”.² Conversely, in the case of metaphors in political texts, politicians systematically deploy them to serve their political objectives and ideological perceptions. Metaphors here are focal linguistic and cognitive devices that politicians carefully plan to anchor in their discourse. Charter-Black (2013; 2017) calls this type of metaphor “purposeful or ideological” metaphor. An example of this metaphor can be seen in G.W. Bush’s speeches in the United Nations about Iraq. It was a central topic for him: he mentions the word ‘Iraq’ 116 times and the name of Saddam eleven times in his speeches. Metaphors were an essential thought mechanism used to morally legitimise the American invasion of Iraq and enhance the polarisations of democracy-tyranny, freedom-oppression and ‘Us and Them’ (Abid and Abdul Manan, 2016). In other words, metaphor in political discourse is a basic structural component that politicians use to communicate their arguments.

To explain in detail the work mechanisms of metaphor in political texts, I have visualised the model below (figure 2). The communication process of a political issue goes through different stages. The first one is the establishment of the political issue itself. After that, politicians start deciphering the political matter in question. In this stage, politicians try to clarify the subject in hand and determine its general outline. However, the language used to dismantle the complexity of the political issue in question could still be technical as it is still deliberated within circles of specialised institutions or people (for example, government, party, institution, union). If we take Brexit as an example here, the language used to discuss it among governmental officials, party members and parliamentarians is expected to be very technical and replete with technical jargon. The second stage is the discourse construction. Here the politicians will address different sectors of the public, and they need their rhetoric to be as persuasive as it can. According to Musolff (2004:175), a linguistic analysis can be performed here. The linguistic analysis seeks to highlight the sets of presuppositions that are contained in political scenarios. This can also lead to identify the metaphorical prepositions, which were exploited to legitimise political conclusions. This is the most important phase where the public will accept the policy or reject it. In this stage, the language requires some sort of mediation that will fit different targeted groups. It is supposed to make the political issue more accessible to the public (Semino, 2008).

² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sIt_yGm07pc

Since a linguistic intervention will take place in this stage, metaphor potentially could be a preferable choice for politicians.

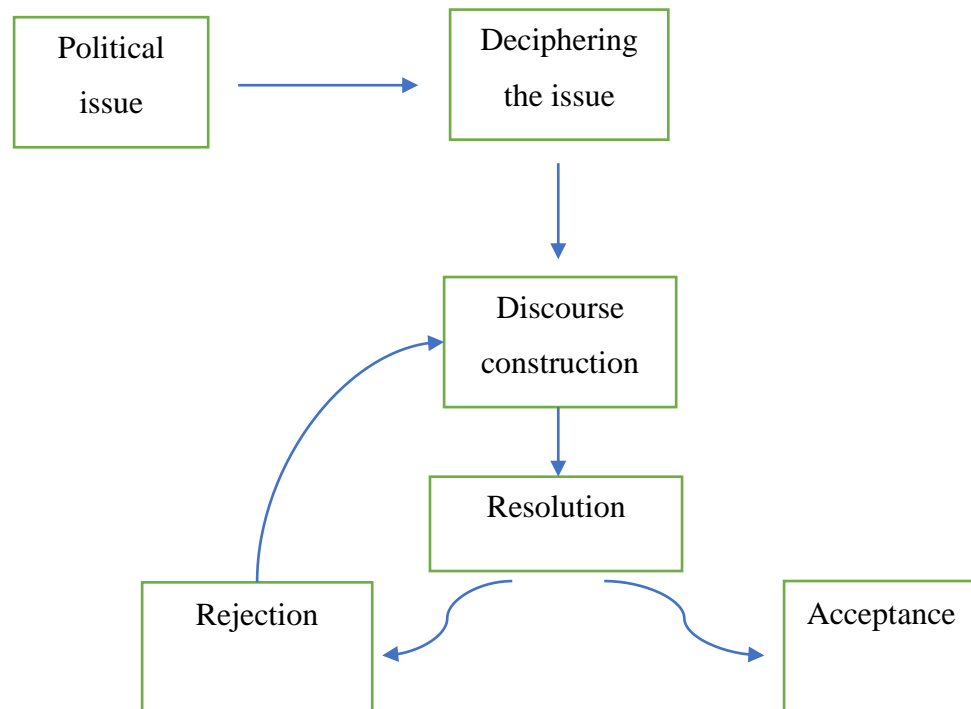


Figure 2:2 A model for political resolutions making

After that, a resolution will be made, and two possible scenarios will occur. Now it is the phase where the audience should decide about the considered issue. The outcome will be one of two options. The first one is the acceptance of the resolution which is the ultimate goal of decision-makers. The less favourable second alternative is the rejection.

In the latter case, a process of reframing and rephrasing of the issue is needed. Again, other strategies politicians can resort to are to alter, modify or shift the discourse to help the issue obtain more consensus. Among other linguistic components, metaphors can be subjected to revision, as well. Metaphors may not be received warmly, or may even be rejected, and consequently they will need an adjustment or to be entirely replaced or deleted.

Despite the fact that the model above may not conclusively state the role of metaphor in political decision-making process, nevertheless literature about metaphor in political language confirms that metaphor is vital in politicians' rhetoric (Chilton,

1996; 2006; 2004; Lakoff, 2002; 2014; Semino, 2008; Charteris-Black, 2004; 2011; Musolff, 2017).

The pervasiveness of metaphors in politics is attributed to the fact that they can influence people's perception of political matters (Bougher, 2012; Carver and Pikalo, 2008). Furthermore politicians seek to gain power (Fairclough, 1991) and the best way to achieve this is through persuasion or manufacturing of consent. One of the potential means is through using metaphors (Jones and Peccei, 2004). This can be achieved through different strategies; for example, using particular source domains for specific target domains. Domains of journey and building are very common to communicate about progress and development. Edelman (1967:67) suggests that "Each metaphor intensifies selected perceptions and ignores others, thereby helping one to concentrate upon desired consequences of favoured public policies and to ignore their unwanted, unthinkable, or irrelevant premises and aftermaths". Hence, it might be argued that metaphor is an inherent component of political discourse and an essential means to achieving politicians' aims. The following part of the thesis will present Lakoff's (1996/2002) Theory of Moral Politics. This model claims that political morality is structured metaphorically. Consequently, the way in which American political parties (conservatives and liberals) think about society as a whole is metaphorical.

2.8 Metaphor and political morality

The discussion below introduces Lakoff's cognitive linguistic approach to the study of the political language of American politicians. This part of the thesis functions as a general background for the comprehensive description and critical evaluation of Lakoff's Strict Father (SF) and Nurturant Parent (NP) models of political morality. These two models will be used as an analytical framework of morality metaphors in Chapter Eight. Therefore, it is vital to inspect the few studies that have already implemented Lakoff's models. A close look at these studies is crucial not only to ground the current investigation in previous work, but also to show how the present study moves beyond former approaches.

A considerable body of linguistic research provides evidence that metaphor has a significant role in explaining the concept of morality (Johnson, 1993; Lakoff, 1995;

1996; 2004; 2008b; Yu, 2016). This section explains Lakoff's claim that American politicians' (conservatives and liberals) policies stem from a conceptual metaphorical model that controls and directs the way they think and behave towards different aspects of American life. But before proceeding into a detailed discussion of the relationship between morality, metaphor and politics, a brief explanation of my view of the concept of morality will be presented.

Historically, the study of morality and its interface with politics is not a new topic. Plato refers to political morality in his book *The Republic* (Mendus, 2013). Online Macmillan English-English Dictionary (OMEED) defines morality as "(1) principles of right or wrong behaviour. System of principles concerning right and wrong behaviour that is accepted by a particular group of people (2) the degree to which something is considered to be right or wrong." For Hunter (1992:42), it is "the basis by which people determine whether something is good or bad, right or wrong, acceptable or unacceptable, and so on." The first impression we have when reading these definitions of what is moral or otherwise seems clear. However, the issue is not as straightforward as suggested above. In our world, a state of complete agreement on moral issues is not the norm. Based on what we are witnessing today with armed conflicts and political tensions, consensus over politics is not the norm. One can argue that disagreements are ubiquitous and natural among people within the smallest social units (family members), let alone among the people of a whole society. Subjects such as climate change, fighting terrorism, nuclear weapons, abortion, globalisation, to name but a few, are not devoid of dispute. The principal motivation for tensions when dealing with these subjects is not about the essence or core of them, but can be attributed to what I call morality-constructing references.

Whenever people find themselves in a position to make a moral judgment about any issue, they indulge in a process of comparing this issue with their accumulated knowledge. In fact, different resources can contribute to shaping or forming this type of knowledge. For instance, our families and our society, education systems, religious principles, political affiliations, social status and our economic situation are resources that affect our perception of morality. Through our lifetime, these sets of resources will develop to become points of reference we resort to in deciding about what is moral or otherwise. To apply this view to a real-life context, let us analyse how the perception

of ‘war on terror’ in the Middle East is a controversial issue. The vast majority of people believe that terrorism is a dangerous, immoral act that threatens the lives of innocents all over the globe; nevertheless, the concept of ‘war on terror’ is still a contentious topic in this region of the world. (For some, ‘war on terror’ gives permission to use any means to eliminate the threat of terrorists. On the other hand, there is a different voice which argues that ‘war on terror’ should not be an excuse to violate human rights and invade independent countries (in this case national reference knowledge shapes the moral view).

Others think that to ally with foreign troops to fight or chase those people who embrace the same religion is forbidden in the religious texts, and responsibility for eradicating terrorism should lie with the national state (religious reference knowledge). Some people believe that the existence of foreign military troops on the ground is against the traditions they grew up with (social reference knowledge). Therefore, our morality-constructing references play a major role in defining what is a moral and an immoral act, and political agents should be careful with policies adopted to deal with sensitive political issues. They should take into consideration that their morality can conflict with the knowledge-constructing references of others.

As it is the way we think about morality (i.e., the conceptual aspect of the concept morality) that creates controversy around its definition, and considering the aims set for this research, we will focus on morality according to the view of the CL, and specifically, Lakoff’s Theory of Moral Politics (1996/2002). The following section will discuss the main tenets of this theory.

The basis of Lakoff’s Theory of Moral Politics is the hypothesis that moral thinking is of metaphorical nature and it is based on non-metaphorical experiential morality (2002:41). Lakoff argues that morality is structured metaphorically in terms of well-being. Conceptualisers use non-metaphorical experiential domains such as health, wealth, strength, empathy, happiness, and purity as source domains to reason about morality. Individuals think and talk about what is good and what is bad based on their experience of material and physical well-being (Robinson, 2016:102).

Lakoff's interpretation is that, since it is better to be strong than to be weak, and to be rich is better than to be poor, and to be clean is better than to be filthy, morality is conceptualised as strength, richness and cleanness. This can be also true in other cultures. In Arabic, people describe a person with good manners as morally rich and describe a person who acts immorally as a sick person even though s/he is physically fit. Thus, it can be inferred that the relationship between morality and well-being is solid and of a systematic nature (Musolff, 2004:2).

A possible criticism of this view is that, in some cases, an individual cannot choose to be rich, healthy and strong, and it is not possible or acceptable to describe those who are poor, sick and weak as immoral. However, the majority of people seek to be in a state of well-being. The popular belief is that people cannot describe those who work hard, yet cannot achieve their goals, as immoral. A significant question Lakoff attempts to answer in his theory is this: since the grounding of our moral system is common, why are our views of morality different, and what is the cause of this difference?

To answer this question, Lakoff (1996/2002) provides in his book *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think* a model to investigate why American politicians (Republicans and Democrats) differ in their views of morality. The following section will explain the structures of the conceptual systems as interpreted by Lakoff (1996/2002).

2.9 Metaphor and moral reasoning

At the outset of this section a question that may be posed is: what makes cognitive linguists claim that moral reasoning is based on metaphors? Is this a sound or valid claim? This assumption is one of the major tenets that CL provides about the relation between behaviour, language and mind. Johnson (1993:33) argues that metaphor is not just a prominent player in reasoning about morality, but also that our deeply-held common moral understanding is metaphorical. He attributes this to the fact that human moral understanding is imaginative and metaphor is one of the principal imaginative mechanisms. Johnson uses two types of evidence of the metaphoricity of our ordinary moral understanding. The first is linguistic evidence which is based on the

conventional language we use to talk about morality; secondly, “patterns of inference in our moral reasoning that are based on metaphorical concepts” (Johnson, 1993:35).

After taking a closer look at the basis of the conceptual systems of both conservatives and liberals, we are now in a good position to probe their conceptual metaphorical values. The following section will discuss ‘Morality Is Strength’ and ‘Morality Is Nurturance’ as priority conceptual metaphors for conservatives and liberals.

To examine the Theory of Moral Politics suggested by Lakoff (1996/2002), previous research has largely used speeches and interviews that are directed at American people about domestic issues on the national level (Deason and Gonzales, 2012; Moses and Gonzales, 2015; Ohl et al., 2013; Xue et al., 2013; Ahrens, 2011). This research is different in two main ways: first, it investigates whether morality metaphors are prevalent in the speeches of American presidents that are addressed to American and international audiences. Second, this study investigates how translators transfer morality metaphors into different languages and cultures, and hence, into different conceptual systems.

2.10 Family metaphors

Lakoff (2002:iii) argues that political thinking in the United States is dominated by the conceptual metaphor NATION IS FAMILY. The Republicans’ political thinking endorses metaphor centred on the ‘Strict Father (SF) model whereas the Democrats derive their political thinking from the conceptual metaphor Nurturant Parent (NP). Lakoff (2002:65) argues that different models of ideal family are responsible for motivating sets of metaphorical priorities which in their turn are responsible for crafting moral conventions in American society. However, in terms of international relations, Lakoff argues that an additional metaphor is connected to the way political thinking (and consequently political behaviour) is being shaped: that is THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY.

Lakoff (2002:x) suggests that “The conservative/Liberal division is ultimately a division between strictness and nurturance as ideal values at all levels from the family to morality to religion and, ultimately, to politics” (emphasis by the author). In other

words, the political stands and ideological perceptions of the two rivals stem from conceiving the society as a Strict Parent family or a Nurturant Parent one.

This argument has attracted attention not only from linguists but also from senior political figures. Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, states that “Lakoff’s ideas forever changed the way in which Democratic House members reason about politics” (Feinberg and Wehling, 2018:2).

Despite the fact that conservatives and liberals are polar opposites, nevertheless Lakoff (1996/2002) believes that the conceptual metaphor NATION IS FAMILY is the focal point on which American politicians frame their policies. In this respect, Lakoff (2002:154) states:

I believe that the Nation Is Family metaphor is what links conservative and liberal worldviews to the family-based moralities we have been discussing. I believe that this metaphor projects the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent moral systems onto politics to form the conservative and liberal political worldviews.

The conceptual metaphor NATION IS FAMILY is a result of systematic mappings between the source domain ‘family’ and the target domain ‘nation’. The correspondences in the source domain, such as home, parents and children, are mapped into the target domain’s correspondences: homeland, government and nation’s citizens. Knowledge of the family and its structures is the source through which we reason about society. The structural components of the family (father, mother and children) are mapped into the American nation. Hence, as parents should take care of their children, so the government will play a similar role in taking care of its citizens. As children should obey parents, similarly citizens should obey the government. Family members should stand united in difficult times; citizens of the nation should do the same in times of crisis. Lakoff (2008a:76) argues that Americans’ thinking of society as a family is illustrated in the following concepts: George Washington as the Founding Father of the nation, speaking about the founding fathers, Uncle Sam, Big Brother, soldiers as sons and daughters of America and America as the homeland. All these concepts and phrases make use of or originated from family relationships.

Abdel-Raheem (2019) explains there are three main reasons for selecting the concept of family as the source domain to understand American politics. First, family is a basic-level concept. It is easily accessible and memorable to us. We learn about this concept in early stages of our life. Second, the semantic frames and structures are evidently clear and specific in the concept of family. Examples of these semantic frames are the parents and children relations and hierarchical structures within the family. Thirdly, the semantic frames in the 'family' concept are, to a great extent, relevant to moral-political reasoning. Ideas about moral traits and children can be mapped into moral traits of citizens and moral parenting can be projected into moral governance.

Although a considerable number of research studies (Cienki, 2005a, 2005b; Deason and Gonzales, 2012; Ohl et al., 2013; Moses and Gonzales, 2015) concluded that American politicians resort to family metaphors to talk about various political issues. Degani (2015) thinks that more empirical research to test Lakoff's hypothesis is needed. This part of the research is a response to Degani's call to test Lakoff's theory using bilingual data.

Despite the popularity the theory gained, nevertheless three major criticisms can be levelled against Lakoff's argument of family metaphor. First, the structure of families around the world is usually of a prototypical nature (most families consist of father, mother (parents), children) and the issue of hierarchy or authority is not always pre-determined. Sometimes the mother takes authority, not willingly, but because forced by circumstances such as the passing away or the absence of the father. Second, new types of families emerged in American and some Western societies. The family is not just father, mother and children. After recent changes of legislation in the United States, a family can now be made up of two men, or two women, or siblings. I assume this change may affect the functionality of the model as a whole. Thirdly, Abdul Latif (2012:130) argues that the conceptual metaphor NATION IS FAMILY in American political discourse is different from that in the European Union and in Egyptian society. In the American political rhetoric, the mapping between the source (Family) and the target (Nation) connects the responsibilities of the authority or ruler to provide for the care and security of its citizens (target domain) and the responsibility of the father to provide care and protection for family members (source domain). In the conceptual metaphor EUROPE IS A FAMILY the mapping takes place between the

marital relationships as a source domain and the relationships between European states as the target domain (good relationships between wives and husbands stand for friendly relationships between European states). However, in Egyptian political discourse, for example, especially El-Sadat's speeches (President of Egypt 1970 until 1981), the NATION IS FAMILY metaphor is based on the communication between the father as the absolute authority and his sons (the source domain) and the government and citizens reactions (the target domain). In this sort of communication (especially in rural areas) the father's values overwhelm the communication process. This is reflected by the manner in which El-Sadat addressed his people. The patriarchal nature of communication characterised the presidential discourse.

2.10.1 Strict Father metaphorical model

Lakoff (1996/2002) argues that the Republican Party has a strong tendency to embrace the Strict Father model (SF). The SF model is based on a nuclear family with the father as the principal authority. The key responsibility of the father is to provide the necessary support and protection for his family. The primary metaphors for the Republican Party are MORALITY IS STRENGTH and MORALITY IS AUTHORITY.

The Strict Father model prioritises hierarchy, obedience, and moral strength. Discipline is a central principle in the SF model. The main assumptions which underlie the model are "people are inherently bad, life is difficult, and the world is fundamentally dangerous" (Lakoff 1996:65). The model suggests that children are born "bad" as they intuitively wish to do what they like rather what is right. Therefore, a strict father is needed to make children behave in a good manner.

The ideas of right and wrong are two absolute categories. Individuals are categorised into winners or losers. What makes a person success in this difficult life is the ability to be strong. Our world is an unsafe place and people should be ready to encounter continuous threats. The role of mother in this model is to support the highest authority (father) to raise the children, and to take responsibility for day-to-day duties. A strict father, according to this model, sets the organisational rules and applies punishment to

those who violate them. Such practices help to grow a sense of discipline and to develop self-denial, both essential features for moral strength.

Lakoff postulates a number of principles that unify and make the models coherent. These principles are metaphorical in nature and each model prioritises particular metaphors over others. For the SF model these metaphors are:

MORAL STRENGTH: this is the central metaphor in this model as it enables the child to resist or defeat external evils, such as hardships that may be faced in life, or internal evils such as desires. In the SF model, life is a battle between evil and good. The evil forces should be faced bravely. Therefore, to fight against adversaries (which is a morally justified endeavour) is a legitimate action and children should be prepared to win this battle. To strengthen the morality of the child, s/he needs to reach the highest degrees of self-discipline. Lakoff argues that moral weakness is the first step towards immorality. Therefore, SF will exact the toughest punishment when a child commits an immoral action.

MORAL AUTHORITY: this notion is modelled on the role of parents in the family and on that of the father in particular. Since the father knows what is best for his children, he determines what good behaviour is. If the children respect the moral rules of good behaviour, they become strong and self-reliant and gain authority over their own lives. This metaphor emphasises the role of father as highest authority in the family. In the SF model, the father has the ultimate right to determine what is good or bad behaviour. Consequently, when the children know and respect the rules set by the authority, they will be strong and self-reliant.

MORAL ORDER: this notion is rooted in belief in the existence of a moral hierarchy which places God above man, man above nature, adults above children, Western culture above non-Western culture and America above other nations. Moral order is often extended to other hierarchical power relations, including men above women, whites above non-whites, Christians above non-Christians and straights above gays. This metaphor legitimises the authority of some individuals or groups of people over others.

MORAL BOUNDARIES: this metaphor is an entailment of the metaphorical thinking of morality as motion within determined boundaries. Lakoff (1996:84) argues that “Moral action is seen as bounded movement, movement in permissible areas and along permissible paths”. Children should respect the boundaries set by the authority, otherwise they will be subject to punishment. The consequences of deviant people’s actions are not harmful only to themselves; their actions may call into question ‘traditional moral values’.

MORAL ESSENCE: the metaphorical background in this case is that a person is an object. The object (the person) is made up of essential constituents (virtues/vices that make up his character) and it has an essence as well. Sentences such as ‘he has a heart of gold’, ‘he does not have a mean bone in his body’, ‘he is rotten to the core’ are entailments of moral essence metaphor. This metaphor is critical for the Republicans and stems from the importance of the disciplined character in their cognitive model.

MORAL HEALTH: morality is conceived as a physical well-being, whereas immorality is a contagious disease that should be controlled. This entails that immorality is dangerous as it could spread as contagious illness among the people of the society.

MORAL SELF-INTEREST: Lakoff (1996:94) states that the idea of self-interest is a metaphorical version of an economic idea. More specifically, it is a metaphorical perception of Adam Smith’s theory of capitalism. When an individual aims to maximise his personal wealth (this can echo the self-interest principle), consequently the wealth of the whole society will be maximised. This can entail that working to achieve self-interest is moral action. The metaphor entails that prosperity is moral and if each citizen works hard and achieves success this will be reflected on the entire society. Therefore, the father (authority) should motivate children (citizens) to work harder to avoid poverty. Poor people in this model are considered as lacking discipline. They did not work hard enough to be rich.

MORALITY AS NURTURANCE: the purpose of this metaphor is to determine when assisting people is a moral act. The SF model insists that helping others should not come at the expense of or affect the self-discipline principle. Otherwise, the helping of

others will encourage moral weakness. Lakoff argues that nurturance should serve disciplinarity and enhance authority. Table 2.1 summarises how SF moral views, in Lakoff's view (1996/2002), affect Republicans' rationale about various political and social issues:

Table 2-1: Republicans' metaphorical interpretation of some socio-political issues

Case	The Republican position	Metaphorical interpretation
Social programmes	<p>Republicans detest social programmes devoted to helping poor and weak people. They believe it is immoral to give aid to such people because they have not worked hard to earn it. Support for those who are not worthy of it creates immoral forms of dependency by discouraging the development of self-discipline and self-reliance. Punishment, as an alternative that comes in the form of no help, can serve as a stimulus to develop moral strength.</p>	<p>Self-reliance and Self-discipline</p>
Abortion	<p>Mothers who choose abortion characteristically belong to one of two social groups: unmarried teenagers or mothers whose unwanted pregnancies are seen as the result of uncontrolled sexual behaviour. They could be women who lean more towards their careers and consider pregnancy as a hindrance for their futures. Both types of mothers should keep their unwanted children.</p>	<p>Self-discipline</p>

<p>Environment and climate change</p>	<p>The moral order metaphor in the SF model justifies exploitation of the environment on the assumption that God has given men province over nature. Nature is seen as a resource for human wealth and profit and not as a valuable item that should be cared for.</p>	<p>Moral order</p>
<p>Multiculturalism</p>	<p>Multiculturalism should be avoided. Different cultures in the US should not reserve their distinctive features. Cultures should assimilate into one American culture. Different cultures would count as a threat to the established order of values. Indeed, multiculturalism is considered the evil of all evils, because it allows for a multiplicity of alternative views on what is moral, thus acting against moral wholeness, moral boundaries, moral authority and moral strength in so far as it blurs the good versus evil distinction.</p>	<p>Moral boundaries and moral wholeness metaphors</p>
<p>Government regulations</p>	<p>The government should control the number of issued regulations; they should be kept to the minimum. Consistent with the metaphor of moral self-interest, the Republicans support companies that seek to make the most profits, since they are essential for maximising investors' profits, as well as providing goods and services. Individuals should be given the freedom to increase their interests</p>	<p>Self-interest</p>

	lawfully. This considerable factor helps people to succeed in life.	
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2.10.2 Nurturant Parent metaphorical model

The other model suggested by Lakoff is the Nurturant Parent (NP) model. The NP model is mainly aligned to Democrats. Empathy is the top priority in this model. Family members share responsibilities, and support and caring are provided for all family members. The primary metaphors utilised by this model are MORALITY IS NURTURANCE and MORALITY IS EMPATHY. In the NP model, family consists of two parents or even one. However, if there are two parents within the family, the responsibility is shared between them and neither of them has moral authority over the other. The links between parents and children are based on empathy and love, not punishment. Good communications between parents and children are viewed as a vital component for growth. Therefore, parents appreciate the importance of providing explanation for their decisions and they welcome questions raised by their children about these decisions. In addition to sympathy and good communication, protection of children is a significant concept in the NP model as it is a primary and essential form of caring. Protection in the NP model includes safeguarding the children from external dangers such as drugs, pollution, diseases. Unlike the case with the SF model, the sense of obedience in the NP model is not a result of fear of punishment, but comes from a sense of love and the children's desire to please their parents. If children make a mistake or behave improperly, parents prefer restitution rather than retribution. Parents in the NP model seek to make children become more responsible, self-reliant and self-disciplined. To do this, they do not adopt sufferance, deprivation and castigation, but they provide the necessary care and respect for the children, as well as teaching them to care for others. One of the basic principles parents are keen to instil in their children is self-realisation. This indicates that children should have positive and constructive relations with others and should contribute effectively within their community. The model insists that children should empathise with others. Immorality in the NP model is described as not being compassionate, empathetic and nurturant to other people. Below are the metaphorical moral priorities of the NP model as suggested by Lakoff (1996/2002):

MORALITY AS NURTURANCE: this is the most basic priority in the model. It urges children to provide help for people in need.

MORALITY AS EMPATHY: in this metaphor empathy does not mean the ability to help people in need, but it is “the capacity to project our consciousness into other people so that you can feel what they feel” (Lakoff, 1996:116).

MORAL SELF-NURTURANCE: children should take care of themselves to be capable of taking care of others.

MORALITY AS SOCIAL NURTURANCE: this is concerned with nurturance on a wider level of a community. People should preserve good relations with their social surroundings. Cooperation with the community is a significant moral value.

MORALITY AS HAPPINESS: people who are not capable of cultivating happiness for themselves cannot be nurturers.

MORALITY AS SELF-DEVELOPMENT: development of oneself and others is a moral duty.

MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION: Lakoff asserts that this metaphor is a cornerstone in the NP model. The metaphor emphasises that fairness in the distribution of material objects is a significant moral feature.

MORAL STRENGTH: this metaphor refers to the ability and endurance to be a nurturant moral citizen. Lack of strength leads to critical moral vices such as “lack of social responsibility, selfishness, self-righteousness, narrow-mindedness, inability to experience pleasure, aesthetic insensitivity, lack of curiosity, uncommunicativeness, dishonesty, insensitivity to feelings, inconsiderateness, uncooperativeness, meanness, self-centeredness and lack of self-respect” (Lakoff, 1996:137).

MORAL AUTHORITY: refers to the ability to earn trust through performing nurturant actions. Table 2.2 below shows how embracers of the NP model think about some political issues.

Table 2-2: Democrats' metaphorical interpretation of some socio-political issues

Case	The Democrats' position	Metaphorical interpretation
Social programmes	Democrats support social programmes as parents (authority or government) should provide care and nurturance for children (citizens).	Nurturance and empathy
Abortion	NP model gives the right to have an abortion based on the principle of freedom of choice which is a form of nurturance.	Nurturance for people
Environment	One of the basic principles for Democrats is caring for environment. The government should also provide public infrastructure and work to reduce the destruction of the environment.	Care
Multiculturalism	Multiculturalism is welcomed in the NP model as parents encourage children to interact positively with different people. Differences are a valuable advantage in society.	Empathy
Government regulations	Parents should work hard to guarantee social justice and fair distribution of wealth for all family members. Therefore, government should interfere to stop exploitation by 'greedy'	Social justice

	corporations and maintain broader prosperity.	
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2.10.3 Biconceptualism

Lakoff (1996/2002) argues that the SF and NP models are not mutually exclusive. Some people deploy both models when reasoning about various political issues. Lakoff (1996) calls those people ‘biconceptuals’. He argues that politically moderate citizens and swing-voters are examples of this category. Such biconceptualism is not only manifested on the level of domestic politics, but has been noticed in the foreign policy context as well. Musolff (2016:29) argues that:

For Lakoff, even the discourse of ‘ liberal ’ (by US standards) leaders such as the Democrat presidents Clinton and Obama seems to be either a smokescreen ‘to mollify people who have Nurturant values, while the real policies are strict father policies ’ (in Clinton’s case) or an application of STRICT FATHER punishment strategies against the ‘bad children’ in the WORLD COMMUNITY IS FAMILY, which Obama used in his war rhetoric against Syria, even though ‘his instincts are liberal’ (Lakoff 2004:21; 2013).

Wehling (2013:17) states biconceptuals “commonly apply one model to one specific set of issues, and the other to a second specific set of issues”. However, research has not definitively explained whether biconceptuals adapt their political judgments (their inclination to one model rather than the other) based on the issue in question or because their underlying cognitive political beliefs direct them how to judge or how to vote. Feinberg et al. (2020:781) argue that what makes a biconceptual decide his/her position will be influenced by the persuasive weight political agents put on their claims. In other words, “arguments framed in strict-father terms should lead biconceptuals to move to the right, while arguments framed in nurturant terms should lead them to move to the left.” (Feinberg et al., 2020:781). Part of the analysis in Chapter Eight will be devoted to examining what sort of metaphorical models (SF, NP or biconceptualism) Presidents G.W. Bush and Barack Obama endorse.

2.11 The World Community metaphor

In his analysis of foreign policy rhetoric, Lakoff (1999) explains that the World Community metaphor is the most common model that American politicians use when they talk about issues of foreign policy. The mappings suggested by Lakoff for this metaphor can be summarised as follows:



Figure 2:3 Mappings of World Community metaphor

The models World Community and Nation Is Family can be used together to reason about American political rhetoric in the UN. In this regard, Lakoff (2004:91) states: “The same values governing domestic policy should apply to foreign policy whenever possible.” For instance, the protection moral value can be conceptualised in terms of military protection and strong military defence. Caring and responsibility policies can be seen in caring and protecting the communities around the world.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide some of the theoretical foundations of the current research. I tried here to highlight how metaphor has been transferred from being an ornamental device, used to decorate texts, to a cognitive mechanism that plays a noticeable role in our daily deliberations. The new perception of metaphor as a cognitive tool enables scholars to understand the crucial role metaphor plays in the understanding of our world. Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 have been devoted to shedding light on metaphor definitions and mechanisms through which metaphor is established. In section 2.2 a detailed discussion of the conceptual theory of metaphor has been provided. I attempted to cover its main principles which indicate in what way CMT is different from previous theories. Section 2.3 discusses the relationship between conceptual metaphor and politics, while section 2.4 explores how political morality is metaphorically structured. Throughout these sections, I explained how metaphor gained a role in shaping our conventions about politics. The last subsections of the current chapter explored the two models (Strict Father and Nurturant Parent) suggested by Lakoff and their role in understanding how people and politicians reason about various political issues.

Discussing the relation between language, politics and metaphor, we can conclude that the links between them are inherent. The role language plays in communicating politics is vital. It is the medium through which politicians reach their targeted audience. Metaphor is not only a persuasive device politicians use to trigger the necessary impact on their followers, but it is a cognitive means of thinking that contributes to how political concepts are shaped. To exemplify this, we explained how political morality is shaped and understood within the American politics.

After presenting the first part of the theoretical framework of the study (CMT), the following chapter will present the Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT). We will learn what the motivations for establishing this theory are and what new insights it has provided that were previously missing in CMT.

3. Chapter Three: Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT)

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I outlined how the study of metaphor developed from the linguistic turn into the cognitive one. The current chapter intends to continue the exploration of the cognitive turn in studying metaphor. The main focus of this chapter is to examine the developments in the study of metaphor by Cognitive Linguistics (CL). Specifically, it will shed light on the Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) as an extension form of Conceptual Metaphor Theory CMT. The principal assumption this theory holds is that all metaphorical expressions are a result of a blending process (Kövecses, 2020). However, CBT proponents argue that the theory is more suited to being used as an analytical model for creative metaphors (Berberović and Mujagić, 2017).

This chapter introduces the CBT theoretical framework which will be used to analyse some metaphors as conceptual blends in Chapter Six. I would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that this part of the study is explanatory in nature. Therefore, the major concern of this chapter is not to provide critical views on the CBT, but to present its major principles and to explore how to utilise its analytical power in the endeavour to explicate the mechanisms of translating creative metaphors.

The discussion in this chapter will commence by introducing the CBT and exploring its main proposals. Then I will introduce brief definitions of its key terms. To reflect on these definitions, examples of conceptual blends, accompanied with analysis, will be provided. The processes in which conceptual blends are established will be exposed, as well. The central issue of the similarities and differences between CBT and CMT will also be discussed in this chapter. Additionally, we will examine how some translation scholars used the theory in analysing metaphor translation. Furthermore, we will see what the major shortcomings of the theory are. Before exploring the theory, I would like to emphasise that the overarching question this chapter seeks to answer is:

1. In what way can the CBT help us to analyse translated metaphors?

To obtain a substantial answer for the above question, we need to answer other sub-questions. By the end of the current chapter, the reader will be equipped with responses for the following questions:

2. Why has a new theory for figurative language creation emerged?
3. What is a blend, and what is a blending process?
4. How does a conceptual blend differ from a conceptual metaphor?
5. What are the common features of a conceptual blend and a conceptual metaphor, and what are the differences?

The answers to these questions will help the reader to understand the motivations for and the need for a well-developed theory for metaphorical meaning construction. Additionally, they will help in the endeavour to answer major research questions (see page 23). The answers will set the scene for the conceptual blend analysis in Chapter Six.

A decade after the emergence of the CMT, a new cognitive theory to explain figurative meaning construction emerged. The proponents of this theory are G. Fauconnier and M. Turner. This theory was referred to by different names. Some scholars called it the Conceptual Blending Theory; others favoured the title Conceptual Integration Theory. In the current research, I will use the acronym CBT to refer to the Conceptual Blending Theory.

CBT is a continuation of the endeavour of CL to provide succinct interpretations or answers to the meaning construction issue. The theory postulates that meaning is being created through the projection of conceptual elements from activated structures or mental spaces into a new blend. These elements are recombined in the blended space to establish a newly emergent structure (the novel reality in the blend). The theory considers conceptual blends as powerful, pervasive and universal processes in human cognition (Fredriksson and Pelger, 2020). We can see the manifestations of the conceptual blending processes effortlessly in our daily lives. For instance, after the Libyan civil war in 2011, it was observed that children playing games were imitating war and armed battles. These children imitated the real battles using wooden sticks as weapons, buildings as fortifications, dividing themselves into two rival groups, and

imitating the sounds of artillery and guns shooting. The children in these imaginary battles unconsciously evoked the two mental spaces of ‘battle’ and ‘entertainment’. They assembled elements from the two mental spaces to create a new reality or an imaginary battle (technically emergent structure). Providing interpretations for such an observation confirms Dancygier’s (2006:6) claim that “blending as a theory makes us better at describing just how new meanings can be creatively constructed out of the existing knowledge structures.” It also responds to Gibbs’ (2006) claim that conceptual models should present explanations about social contexts.

In the current research, I embrace the view that CBT is a complementary theory for CMT. CMT and CBT are not competitive rivals (Fauconnier and Lakoff (2009). Due to its nature as a multiple domains theory, CBT considers metaphor among other semantic and pragmatic devices (counterfactuals, grammatical constructions, categorisations, rituals) as a special type of conceptual blend. The CBT has been selected as an analytical framework in this study to find out what kind of analysis of metaphor translation it produces. I argue that CBT can provide analysts with more room to examine exactly the type and the locus of shifts that ensue in translated metaphors.

3.2 Conceptual Blending Theory: emergence and main principles

This section provides a brief contextual background for the emergence of the CBT, a definition of blending, and a presentation of the theory’s major aspects. The CBT theory dates back to the 1990s and was initiated by Mark Turner and Gilles Fauconnier (Oakley and Pascual, 2017). It came about as a development of ‘mental space theory’. Its main concern is the online cognitive processing of meaning (Ungerer and Schmid, 2013:5). In general, CBT seeks to provide an interpretation of figurative meaning creation (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998). The theory claims that several types of human thought processes, among them metaphors, are created through the blending of mental spaces. This ability to blend several mental spaces in one novel space is what distinguishes humans from other species as an advanced intellectual creature. Cognitive linguists claim that conceptual blends are central to human thinking and imagination. This is evidenced by the traces of conceptual blending processes in arts, music and even ancient stone carvings (Gill, 2010).

Coulson and Fauconnier (1999:1) define conceptual blending as “a set of operations for combining cognitive models (Lakoff, 1987) in a network of mental spaces (Fauconnier,1994), viz., partitions of speakers' referential representations.” Joy et al. (2009) view blending as a dynamic process that happens at the moment of perception to generate new meanings from prevailing ways of thinking. Coulson (2005:619) defines blending as “the establishment of partial mappings between cognitive models in different spaces in the network and the projection of conceptual structure from space to space”. However, the term ‘blending’ does not solely examine the metaphorisation process; it is also “a cognitive mechanism, comprising many cognitive phenomena, including categorisation, hypothesis construction, inferences, the origin and variety of grammar construction, analogy, metaphor and the narrative” (Fauconnier and Turner (1998:3-4). These definitions agree that conceptual blends are the end result of the projection process of mental spaces.

In CBT, the process of creating new meanings is conducted through the combination of previous knowledge. The cognitive blending process happens by mapping or projecting similar or analogical elements in two input spaces, or more, into the new mental space. The new conceptual blend obtains some attributes from the input spaces. This may create an impression that any sort of cross-mapping is a cognitive blend. To distinguish conceptual blends, Fauconnier and Turner state that there are four constitutive principles which govern the process of establishing conceptual blends (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:310). These dynamic principles control or organise the setting up of conceptual blends. The constitutive principles are summarised as:

1. There is a partial cross-space mapping which links similar elements in the mental spaces (or input spaces).
2. The generic mental space that maps into the input spaces and includes what input spaces have in common.
3. A new mental space is formed as a result of the projection between input spaces, which is the blend.
4. The projection or mapping from the input spaces into the blend is selective.

To identify and analyse what is going on when establishing blends, CBT theorists explain conceptual blends in terms of conceptual mental networks. A mental network

usually consists of four mental spaces. Two of these mental spaces are input spaces (input space 1 and input space 2). The mental spaces are the locus of the conceptual structural elements. Cross-mapping or projection occurs between the matching conceptual structural elements in input spaces 1 and 2. The projection between input spaces is partial. Dancygier (2016:30) calls it “selective projection”. A third mental space is created as a result of the cross-mapping or projection. Fauconnier and Turner (2002) call this the blend. This mental space is a result of the mapping from two mental spaces into the third one. Ungerer and Schmid (2013:261) explain that cross-mapping or projection in CBT is different from that in CMT. Whereas the mapping is one directional relation between the source domain and the target domain, the projection in CBT is from the two input spaces 1 and 2 into a third one. There is also a generic space in the network. This is composed of whatever shared elements there are between the spaces. After this introduction, in the following section, I will review pertinent concepts of CBT that the discussion of examples in Chapter Six will build upon.

3.3 Key terms and definitions

Mental spaces: Fauconnier and Turner (2002:40) define mental spaces as “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action”. It is significant at this stage to differentiate mental spaces from the conceptual domain that is defined by Dancygier (2016:29) as “a conceptual package including a range of connected elements, and is potentially referred to by a shared term. For example, a domain such as War includes a number of components such as opponents, weapons, attack and defence, victory and defeat”.

Input spaces: These are equivalent to the source and target domains in CMT. Input spaces are the mental spaces that are used as real-world data in the blend. They are the locus of the conceptual structural elements that will participate in setting it up.

Generic space: This space includes the common structures of the input spaces that participate in forming the mental network.

The blend: This space is the result of the projection of various elements of different spaces. The blended space imports its constituents from other spaces (usually input space 1 and input space 2).

Emergent structure: This is the final product of one of the processes adopted in forming the blend (composition, completion or elaboration). It is entailments that appear neither in input space 1 nor in input space 2 (Coulson, 2001:181).

Vital relations: They are shared conceptual relations between the mental spaces. They connect and structure different parts in mental spaces (Coulson, 2001). Turner (2006) suggests that ‘vital relations’ refers to the way in which we relate our ideas to one another. For example, the relationship that connects a city with a state is that they are both a part-whole. Fauconnier and Turner (2002:101) suggest that the most prevalent vital relations are: change, identity, time, space, cause-effect, part-whole, representation, role, analogy, disanalogy, property, similarity, category, intentionality and uniqueness.

3.4 Blending processes

Blending processes are the operations through which the conceptualiser brings elements that existed in the input spaces together into the new blended space. The first step in establishing a blend is to activate the necessary mental spaces or input spaces. Hart (2008) explains that in metaphorical expressions the conceptualiser triggers two different scenarios with dissimilar background frames or assumptions. Each scenario will take its shape as an independent mental space as the metaphorical expressions unfold. The blending in its essence is the projection of counterpart connections between elements in input space 1 and input space 2. In the mental network diagram of Fauconnier and Turner (2002), they suggest the solid lines as the links between shared counterparts between the spaces. These counterparts’ connections are defined as vital relations. They are of different types such as identity, time, space and category (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:89-111).

To explain the mechanisms through which conceptual blends are established, I will analyse the conceptual blend ‘Abdel Fattah el-Sisi is the new Pharaoh’ as an explanatory case. This political conceptual blend is used by opponents of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi to express their rejection of his policies in Egypt.³

³ <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20191001-egypts-pharaoh-is-trembling/>



Figure 3:1 President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi as a Pharaoh

This new title for President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi is in fact an instance of a conceptual blending process. The new blend is a result of cognitive projections between two different mental spaces. What are the mental spaces included in this blend, and what is the exact operation (composition, completion or elaboration) (Fauconnier and Turner,1998:144) that led President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi to become a Pharaoh?

Here I would like to point out that this example clearly explains what we mean by using mental spaces instead of conceptual domains in setting up blends. According to Coulson (2006:189) “mental spaces can be thought of as temporary containers for relevant information about a particular domain”. If we reflect this definition onto our example, the mental space of ‘President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi’ cannot be a conceptual domain, but a smaller semantic space which is ‘Egypt’s president’.

The mental integration network of this example is comprised of:

Input space 1 (Abdel Fattah el-Sisi)

Input space 2 (The Pharaoh)

Generic space: both Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and the Pharaoh are rulers of Egypt.

The blend: the new semantic reality that emerges as a result of this mental process is that President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi is a new tyrant.

The emergent structure resulting from the blending is that President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi becomes a Pharaoh. Although the two characters in question belong to different historical eras, they become one identity. It is worth noting how this cognitive mechanism has brought two disparate characters together. The operation conducted in this case is an elaboration.

It is true that a new reality has been created here, but it is not an instantiation of another higher-level cognitive structure (Kövecses, 2008) as is the case with the conceptual metaphors. It is a process of exploiting the knowledge about one mental space and projecting it into another.

3.5 Establishing of conceptual blends

A novel emergent structure in the blend input space emerges out of one of three possible blending processes. They are composition, completion and elaboration. Composition is the most common process responsible for making blends. It enables the conceptualiser to compose elements from inputs to create relations that have not existed in the separate inputs (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002:42). Coulson and Oakley (2005) explain that composition is manifested when a relation is attributed from one space to an element or elements from other input spaces.

The process of completion depends on the conceptualiser's knowledge of frames, cognitive and cultural models that allow him/her to add more structures to the blend (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998). The third operation is elaboration. Fauconnier (1998:144) suggests that, through elaboration, conceptualisers can expand the scope of the blend by "imaginative mental simulation"; however, the expansion should be constrained by the logic of the blended space. Using the elaboration process, conceptualisers may "run the blend" in indefinite ways. In other words, the speakers may extend or expand the number of projections derived from mental spaces that constitute the blend.

The knowledge of such processes in the blending process can be of great importance for translators. Translators may take advantage and add additional structures or replace others when translating blends from one language into another. Finding an equivalent blend in the target language, analysing its input spaces, translators may add more structures to the new blend in the target language that do not contrast with the original theme of the source language blend.

Actually, such insights from CBT may provide translators with sound and clear suggestions, possible interpretations, to handle metaphorical blends between different languages. This novel view of metaphorical meaning construction may eliminate the ambiguity of previous prescriptive alternatives for handling metaphor between different languages (Newmark, 1980). To shed more light on this point, let us consider the fifth procedure on Newmark's list (see section 4.2). Newmark advocates for 'Translate metaphor into sense'. The first question that comes to mind is: what does Newmark mean by sense? Sense is an abstract term that has many interpretations. It can be metaphorical or literal sense, as well. In my view, and based on the discussion above, such a procedure will not help translators translate metaphors, but on the contrary, it may increase the state of confusion. However, using CBT can enable one to determine the metaphorical components that participated in establishing the metaphorical expression (input spaces) and the sort of process that took place in establishing the metaphor (completion, elaboration or composition).

3.6 Conceptual metaphor and conceptual blends: similarities and differences

In this section, I will highlight the difference between perceiving metaphor as a product of cross-domain mappings between two conceptual domains or seeing it as conceptual blend that is composed of four mental spaces. A review of the opinions that describe the relationship between CMT and CBT in the literature proposes that there is a lack of agreement on whether CBT comes as a replacement for CMT (Schroder, 2015) or CBT is a complementary endeavour to CMT (Dancygier, 2016). The prominent justification given for the emergence of this theory is that the CMT could not provide sufficient and thorough explanations for the way creative or novel metaphorical senses are created, nor could it identify all mappings occurring between the conceptual domains. Fauconnier and Turner (2008:65) argue that "we need to go far beyond the

usual focus on cross-domain mapping and inference transfer. We need to face squarely the far greater complexity of integrations that lie behind observable metaphorical conceptual systems.” Fauconnier (2001) suggests that the rise of meaning and inference in conceptual blended spaces was overlooked as a theoretical issue in previous work on metaphor. Therefore, CBT can be considered as an extension for CMT. The theory came about to find answers for the shortcomings that appeared in CMT. Below we will see how different scholars perceive the need for CBT.

Kövecses (2005:267) admitted that “in many cases of what looks like ‘innocent’ metaphorical expression, metaphor analysis along the cognitive linguistic lines runs into difficulty.” Hecke (2005:229) states “the mapping of elements and domains cannot adequately describe all the conceptual operations taking place in metaphor”. Kok and Bublitz (2011:294) think CMT “much too inflexible to account for the inter-subjective creativity characteristic of human communication.” Ungerer and Schmid (2013:257) argue that CBT replaces the “fairly static picture of conceptualisation, with a more dynamic approach”. Similar to the above positions, Abusaeedi et al. (2012) conclude that previous theories of metaphor, namely interaction theory and CMT, cannot explain the process that takes place in establishing metaphoric advertisements in the Persian language. However, CBT is the best analytical tool possible that can provide a more precise explanation for this type of creative metaphor.

Omar (2012:83) contends that CBT was established to “[the] name that was given to the process employed by creative writers in generating creative metaphors”. In a similar position, Semino (2010) argues that CBT’s major concern is with the construction of metaphorical meaning and, more specifically, the meanings of creative metaphors. Fauconnier and Turner (2008:53) argue that:

What we have come to call “conceptual metaphors,” like TIME IS MONEY or TIME IS SPACE, turn out to be mental constructions involving many spaces and many mappings in elaborate integration networks constructed by means of overarching general principles. These integration networks are far richer than the bundles of pairwise bindings considered in recent theories of metaphor.

So, there is a state of consensus among a considerable number of metaphor scholars that CBT has the upper hand over CMT in highlighting the creative aspects of the cross-domain mappings in a metaphorical structure.

Similarly, when I commenced extracting examples of metaphorical expressions from the research data, I found that using CMT did not capture every nuanced relation when establishing these metaphors. The metaphor's constitutive components do not live up to the level of domains or instantiations of conceptual domains. Therefore, I decided to adopt CBT as my analytical tool for these examples.

What supports the claim that CBT is an extension or developed version of CMT is the degree of resemblance between the two theories. Dancygier (2016) argues that the CMT and CBT are similar in terms of the operations conducted to create meaning. Projection of meaning from one cognitive structure into another is the cornerstone of the process. To explicate the cognitive processes in both theories, several studies applied CMT and CBT principles to the figurative construction 'The surgeon is a butcher'. Coulson (2001) argues that the CMT could not give a full account of the mappings in the linguistic metaphor 'The surgeon is a butcher'. Originally, the metaphorical expression was said, in several CMT studies, to indicate the incompetency of surgeons. However, 'incompetency' is not a main characteristic of the source domain, CBT proponents conclude. Kövecses (2011) argues that the establishment of 'incompetency' meaning is not a result of any direct mapping between a conceptual structural component in the source domain and its equivalent in the target domain. The link between the incompetency of the surgeon and the butcher only comes to the surface because of the integration of the butcher's means and the surgeon's aims in one mental space. Kövecses (2011:14) plausibly suggests:

Thus, in the blend there is a surgeon in the role of a butcher who uses a tool and the means of butchery for the purpose of healing a patient. But, of course, the surgeon who uses the means of butchery cannot do a good job in trying to heal a human patient. The blend set up this way leads to the interpretation of the surgeon as being ineffective, nonprofessional, and, ultimately, incompetent.

Kövecses (2011:15) outlined the blend into the following mental network:

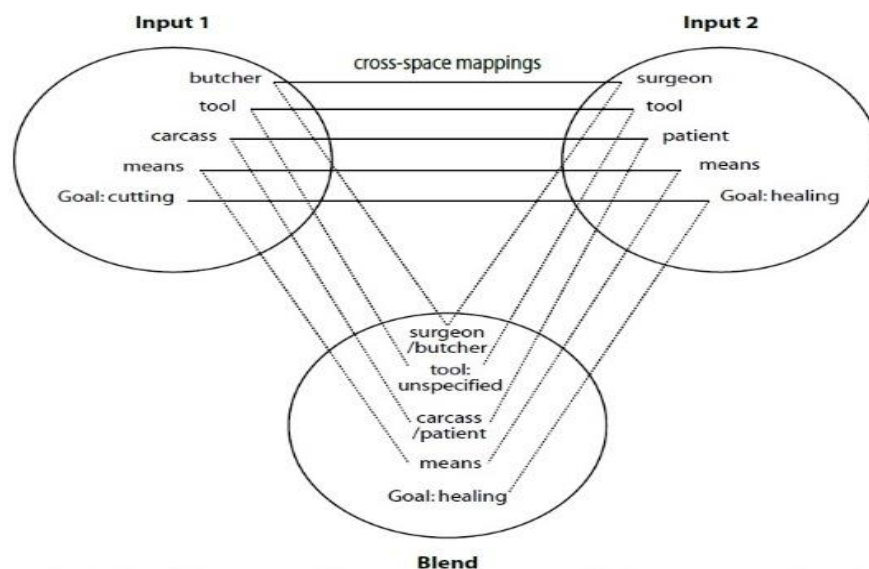


Figure 3:2 Kövecses' mental network of 'the surgeon is a butcher' blend

Despite the attempt to make the blend visual in the diagram above, it still unclear how the conceptual blend has been set up to project the 'incompetency' sense to the butcher. In contrast to the previous argument, and although this metaphor has been used frequently in cognitive linguistic literature, I assume that butchers are skilful professionals. They are keen to perform their jobs with highest precision to gain their customers' confidence. At least in my region, not many people take butchery as their profession. Butchers should be skilful and have the necessary knowledge about how to deal with the slaughtered animal.

Grady et al. (1999) summarise the similarities between conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends as:

1. Both CMT and CBT consider metaphor as a conceptual structure rather than linguistic one.
2. Both CMT and CBT include a degree of projection between conceptual domains of language, imagery and inferential structures.
3. Conceptual metaphors and conceptual blends both impose restrictions on the mappings or projections between domains or mental spaces.

Based on the explanations provided for the CMT and CBT, we may infer the differences between them as:

1. CMT considers metaphor as a strictly restricted directional phenomenon i.e., the mapping of structural elements in conceptual metaphors is limited to mapping from the source domain to the target domain, not vice versa. This is not the case in the CBT.
2. The analysis of metaphors in CMT is concerned with entrenched conceptual relationships. CBT research focuses mainly on the novel or unconventional conceptual blends which may be short-lived (counterfactuals, conditionals).

3.7 Conceptual blends typology

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) distinguish between four different types of conceptual blends. They are simplex, mirror, single-scope and double-scope networks. Kövecses (2005) argues that we need to ascertain how many and what types of cognitive processes took place in setting up the blend. Despite the well-delineated nature of this typology in studying the establishment of figurative meaning, I have noticed that not inconsiderable attention has been paid to it in CBT literature. The following sections will present the types of conceptual blends and the clear-cut criteria suggested by Fauconnier and Turner to distinguish between them.

3.7.1 Simplex network

Fauconnier (2001) explains that this blend is conventional and organises our knowledge about nuanced aspects of our daily life. Dancygier and Sweetser (2014:90) and Kövecses (2010) state that a simplex blend is the simplest type of the conceptual blends. It contains only two input spaces. The first input space functions as a frame and the other input space as a filler of that frame. Names used to describe some political positions are good examples of this type of mental network. The sentence ‘Michelle was Barack Obama’s First Lady’ includes two identities projected to set up the conceptual blend, the ‘First Lady’. The input space ‘Michelle’ is used to fill the other space that is the political status or position of ‘First Lady’. Fauconnier and Turner (2002:190) argue that simplex blends can give interpretations of the way we talk about our kinship relations, as well. The roles of father, mother, sister and brother can be filled with names of people. In the sentence ‘Ali is my brother’ the name ‘Ali’ fills the relationship of brotherhood. Fauconnier and Turner (2002:120) explain that “there is no clash between the inputs, such as competing frames or incompatible counterpart

elements”. Although this kind of reasoning explains the novel or new relations which emerged, blending theorists have not stated clearly what happens if an individual occupies two or more political positions. Can we still consider this as a simplex blend, or not? I assume this type of conceptual mental network will not cause any translation problems for translators because of the clearness and the direct nature of the cross-mappings between the elements of the input spaces. It is only in the case of kinship where the same relation has different referential meanings. For instance, the word ‘uncle’ in English refers to the brother of someone’s mother or father, or the husband of someone’s aunt. In Arabic, there are different input spaces to specify this relation. The word (خال) (khāl) refers to the brother of someone’s mother, whereas (عم) (‘am) denotes the father’s brother. It is only the context of the blend in such cases that can ensure who is the intended participant in that communicative situation.

3.7.2 Mirror networks

They are a little more complex than simplex blends. The common frame functions as an organised structure for all inputs. Booth (2017:39) describes this type of blend as “a type of conceptual-integration network in which several mental spaces share an organising frame, rendering highly efficient the processes of comparison, cross-space mapping and imaginative substitution among their constituent elements”. An example of the mirror network would be to compare or visualise the three most popular presidents in American history. We may construct a blend where the most popular three are standing on a trophy podium. The president with the most votes is the winner, then the others in second and third place. In this blend, the input spaces are ‘American presidency’ and ‘sport competition’. These two spaces are controlled by one single space that is ‘competition’.

3.7.3 Single-scope network

Fauconnier and Turner (2002:126) state that the single-scope blending network consists of:

two input spaces with different organising frames, one of which is projected to organise the blend. Its defining property is that the organising

frame of the blend is an extension of the organising frame of one of the inputs but not the other.

Since the organiser frame of the entire structure is one of the input spaces, CBT proponents consider this sort of blending to be the ideal type of highly conventional source-target metaphors. However, Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) are reluctant to call all single-scope blends conceptual metaphors because the projections in some metaphors are not controlled by the structures of a single input space.

Although Fauconnier and Turner (2002:129) claim that single-scope includes the highest amounts of conceptual clash, I believe that the single-scope conceptual blend may not constitute a difficulty when transferring into different languages. This can be attributed to the fact that the mechanism by which the blend has been composed is clear. Translators should identify the frames used to establish the SL blend and the controlling frame in the new pattern to be able to render them directly into the TL.

3.7.4 Double-scope network

Unlike the case with single-scope blends, the inputs in double-scope blends are structured by different organising frames. The frames of both conceptual inputs contribute in organising the blend. Fauconnier and Turner (2002) argue that human beings are unique because of their ability to conduct double-scope blends. However, no obvious explanation is given as to what way other creatures may conduct the other three types. Fauconnier and Turner claim that this faculty is indispensable to numerous aspects of our lives such as art, science and imagination.

Several examples can be suggested to exemplify this sort of blend. The computer desktop interface is a conceptual blend of this type, in that we perform a number of actions such as opening, closing, copying and pasting, and these actions are imported from a different input, namely the mental conception of work we perform on a real desktop. (For elaboration on this example see Fauconnier (2001)).

Another example is the counterfactual statement “If Clinton was the Titanic, the iceberg would sink” (Barcelona, 2012:19) allied former US President Clinton’s ability to endure the ‘collision’ with attempts to initiate impeachment proceedings against

him. Another example is the dialogue between a contemporary philosopher and Kant. Due to lack of space, we will discuss the later example as it has received more attention in the literature.

Kövecses (2005:282) argues that double-scope blends are more creative than other types of blends. He insists that the novel meanings produced by double-scope integration networks are the absolute form of creativity. He justifies this bold opinion that:

Other forms of creativity involve cases in which there is a frame in the blend that is novel with respect to the inputs. Such cases would not be creative in an absolute sense because the frame in the blend is typically a well-recognised frame in the culture.

Having exposed the main tenets of CBT, in what ways it is different from CMT, how conceptualisers establish a blend (blending processes) and the types of conceptual blends, we are in a good position to examine the potential this theoretical framework may present for investigating the transfer of metaphorical expressions between different languages and cultures.

3.8 Translating conceptual blends

In this part of the chapter, we look at how the translation of conceptual blends has been approached by different scholars. Based on a survey of a number of works conducted about this theme, we will explore the methodology selected, the sort of data and what sort of challenges researchers faced.

Despite the popularity of cognitive approaches to the study of metaphor translation, only scant attention has been paid to CBT as an analytical framework in TS. The overwhelming majority of metaphor translation research used CMT as their investigative framework. Surprisingly, even the recent publications dedicated to shedding light on the potential impact of CL outcomes on TS have not yet shifted this trend. Even the book *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications*, edited by Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013), does not mention explicitly the potential of utilising CBT as a device to interpret

metaphor translation. However, there are now calls for renewing the way researchers approach this topic (Schäffner, 2016; Shuttleworth, 2018).

In his study, McElhanon (2006:31) set five major aims, among them to “...present some translations of conceptual blends and then suggest optimality principles for translating conceptual blends and evaluate the translations by them.” He uses the CBT to analyse the language of biblical parables and examines the translation of these parables into the language of the Selepet people of Papua New Guinea. McElhanon (2006:70) mentions that the Selepet people do not have experience with grain crops. Therefore, translators resort to local plants that have similar biological characteristics to communicate the ideas of the parables.

Fougner Rydning (2005:402) argues that sense construction is a cognitive process that could be accounted for by CBT. He concludes that CBT “appears to offer translation theorists a general model of sense construction which enables them to account for the cognitive mechanisms underlying sense construction which are central in translation.”

3.9 Limitations of CBT

Despite the analytical power of CBT in explaining metaphorical blends, many scholars (Gibbs, 2000; Iza Erviti, 2012; Harder, 2003; Brandt and Brandt, 2005; Oakley and Hougaard, 2008; Ferguson and Sanford, 2008) have reservations about this theory. The criticisms vary in intensity. Ritchie (2004) thinks the theory makes simple linguistic processes more complicated. His objection is also about the metaphors used to explicate the theory. Ritchie (2004:48) comments:

What is necessary is to recognise the limitations and pitfalls of such metaphorical language, and to elaborate the theory without the irrelevant and even contradictory entailments of the metaphors.

Ritchie rejects the idea of the generic space as an independent space that combines the shared elements of the input spaces. Similar to Gibbs’ position, critical of the CBT (2000; 2001), Glebkin (2015:108) states that “Fauconnier and Turner seem to be prone to unreasonable generalisations, and they are incorrect in interpreting the cognitive meaning of the operation they discovered.” An additional limitation in CBT is that it

ignores the cultural aspects in establishing blends. Fauconnier and Turner do not give enough attention to the role our cultural capacities may play in creating conceptual blends. However, I assume CBT has not been used extensively to analyse the translation of metaphorical blends. This study will be a step in exploring what CBT can achieve using a bilingual sort of data.

3.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented general background information about the nature and the main principles of CBT. I examined its processes, its types, some authentic examples and its limitations. The chapter also includes examples of how some researchers use the theory to account for the translation of conceptual blends.

I am not in complete agreement with Hecke's (2005:229) conclusion that CBT "answers the question how it is possible that we understand metaphors, and does not deal directly with the question how an obscure metaphor should be understood or interpreted." However, I endorse Kaneen's (2017:52) opinion that "Conceptual Blending Theory extends Conceptual Metaphor Theory into a more powerful and generic model."

I argue that CBT can enable analysts to describe how creatively new metaphorical meaning is established from pre-existing knowledge structures. The dominant hypothesis of this theory is that meaning has been constructed dynamically in an imaginative and creative mental process; not through a one-way mapping process between conceptual domains, but through a bidirectional mapping from the input spaces when combined in the new conceptual blend. Dancygier (2016) argues that this sort of flexibility is the main reason that CBT is appealing for those who seek answers about creativity mechanisms in language.

I argue that CBT can be fruitfully applied to the analysis of translating metaphors for several reasons. Firstly, the clarity of mechanisms through which the blends are created. In my view, Fauconnier and Turner have succeeded largely in describing and explaining the cognitive processes through which novel figurative meanings are created Secondly, the way in which this theory presents the processes in which speakers/writers establish a conceptual blend (composition, completion and

elaboration) is interesting and it may help analysts to decode the nuances of meanings when investigating metaphors. Thirdly, the classification of blend types is based on a clear and tangible criterion: the number of frames that structure the blend. This will assist metaphor analysts and translation scholars to ascertain what sort of a blend is used in the SL, and therefore easily identify any shift happening in the blend in the TL. It is not like the case with the classification of conceptual metaphors in CMT into structural, ontological and orientational metaphors. This classification has been suggested based on the cognitive functions these metaphors perform (Kövecses 2010:37), however, it does not reveal the processes through which they are established. Therefore, it will not be of great help for translators in deciding the equivalent TL metaphor.

Using authentic examples from the research data, we will look at in Chapter Six how CBT can present more clues than CMT about the processes taking place when constructing creative metaphorical expressions in both SL and TL. The following chapter will be allocated to surveying the literature of metaphor in TS.

4. Chapter Four: Metaphor Translation

4.1 Introduction

After presenting the pure theoretical linguistic and cognitive aspects of metaphor definition, creation and interpretation, the current chapter focuses on exploring metaphor in TS. The chapter will critically expose the prominent approaches used to investigate the transfer of metaphors between languages and cultures. The chapter will also shed light on the other issues related to the study of metaphor in TS, such as culture, language and translation. However, we need first to have a panoramic view of how the study of metaphor in TS has developed.

The development of the study of metaphor translation has been through different stages. It starts with early questions about the possibility of metaphor translation into different languages and cultures. Such questioning was initiated by claims that metaphor is a violation of the linguistic system and is an individual flash of imagination that cannot be reproduced in different languages and cultures (Dagut, 1976). The second important issue in the study of metaphor translation is the procedures suggested to tackle metaphor. Peter Newmark (1981) with his seven procedures suggested one of the earliest lists of metaphor translation. However, some scholars argue that it is not the fundamental aim of TS to produce roles and hints for translating texts; rather, it is "to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience" (Holmes, 1988:71). Since then, many studies have changed the course of research using the descriptive new paradigm of metaphor translation (Toury, 1995). A major shift in the study of metaphor translation was the conceptual approach (section 4.3). This research paradigm resulted in corrections to previous translation procedures or suggestions of novel ones (Al-Harrasi, 2001:277-81). The study of metaphor in TS also witnessed a development in the approaches adopted from product analysis into process analysis research. Process analysis research seeks to answer questions such as: what happens in the translator's mind when translating metaphors, and are different metaphors processed differently? To answer these sorts of questions, researchers use a number of protocols, such as Think-aloud protocols (asking translators to verbalise what they are doing when translating metaphors), keystroke logging (a piece of software records a

translator's every movement on the computer keyboard, and also the times and the lengths of pauses in the translation activity) and eye-tracking protocols (software captures the translator's eye movements and determines where the translator is looking and the length of time the translator spends on any linguistic chunk in the text) (Schäffner and Shuttleworth, 2013).

In terms of the translatability of metaphor, two contradicting opinions have emerged; the first states that metaphor is a translatable linguistic device and does not constitute any difficulty for translators. The second suggests that, due to the complicated nature of metaphor formation, it can be problematic or untranslatable. However, there is another opinion which is different from the two points of view mentioned here, and is a compromise between them (Mason, 1982).

The differences in the views above can be attributed to various reasons. The contrast of the linguistic systems used by those who investigate metaphor translation cannot be overlooked; neither can the complicated nature of cultural aspects peculiar to the languages concerned. Moreover, the diverse approaches adopted by different scholars (descriptive/prescriptive) also have had an effect on the outcome of metaphor translation investigations (Schäffner, 2004a). The two major research approaches used to examine metaphor in TS are the linguistic and the cognitive approaches. These two approaches are also used to examine the translatability and untranslatability, among other issues, of metaphor in TS.

4.2 Linguistic approach for metaphor translation

This section will present the prominent studies that embrace the linguistic approach and the outstanding contributions for each study. This will help in explaining how the study of metaphor in TS has developed through time.

As one of the proponents of the 'untranslatable' camp, Nida conducted one of the earliest studies about metaphor translation (1964:219). He believes that metaphor cannot be translated into another language without some sort of modifications. He suggests a number of procedures to translate metaphors: metaphor into metaphor, metaphor into simile, metaphor into non-metaphor and non-metaphor into metaphor. These procedures were based on his linguistic perception of metaphor as "semantically

exocentric expression” (Nida, 1964:219). He claims that the best method of translating a metaphor is to translate it into a simile. The rationale for resorting to such a procedure is that words such as ‘like’ and ‘as’ can be a hint that the words used in the sentence cannot be taken literally. Nida (1964:220) claims that in some cases a simile could be a real equivalent of a metaphor. Although a simile can replace a metaphor in the target text, the author’s motivation in the SL in using a metaphor rather than simile will become questionable. Nida proposes that translators can opt for the metaphor to non-metaphor procedure when the inherent features of the SL are absent in the TL. He (ibid:220) also criticises those who support the idea of an addition to the target text through the metaphor to metaphor procedure. He also criticises translators for the loss that is a result of deleting an SL metaphor in the TL. However, the prescriptive approach he advocates may not be easily accepted, especially in the case of authoritative texts where the translator’s intervention should be very limited and thoughtful.

In 1976 another significant study about metaphor translation emerged. Dagut (1976) discusses many aspects which influenced the study of metaphor translation in subsequent years. Dagut’s major contribution was his stress on the role of culture in translating metaphor. He argues that translation of metaphor is determined by "the extent to which the cultural experience and semantic associations on which it draws are shared by speakers of the particular TL" (Dagut, 1976:28). He claims that metaphor is a semantic novelty and so it has no equivalent in the target language. He calls to redefine metaphor so that it will receive treatment that distinguishes it from other figures of speech such as idioms. Dagut (ibid:26) expresses his rejection of the idea that the bolder metaphors are the easier they are to translate. He calls for a rigorous experiment to test such claims. Dagut (ibid:32) concludes his article by stating that there is no place for a simplistic formula for translating metaphors, and that the translation of any metaphor depends on its cultural density and semantic load and the readiness of the target language to reproduce such metaphors. Dagut’s major contribution is the raising of the cross-culture issue as an important element that can affect the translation of metaphors. However, a significant flaw in his arguments is illustrated by deterministic views such as “Since a metaphor in SL is, by definition, a new piece of performance, a semantic novelty, it can clearly have no existing "equivalence" in TL: what is unique can have no counterpart” (ibid:24). This

evaluative statement is based on his view of metaphor as a semantic violation that cannot be reproduced in the TL.

One scholar who has made an important contribution in the study of metaphor in TS is Peter Newmark. In his book *A Textbook of Translation*, Newmark states “Whilst the central problem of translation is the overall choice of a translation method for a text, the most important particular problem is the translation of metaphor” (Newmark, 1988:104). Dickins (2005:236) believes that Newmark’s work is “the most practical and wide-ranging account in respect of translation analysis”. Like Dagut (1976; 1987), Newmark agrees that metaphorical meaning implies cultural and personal experiences. However, Newmark (1988:106) argues that culturally loaded metaphors are more difficult to translate. Before providing his translation procedures list, Newmark divides metaphors into categories of dead, cliché, stock or standard, adapted, recent and original metaphors. Although Newmark’s classification was the reference for many studies, the distinction between these categories is sketchy and not clear-cut. Newmark (1988) defines dead metaphor as that type of metaphor in which the image is used unconsciously. This type of metaphor refers to universal concepts such as time, space or ecological issues. This definition is similar to that of the cliché metaphors, and despite the striking similarity between the two types, Newmark suggests different translation procedures for each type. However, Deignan (2005:42) clearly delineates the criterion for distinguishing between conventionalised (cliché, in Newmark’s terms) and dead metaphors as:

...where a literal sense of a word is perceived as more core than an established metaphorical sense, the second sense is regarded as a conventionalised metaphor, whereas when there is no such apparent relationship of basicness and dependency the metaphor is considered to be a dead metaphor.

If we apply this to the expression ‘Adam’s apple’ we will find that the literal meaning of the word ‘apple’ is a type of round hard fruit, whereas the metaphorical sense in this context is a lump at the front of man’s throat that sticks out slightly and moves when s/he eats. The literal sense is more basic than the established metaphorical sense; therefore, the metaphorical sense is conventionalised metaphor. On the other hand, the word ‘flock’ in the sentence ‘the people flocked to vote in the elections’ is dead

metaphor as there is no evident relationship of basicness and dependency between the literal and metaphorical senses.

Unlike the case with Dagut, Newmark (1981:88-91) suggests a number of procedures for how metaphor should be translated. These procedures are:

1. Reproduce the same image in the target language (TL).
2. Replace the SL image with a standard TL one.
3. Replace metaphor with simile.
4. Render metaphor to simile plus sense.
5. Shift metaphor into sense.
6. Delete metaphor.
7. Keep the same metaphor incorporated with sense.

Although this is one of the first attempts to theorise metaphor translation in a systematic manner, three criticisms can be drawn about Newmark's approach. The first criticism is the prescriptive nature of the list. The procedures are all set as ready-made solutions for already known linguistic problems, however languages are dynamic by nature and we cannot expect all sorts of difficulties when we translate. Therefore, ready-made lists of procedures cannot be always of great help for translators. Secondly, the call for addition and omission without considering the requirements for various translation situations is not helpful for translators. Third, Newmark does not create his procedures based on real authentic data as the examples used are artificial. Merakchi (2018) argues that the detailed description of metaphor translation by Newmark seems an unnecessary elaboration of Van den Broeck's classification (1981). She proceeds to say that the dead, cliché and standard metaphors can be categorised as conventionalised metaphors since their meanings are available in language dictionaries.

Unlike the typology and translation procedures suggested by Newmark (1981), Van Den Broeck (1981) provides a shortened version for the types of metaphor and their translation procedures. He categorises metaphors into three types: lexicalised, conventional and private metaphors. The translation modes suggested by Van den Broeck do not depend on the type of metaphor as Newmark assumed; instead,

translation of metaphor relies on the text type where the metaphor appears (creative or non-creative). The translation modes of metaphor are (1981:77):

1. Translation *sensu stricto* where the translator transfers both the SL tenor and vehicle into the TL.
2. Substitution through keeping the same tenor of the SL in the TL and replacing the vehicle.
3. Paraphrase. To transfer the metaphor of the SL into non-metaphorical unit in the TL.

The terms ‘tenor’ and ‘vehicle’ have been introduced by Richards (1936). The term ‘tenor’ denotes the person, object or thing which the metaphor describes whereas ‘vehicle’ refers to the metaphorical word or phrase itself. However, Ritchie (2013:10) raises the issue of the terminology in the study of metaphor as different terms have been used to name the same concept, such as the words ‘tenor’ and ‘target’ for the term ‘topic’. Van den Broeck (1981:84) argues that there is no need for a special theory of translating metaphor as the rules of translation in general can be applied to the translation of metaphor as well.

Mason (1982) states that the translation of metaphor does not differ from any other kind of translation, and the problems of translating metaphors are the same as those involved in translation in general. Mason (ibid:149) argues that we must treat every metaphor differently, investigating its categories with regard to its cultural connotation before starting the translation process, as well as paying attention to the textual context in which the metaphor is used. She also claims that “there cannot be a theory of the translation of metaphor; there can only be a theory of translation” (ibid:149). Mason also calls for a literal translation of cultural metaphors (metaphors saturated with cultural elements) supported by a footnote explaining the SL metaphor and its culture-bound elements. One of the potential consequences with such an approach is that explaining every cultural item or obscure metaphor with a footnote may lead to modulating the nature of the source text. This modulation or shift in the nature of the text may go against the source language author’s intention for the final shape of the text. Some authors do not want to have footnotes in the texts they produce. Besides, it seems unreasonable that a translator determines a method to render each metaphor

separately without some kind of theory determining when and how s/he should intervene or not to handle a particular problem. This is not a call for a prescriptive approach to handling metaphors, but to set general rules that determine what translators may encounter when dealing with such linguistic or cognitive phenomena. In her call to abandon a translation theory of metaphor, Mason contradicts a basic fact that every translator is practising some sort of theory in their work. When translators decide to retain, paraphrase or delete metaphors, they are taking their decisions based on particular facts concerning particular situations. This actually recognises the fact that translators could be formulating the principles or the theoretical bases on which the future direction of their work could be conceived. Williams (2013:20) suggests that one of the goals of translation theory is prediction, i.e., translation theory should be able to inform translators of what they may face and how they should react to translational aspects of different texts. In fact, this will include what issues metaphors will bring forth when they are transferred from one language and culture into another.

We may argue from the exploration of the linguistic approaches to metaphor translation that they are unified in looking for metaphors as individual units scattered in the text and translators should come up with their exact equivalents in the target language. Stienstra (1993:126) summarises this view by saying:

Translation theorists have restricted their attention to individual metaphors, discussing the possibility or impossibility, the desirability or undesirability of a literal rendering, weighing the cultural obstacles, suggesting alternative ways of translation, even drawing conclusions with respect to the (im)possibility to translate metaphor.

To sum up the linguistic approach in translating metaphor we may say that translation theorists start to recognise that metaphor is not a sign of genius, as Aristotle suggests, but an omnipresent linguistic device not only in literary texts. What are the specific criteria to define a lexical word or stretch of language as metaphorical? Should polysemy, idioms and other types of lexical deviation be considered as metaphors? Another major issue raised by the linguistic approach is whether metaphor is translatable or not, and what are the factors that may affect the translatability of metaphor. The linguistic approach studies metaphor as an independent linguistic

device in texts, without a holistic approach even for strings of metaphors that appear in one text.

The discipline of TS has not made capital out of the enormous efforts devoted to the study of metaphor. Recent findings relating to the creation, identification, interpretation, understanding and effects of metaphor can provide valuable insights into the ways translators transfer metaphors into the TL and its culture.

In the following section we will find out how the shift from looking at metaphor from a linguistic angle to a cognitive one has moved the discussion of metaphor translation into new avenues.

4.3 Metaphor translation from cognitive perspective

In this section we will discuss how the cognitive metaphor has changed the course of metaphor investigation in TS. The section will provide answers for important questions which emerged as a result of the conceptual approach, such as the credibility of the traditional procedures of metaphor translation, and how cognitive linguists prove the existence of conceptual metaphors. This investigation will be conducted through the selection and review of the major studies which adopt the conceptual approach within the context of politics. Some of these studies have been selected as they use English-Arabic languages, which are the same language pairs used in the present project.

The dramatic changes in the view of metaphor necessitate a review of the way TS tackles the issue of metaphor. The previous studies of translating metaphor which had been based on adopting linguistic theories (Newmark 1981; Mason 1982) will not be of great help for translators to identify and tackle the cognitive associations triggered by conceptual metaphors. Tebbit and Kinder confirm this argument:

The process of metaphorical mapping actually takes place at the conceptual level. This means that metaphor theorists—and, as could be argued, translators facing metaphor translation—cannot take into account only the linguistic level, for a purely linguistic approach would fail to account for the conceptual level where the metaphorical mapping actually takes place.

Mandelblit's Cognitive Translation Hypothesis (1995) is one of the earliest pieces of TS research to use the cognitive approach of metaphor as a main theoretical premise. The main hypothesis set for this view is that, as long as the source of metaphor is not language but thought, and metaphors are conceptual entities formed by mapping processes rather than linguistic symbols, the translation of metaphor will not be a mere replacement of words in different languages but also a shift or a transfer of conceptualisation. As a result, the difficulties of translating metaphors are an outcome of deficiency in the cognitive mapping of correlations between the languages in question (ibid:486). The model suggested by Mandelblit is based on two concepts. The first is similar mapping conditions and the second is different mapping conditions. With the first, the languages concerned utilise the same or similar mapping conditions, whereas in different mapping conditions metaphors do not conform in the level of mappings. For instance, the English language political metaphor 'the sausage-making factory', used to describe politicians and lawmakers in the USA (Ottati et al., 2014:181), does not sound natural in Arabic as 'sausage' is not used to describe politicians or lawyers in that region of the world.

Mandelblit resorts to the factor of time as a parameter to measure the difficulty of metaphor translation (Mandelblit 1995:487). She explains that if translators spend longer time spans in translating metaphor, this indicates that the source language metaphor's (SLM) mapping patterns do not conform to the target language ones. However, this procedure is process-oriented and many factors could be the causes of this delay; such as the translator's familiarity with the metaphor or even the search for better alternatives. She concludes (ibid:493) that translation takes longer when languages use different conventional metaphors to talk about the same topic. This can be attributed to the conceptual shift translators perform in the previous case. In general, the study provides a good explanation for what translators may encounter when translating metaphors. Although the work of Mandelblit introduces valuable insights on conceptual metaphors processing, the study suffers from some over-generalisations. For instance, Mandelblit (ibid:488) argues that the universality of some concepts, such as temporal experience, may eradicate cultural factors which influence the translation of metaphors. Such a claim needs to be verified as the way time associated with non-linguistic aspects may have implications on the way speakers create metaphors. A

notable example in this case is '9/11', where the term is not just a point in time but refers to a series of events that took place in the USA on that date.

Whatever the state of universality of any concept, there are still some idiosyncratic features peculiar to each society. These features in fact shape the metaphorical basis of any concept (Gibbs et al., 1997; Kövecses, 2002). A noteworthy example mentioned by Khairullin (1993:244) is how time as a point of reference in English and Russian is perceived metaphorically. The example is:

He was barefoot, and still in his pajamas and a bathrobe, though it was late afternoon

(Vonnegut, English:28)

Literal back-translation from Russian: 'He was sitting barefoot, still in pajamas and a bathrobe, though it was coming to the evening' (Vonnegut, Russian translation:632)

The example above is an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT. According to Khairullin, while Russians look forward to future events to refer to a prolonged time interval, the English version prefers to refer to the same period by using a part of the day which is over (ibid:244). Apparently, such a variation in the way of linking events with time is a cultural aspect. In Arabic, for instance, some people refer to the duties they have to do using the adjective (وراء) (warā) (translation: behind) as in the Arabic phrase (ورائي عمل أريد إنجازه) (warāy 'amalunūriyduinjāzahu) (literal translation is: behind me a work I want to fulfil). Although the duties in question are to be performed in the future, and thus are ahead in time, speakers use the adjective 'behind' to refer to them. This illustrates the fact that the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT cannot be approached similarly in different cultures. As a potential consequence for political agents, future plans and actions will be accelerated or slowed down based on the perception of the conceptual metaphor mentioned. This also can enhance or impair the TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY conceptual metaphor. While some cultures will consider time passed as a loss, others perceive time as an abundant resource.

Al-Harrasi's (2001) study is one of the innovative studies regarding the translation of Arabic metaphors in political discourse. Like Mandelblit, he aims to formulate a set of procedures based on CMT rather than on a list intended as a collection of guidelines for translators, such as that of Newmark. The major aim of Al-Harrasi's study (ibid:95) is to investigate the importance of the concepts image schema and rich images in investigating metaphor translation. In CL, image schemas refer to basic cognitive structures that arise in the mind as a result of repeated interactions with the physical contours of our world and with the fundamental properties that they display. Rich images refer to metaphorical images that are detailed and have several semantic associations (Shuttleworth, 2013). The study also seeks to investigate the interaction between translation, culture and ideology and the relevance of this interaction for metaphor translation. The study investigates the possibility of applying new procedures to translate the political metaphors from Arabic into English. The corpus which has been used consists of the translated speeches of Sultan Qaboos of Oman and of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Al-Harrasi investigates the interplay between rich images and image schemas and their reflections on translation. The procedures suggested by Al-Harrasi (2001:277-288) are:

1. Instantiating the same conceptual metaphor. This can be achieved through:
 - 1.1 Same image schematic representation
 - 1.2 Concretising an image schematic metaphor
 - 1.3 Instantiating in the TL only a functional aspect of the image schema
 - 1.4 Same schema and rich image domains
 - 1.5 Same rich image metaphor but alerting the reader to the mapping
 - 1.6 Using different rich image that realises the same image schema realised by the rich image in the source text
 - 1.7 From the rich image metaphor to image schematic representation

1.8 Same mapping but different perspective

2- Adding a new instantiation in the target text

3- Using a different conceptual metaphor

4- Deletion of the expression of the metaphor.

Apart from the originality of some translation procedures, other valuable contributions provided in the study are as follows:

Firstly, the procedures suggested are almost entirely by-products of the conceptual theory of metaphor. Secondly, Al-Harrasi suggests a corrective procedure for what he considers to be a mistaken translation procedure in metaphor translation literature. For instance, procedure 1.7 in his list above suggests that translators maintain the image schematic concept but not the same rich image in the target text. Such translation procedure has been described in the literature as shifting metaphor into sense, assuming sense as literal manifestation of language. To explicate his argument Al-Harrasi (2001:285) uses a sentence from a speech delivered by the Sultan Qaboos (the metaphorical focus is highlighted in the example):

وإذا كان قد مر على هذه المدينة العريقة حين من الدهر كاد يطمرها غبارها،

However, the time has been passed on this city where whose dust was to bury it. (Al-Harrasi explanatory translation)

The metaphorical part of the extract (حين من الدهر كاد يطمرها غبارها), which is the focus of this example, has been translated officially by the Omani Government as:

‘notwithstanding the era of stagnation in the past’

The Sultan emphasises here how the city of Nazwa was neglected in the past. The same meaning has been expressed differently in the source and target languages. In the SL the Sultan uses the metaphorical expression (كاد يطمرها غبارها) (kāda yaṭmurha ghubārhu) (dust of time was to bury it) to communicate the idea of neglect. The literal translation of the Arabic metaphor means that the city was abandoned, that the dust of

time was to bury it (time conceptualised as sandy wind). This is taken from Arabian geographical image where dunes of sand may cover motionless or neglected items.

In the target language, the translator kept the same meaning but through using the image schema of 'stagnation' as an alternative for Arabic metaphorical expression. The image schema 'stagnation' still captures the sense of lack of mobility, however, with fewer associative images or meanings as suggested in the SL. Therefore, the metaphor has not been translated in a literal sense, but from a rich metaphor into a more schematic expression.

The study also investigates the influence exerted by image schemas on our perception of rich images and how translators can handle such links. Al-Harrasi concludes that changes occurring when translating metaphors are not changes between metaphors themselves but between rich images which are structured by image schemas (ibid:313).

The study could have been more comprehensive and informative if the researcher had included the discrepancies of cognitive backgrounds and their impact on the type of metaphors produced, and how translators mirrored such issues in the target text. By cognitive discrepancy I mean the variation in the ways in which conceptualisers conceive their surroundings and how they use their observations to establish conceptual mappings for the sake of facilitating the understanding of more obscure aspects in life. In the example above the conceptualiser uses the image of the sand burying an object to indicate the idea of carelessness and ignorance of the city in the past. However, this mapping is motivated through the observations of living in desert as mentioned above. Al-Harrasi has not fully explained how such variation contributes in creating different metaphorical expressions in English and Arabic.

Schäffner (2004b) explores some implications of cognitive theory on the translation of metaphors. The data used are authentic (appears in real texts not invented for the research purposes) English and German political texts. She investigates how translators deal with metaphorical expressions and what effect their decisions can have on the text, the attitude of the audience, and how the text develops later. The validity of the traditional translation procedures suggested before may need to be reconsidered.

This is due to the fact that the cognitive view of metaphor is different from that used by traditional metaphor translation theorists (ibid:1267).

Al-Zoubi et al. (2007:238) suggest that the difficulty of translating metaphor is not a result of the lack of exact equivalents in the target language, “but in the fact that they lack counterpart metaphors related to the same conceptual domain or area” (ibid:238). An instance for such a case is the political concept of (الكلاب الضالة) (alkilāb alḍālḥ) (the stray dogs). This phrase has been used by an Arab political regime to label political opponents who fled their country and reside in foreign countries. The lexical items here do not constitute any difficulty; however, the absence of the concept in the target culture may hinder the translation process. Al-Zoubi et al. (ibid) suggest three cognitive mapping processes that could be considered when searching for the cognitive metaphorical equivalence between languages. These processes stem from the understanding of metaphor as a conceptual mapping process:

1. Metaphors with similar mapping conditions realised similarly. An example of this is ‘necessity is the mother of invention’ (الحاجة أم الاختراع) (al-ḥjatu amu al-aikhtirā) (ibid:235).

2. Metaphors with similar mapping conditions but realised with different lexical items. An example of this category is (much ado about nothing). Its cognitive counterpart in Arabic is (أسمع جعجعة ولا أرى طحنا) (asmāu jāja walā arā ṭiḥnā) (hearing a loud sound but I cannot see flour). This proverb indicates the loud sound of a grindstone (جعجة) (jāja) when making flour; however, in this case there is only a loud noise but there is no flour. The proverb is used in political situations where politicians are making promises but they do not fulfil them.

3. Metaphors with different mapping conditions, as can be seen in the Arabic proverb (أبطأ من مهدي الشيعة) (abṭā min mahdy al-shy ‘ah) (slower than Shia’s Mehdi). In this case the concept of slowness has been mapped into a religious concept which is Mehdi Imam. One of Shia’s beliefs is that an Imam will appear at an undefined time to rule the world, then justice and equality will prevail after the corruption and injustice. However, due to the long period of waiting and the non-appearance of the Imam, this metaphorical expression becomes a referent to denote slowness in Arabic.

The first group can be resorted to when equal metaphors in terms of lexical and cultural aspects are available in the target language and culture, while the second alternative is possible if the lexical systems impose restrictions on exploiting the same source language lexeme in the target language. The third group is concerned with culture-bound metaphors where the mapping conditions are different with no equivalent in the target language. To test the model's credibility, researchers applied it to selective types of data, such as proverbs and religious texts. The major challenge for such a selective approach to the data is that it may contradict the main tenet of the conceptual theory of metaphor that metaphors are pervasive in our everyday language.

Sharifian (2007) explores the translation of key concepts in international politics. He also investigates the impact of exploiting the translated political metaphors in new contexts. He draws his argument upon the metaphors used by American and Iranian politicians regarding the possession of nuclear technology. Sharifian argues that the role of metaphors in political discourse is not subsidiary, but they are essential devices to establish or legitimise a given perspective. He concludes that "extreme caution needs to be exercised" when translating between languages and cultures (ibid:421).

Samaniego Fernández (2011:267) claims that cognitive studies on metaphor translation are recent and few compared with the linguistic ones. According to her, the main aim of previous studies was to find the best equivalence of the Source Language Metaphor (SLM) in the target text. She also mentions that many studies about metaphor translation were seeking a set of ready-made translation techniques based on the degree of resemblance between source and target text metaphor. Regarding the cognitive approach to metaphor translation, Samaniego Fernández contended that this approach tries to set rules for metaphor translation based on the degree of the target text metaphor's similarity to the source text metaphor. She also advocates avoiding the prescriptive approaches in translating metaphor, and focuses instead on the gains the transfer process may cause (ibid:275).

Despite the fact that Kövecses (2014) is not a translation scholar but a prominent metaphor studies theorist, some of his latest insights about metaphor translation could be of great assistance. He tries to investigate the nature of systematic difficulties which

translators face in translating metaphors. Kövecses (ibid:37) suggests that the difficulties translators face can be assigned to four main reasons:

1. As metaphors are created in a distinctive context, their translation cannot be direct or simple in another and dissimilar context (target language).
2. Figurative meaning can be expressed in various ways in different languages. This flexibility may make translators undecided about what is the best translational option in particular contexts (ibid:33).
3. If there is no metaphorical or metonymic expression in the target language for the source language in the first place, then the selection of a literal expression that can be utilised to equate with the metaphorical expression becomes another difficulty.
4. To translate metaphor effectively, three matching conditions have to be met by the translators: the scope of the source domain, the set of specific mappings and the knowledge belonging to the source domain that can be transferred into the target language (ibid:37). He considered this obstacle the major one for the translation process.

Kövecses concludes by summarising the major difficulties translators encounter in translating metaphors. They are the restrictions imposed by the context, and the difficulty of meeting the three matching conditions above in each translation. Although the conclusions made about metaphor translation are of a prescriptive nature, nevertheless the author attempts to address significant issues in terms of metaphor variations between languages. These issues are: the dimensions of variation, the conceptual aspects of metaphor involved in variation and the reasons for this variation.

One can infer that what researchers above are looking for is the role played by metaphor translation in revealing the ideological dimensions of the source language news text. In fact, conceptual metaphors can be of great help in learning about a community's interpretation of the world and hence its ideology (Deignan, 2005).

Due to the space limitation, the survey of literature does not convey the whole research conducted about metaphor in translation. To make the review of the literature more systematic I divided the issue of metaphor in translation into two sections. The first

one exposed views of the linguistic approaches whereas the second section was devoted to present the cognitive views of metaphor translation. In the following section the discussion will be restricted to examining how scholars dealt with the issue of translating metaphors in political texts.

4.4 Translating political metaphors

Despite the popularity of the subject of metaphor translation, only a few studies have identified in succinct and precise manner the issues which translators may face in dealing with metaphor in political texts. Variations in the characteristics of text types could be the motivation for selecting one particular strategy rather than another when rendering metaphors in political texts. Institutional rules and guidelines for translation (Tcaciuc and Mackevic, 2017) could have a major impact on the translator's selections of translation equivalents as well. In this section we will survey part of the literature to determine more precisely what these factors are.

Chilton and Ilyin (1993) explain the role of variation of the cultural models in interpreting metaphors differently. The authors use the 'Common European House' metaphor as an example of how dissimilarity in understanding the concept of 'house' may affect people's perception of the intended meaning of the metaphor. The Soviet president M. Gorbachev used the Russian word 'dom' to refer to the concept of the 'house'. Chilton and Ilyin (1993:114) explain that "the prototypical/stereotypical referent of dom is a building containing a large number of individual apartments; the building may have more than one entrance." However, houses are not conceptualised similarly in English, French and German cultures. Consequently, the associative cognitive elements evoked by this metaphor in terms of the size, the layout, the fence etc. will not be the equivalent of the original 'dom'.

In 2004, Schäffner also investigated the translation of the 'dom' metaphor. She argues that it is a cognitively challenging metaphor and even rejected in Western Europe. Schäffner also studied the metaphor 'Kerneuropa /core Europe' which appeared in a German parliamentary document. Schäffner (1996) explains how the entailments of the translated political metaphor may be a source of disagreements in the TL and its

culture. The metaphor 'core Europe' refers to a smaller union of some European countries which constitutes an initial step for a larger European union. She comments:

The choice of 'hard core' in the translation that was done by the translators in Bonn, significantly shifted the tone of the document... The inescapable connotations of this term in English are hard core pornography, or hard core terrorism. 'Hard core' is associated with people and things that are immoral and incorrigible (1996b:6).

Hence, neither the linguistic element nor cultural aspects cause the translation resistance; but it is the entailment the metaphor invokes in the TL. However, Bulut (2012:419) argues that not just the metaphorical entailments that may cause translation difficulties, but that "Political metaphors pose constraints in translation especially in situations such as translation of political texts where a lexical choice goes through conscious or sub-conscious ideological transfer." Bulut (ibid) concludes that translators bear the responsibility of causing translation conflict if contextual and ideological sensitivities have not been taken into account when rendering political metaphors.

A different dimension for the metaphor translation has been proposed by Al-Harabsheh (2013), that is the cultural elements politicians associate with metaphors. He studies the translation of Khalid Mashal's (a leader of the Palestinian Hamas movement) figures of speeches. Metaphors were among the figures he examined. He argues that Arab politicians rely heavily on metaphorical expressions to trigger the necessary impact on their audience. In the case of Mashal, he relies on religious metaphors to communicate political messages. For instance, Mashal used the metaphor (طبخة حصى) (ṭabkhatu ḥaṣá) (pebbles cooking) to talk about peace negotiations led by American governments (2013:109). Mashal accuses the Americans of bluffing the Palestinians and not being serious about peace. The origin of this metaphor is a historical one. In short, it is about a family of an old woman and her children. Sometimes the children start crying of hunger, and to relieve their hunger she cooks pebbles until they sleep. Al-Harabsheh argues that Newmark's model could be appropriate to overcome such metaphors. However, he concludes that the sources of difficulty in translating Mashal's metaphors are of cultural and ideological origin.

Similar to Al-Harashsheh (2013) argument, Bazzi (2014) states that ideological and cultural factors have a significant impact on the translation of metaphors into Arabic. Bazzi (ibid) investigates the ideological motivations for metaphorical selections when translating political news about the Middle-East region. She concludes that the metaphors used to cover events in the region are of two types: cultural and ideological. She argues that each type of these metaphors has to be approached differently.

Using a different communicative setting, Pedersen (2017) studies the translation of metaphor in subtitling. The material used for investigation was the subtitling of the sitcom *Yes, Prime Minister* into Swedish. The series revolves around “the struggle between the politician’s desire to reform society and the civil servant’s desire to retain the status quo” (ibid:421-22). Pedersen argues that the study of metaphor translation in subtitling is still an unexplored area of research. Factors such the interplay between dialogue, image and subtitles, and time and space constraints, make the translation of metaphors a challenging task. Pedersen concludes that subtitlers are less prone to the deletion of metaphors than other figurative devices. Pedersen classifies metaphors into transcultural (known in both source and target cultures) and monocultural (only available in the source culture). The translatability of a metaphor depends on the degree of entrenchment of that metaphor in the SL and its culture. However, monocultural metaphors are more difficult to translate than transcultural metaphors. He also concludes that the mechanisms of translating metaphor in subtitling are not different from what happens in other modes of translation.

Collectively, the common issue that the metaphor translation literature deals with is the role of culture in shaping and translating metaphors from one language into another. Some metaphors are culture-specific i.e. they are sociocultural by-products of human interactions within their societies. Therefore, translators need to take into consideration the specificity nature of metaphors. Overlooking the sensitivity of culture when translating metaphors “may lead to considerable risks”, as Sharifian (2009:429) suggests. However, can the translator’s cultural reservoirs be of help when rendering metaphors into their own language? This question will be the central focus of the following section.

4.5 Metaphor translation and culture

Throughout the discussion above of metaphor translation, we observed that there is a tendency to link the difficulty of translating metaphors to cultural factors or to describe culture as translation resistant. It will be useful at the outset of the current section to present my own interpretation of the popularity of this argument.

As plants continually absorb elements from the land, to ensure their development, in the same way people continually absorb various elements from their close environments that influence their growth and ways of thinking. The planet we inhabit consists of various substances (sand, water, snow, hot weather, trees etc.). We are constantly confronted with these substances, obliged to communicate about them and, therefore, to define ourselves in relation to them. House (2018: 46) calls this sort of interaction with our surroundings the anthropological culture.

Language systems are an intrinsic part of our culture. Snell-Hornby (1995:83) thinks that language is not seen as “an isolated phenomenon suspended in a vacuum but as an integral part of culture”. Therefore, the development of language systems was a natural process that occurred in human societies.

Early views in TS about metaphor translation pay considerable attention to the specificity angle of culture. Newmark’s (1980:12) understanding of culture centres on the peculiarity idea. He thinks of it as “the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression”. This opinion is still resonant for some in our present time. Ke-Yu (2017:126) argues that:

The people with different means of thinking have different cultures. The metaphorical language used by people must be fully saturated with culture peculiar to it. So because of the influence of cultural factor, the translation of metaphors becomes the most important particular problem.

Although the above argument holds some weight, nevertheless, one may ask about the possibility of utilising cultural differences in favour of more communicative translation of metaphors. Our differences can be a source of the strength for our communication rather than a flaw in it.

I assume that the obvious two reasons for considering culture as a metaphor translation hindrance are the attempt to be faithful to the original text, and the lack of equivalence of cultural elements in the TL. I argue that faithfulness does not necessarily mean adherence to the SL's syntactic or semantic elements. Furthermore, cultural elements forming metaphors can be translation alternatives that translators use to make target texts more communicative. In the current work, I will elaborate about the second point. To probe this hypothesis we need first to identify the major opinions suggested about the relation of culture to metaphor translation.

Fung and Kiu (1987:88) state that cultural disparity can result in untranslatability of metaphors between languages. They exemplified this argument with Shakespeare's Hamlet: "In the most high and palmy state of Rome." Fung and Kiu (ibid) explain that the cultural associations of "palmy state of Rome" do not have equivalents in Chinese. Fung and Kiu (ibid:100) do not agree with Dagut's (1976) view that the translatability of metaphor depends on the overlap between the cultures in question. Fung asserts that not only the absence of the experience in the target culture could mitigate the possibility of translating metaphors into the target language, but also the values and qualities associated with objects and events which are embraced by a people of community can have a great share.

Al-Harrasi (2001:11) argues, in his discussion of the role of culture in translating metaphor, that the cultural gap between languages can preclude the translation of metaphors. The variation in language, religion and worldview between the source and target cultures leads to the production of culture-bound metaphors in the languages concerned. In a similar vein, Sun (2011) believes that cross-cultural differences are obstacles for translation. Tcaciuc (2013:40) confirms that the linguistic and cultural diversity of the European Union may have implications for translating metaphors. This is due to the fact that "there will be situations when one culture perceives things differently than another" (Tcaciuc, 2013:40). Deignan et al. (1997) take a similar position to Al-Harrasi when they acknowledge that rendering metaphors into a foreign language requires the ability to think in the first language to render it properly in the second language. Expressions such as 'bring something (a fact, situation) home' to someone and 'drive a message/idea home' are difficult to render into a second language. However, there are no specific cultural connotations in the expressions

mentioned. Deignan et al. (1997:355) concluded that such a procedure requires high intellectual capabilities by the speaker.

Al-Zoubi et al. (2007) build their model “Cognitive Equivalence Hypothesis” of translating metaphor on the parameter of culture. The more cultures are similar, the easier is the metaphor translator’s task. Schäffner (2004b) argues that the cultural differences between the SL and TL can result in different metaphors. She insists that the new metaphorical alternatives are not mistranslations or errors but a reflection of the original metaphors in the new culture. She assumes (ibid:1258) that “Translatability is no longer a question of the individual metaphorical expression, as identified in the ST, but it becomes linked to the level of conceptual systems in source and target culture”. In his study of the translation of the metaphors used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors We Live By*, Monti (2009) acknowledges that the translation of conceptual metaphors across cultures is more accessible on the conceptual level than on the linguistic one. The linguistic level of metaphors is still more challenging for translators. However, there are two main limitations of this study. Firstly, it has been conducted only on languages which share to a great extent similar cultural backgrounds (French, Italian and Spanish). Secondly, one of the main criticisms levelled against Lakoff’s book is the usage of unrealistic linguistic examples to verify his theory. Therefore, the reliability of Monti’s results could be weakened as he used the same unrealistic examples.

Kövecses (2005) studies the role culture plays in shaping similar or divergent conceptual metaphors in English and Hungarian. He investigates the linguistic metaphors of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to highlight how they differ in each language. Kövecses (ibid:163) concludes that the languages may express the same conceptual metaphors in similar ways; however, there are some subtle differences that could be observed in the metaphorical expressions used by the speakers in both languages. These subtle differences are the result of “cultural–ideological traits” and assumptions characterising different cultures. By cultural–ideological traits Kövecses means how people use phenomena from their daily experience to communicate their views of the world. Kövecses (ibid) argues that metaphors are not only cognitively but also culturally motivated and as the cultural factors vary from one culture to another, so does the metaphor and its linguistic

expressions. Reflecting on this with reference to the political genre, Charteris-Black (2011:190) acknowledges that animals are widely used as a source domain in political language. However, a linguistic metaphor such as ‘lame-duck president’ used to describe a president who is not powerful anymore is less familiar in Arabic than English. Therefore, the cognitive and cultural elements are mixed together in any conceptual metaphor. In this sense, the cognitive view considers metaphor not just as a cognitive entity but as possessing a cultural identity, as well.

As it can be noticed from the studies above, the culture is a relation that is an indispensable element in establishing metaphors. However, unlike with much of the previous trend in studying the relationship between metaphor, culture and translation, in the current research I consider cultural variation to be a great resource that may assist translators to transfer metaphors into different languages and cultures. Using cultural knowledge to communicate an abstract concept metaphorically will result in what I call cultural linguistic metaphors in the target language. By cultural linguistic metaphors I mean the linguistic metaphors that have been motivated by cultural elements that are peculiar to the target language.

In his speech at the UN General Assembly, President George W. Bush (2002/6) talks about the dire consequences of “broken treaties” by some member states and he urges the member states to establish “a system of security defended by all” (2002/7). In the target language, the translator has translated the first extract as (نكثُ المعاهدات) (nakthual-mūāhadāt) ‘treaties have been undone’ Whereas the second part was (لنظام أمن يدافع عن) (linizām amn yudāfi‘u ‘an ḥyāḍihi al-jamy‘) ‘for a security system where all people defend its natural water basins). As can be seen, the translator opts for cultural elements to communicate the original meaning. The selection of the cultural experiences of ‘undoing yarn items’ to denote the idea of wasting time and resources, and ‘defending water basins’ to indicate the importance of security, manifests how culture can be a valuable resource for translators. The translator managed to re-encode the abstract concept of security using very specific cultural items. Detailed discussion will be provided for the mechanism of translating these metaphorical blends in Chapter Six.

As I mentioned above, it is a widely held view in the study of metaphor in TS that culture may constitute a challenge for translators; however, in this example, it is evident that some cultural options may provide sound alternatives for translators. Linguistic metaphors can be utilised to establish new connections between source language metaphors and target language ones. This will not be achieved easily. To do so, translators need to liberate themselves from the restrictions of the linguistic wording and look to the conceptual patterns behind metaphors. In other words, the source text metaphor is not always the ultimate goal that the translator seeks to reflect; instead, s/he takes into consideration the TL's idiosyncratic features and norms. This goes in line with the Descriptive Translation Studies approach which will be the focus of the following section.

4.6 Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and metaphor translation

In the previous section we observed that the cultural elements of metaphors have been considered as potentially translation resistant. I argue that the insights of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) could help us to explain the issue of translating metaphorical cultural elements. This section will start with DTS's main principles and then will reflect upon the manner in which this research method was established. I will conclude the discussion by explaining my perception of the ways DTS could explain translational behaviour when translating metaphors.

The theory has been presented in the literature as a replacement of the linguistic paradigm of translation in which the exact equivalence is the ultimate goal for translators (Omar, 2012). Al-Harrasi (2001:24) summarises the new approach as:

The descriptive translation model, in short, has moved the discussion in Translation Studies from the notion of source-based equivalence that was stressed in the linguistic approaches to seeing translation as a fact of the target culture.

Bassnett (2012:7) explains that DTS has expanded the study of translation to involve the shifting of translation norms and how the TL audience and TL culture receive the translation.

As the name would suggest, Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) is a descriptive, target-text-oriented translation approach which seeks to determine in what way translators actually conduct translation tasks rather than looking at what should have been done. Shuttleworth (2017:41) states that the meaning of ‘DTS’ refers to the non-prescriptive approach to investigating a broad range of topics “firmly oriented towards the target rather than the source”. Shuttleworth (ibid) adds that DTS tends to analyse authentic translation examples rather than artificial ones.

Windle and Pym (2011:11) argue that the descriptive translation approach emphasises the fact that we “...should accept as axiomatic that all translations are equivalent to their source, so that research can then discover the modes of that equivalence”. This means abandoning the linguistic approaches that consider the source text as the yardstick for evaluating the quality of the translation. Toury (1995:25) explicitly states that translations should be looked at as “facts of one system only: the target system.” This hypothesis is not new or original in translation theory, however Toury (2012:Xiii) states that what TS needs is “a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within translation studies itself.”

This shift in paradigm has significant consequences on the study of translation. One of these is the questioning of the equivalence concept itself. Equivalence is the major concern for many translation theorists. However, its perception based on DTS will not be the same as before.

House (2018:38) summarises the working mechanisms or the way scholars embark upon translation text analysis in three major points:

1. Putting the target language text in the TL socio-cultural system and determining its suitability and impact.
2. Analysing both the ST and the TT to determine the shifts in the translation.
3. Determining the kind of generalisations in this particular translation product. These generalisations can be extended to similar texts to make larger similar corpora. This will lead to a more confident identification of the nature of norms existing in the translations.

Having established what DTS is and what its main principles are, we will discuss now how this theory can be of help for translators approaching metaphors. In her study of translating political metaphors, Schäffner (2004b:1256) suggests “In equivalence-based approaches, the underlying assumption is that a metaphor, once identified, should ideally be transferred intact from SL to TL.” Unlike the linguistic approaches, descriptive methods call for the translators to select their translation procedures or strategies based on the degree of acceptability of metaphor in the target language. That means translators should be completely aware of the norms in the target language. The norms do not only refer to what is acceptable and otherwise in the TL and its culture but also may refer to the ways in which people live, eat, dress etc. Bassnett (2012) calls this the sociocultural context of the language.

Taking Schäffner’s (2004b) and Shuttleworth’s (2013) suggestions and the general mechanisms of DTS explained by House (2018) on board will enable translators to work without insisting that the exact metaphorical counterparts or equivalents should be retained in the TL. Furthermore, the idea of norms and acceptability is appealing if taken into consideration as well. Translators should not take the acceptability principle to be merely the degree of appropriateness of the metaphor in the TL and its culture. However, I assume that the new metaphor should meet the expectations of the TL audience, not vice versa.

Equipped with the principles of the DTS approach, metaphor translation analysts can explain translational decisions taken by translators as creative or novel efforts rather than mistranslating or sacrificing the original metaphors of the source text.

4.7 Conclusion

In designing the current chapter, I aimed to convey several points. The first aim was to explore how the study of metaphor in translation has developed from the early linguistic views into the most recent cognitive perspectives (sections 4.2 and 4.3). To achieve this end, I reviewed the two approaches which metaphor translation scholars adopted to investigate metaphor translation, namely the linguistic and cognitive approaches. Unlike the linguistic approach, the major concern of the cognitive approach was not to create the metaphorical counterpart in the TL, but to find the

underlying structure that motivates the creation of the linguistic metaphor. This approach has presented a significant advancement to the study of metaphor; namely, the finding of the link between different metaphorical expressions in the text.

The second aim was to probe the issue of political metaphor translation (4.4). Although the metaphor occupies a high status in TS, the study of political metaphor translation from English into Arabic has not received much attention. However, the survey of the literature about political metaphor translation suggests that a metaphor's cultural and ideological elements may make it difficult to translate.

The major theme of section 4.5 is metaphor translation and culture. The overwhelming opinion when dealing with this topic is that cultural constitutive elements of metaphors can cause difficulties in transferring these metaphors into different or disparate cultures. Although this argument can be valid in the case of culture-specific metaphors, I argue that translators may use their own local cultural knowledge as a valuable means to produce more communicative and creative metaphors in the TL.

In section 4.6 I shed light on the propositions presented by the DTS research approach. Unlike the case with equivalence-translation approaches where the major concern is to transfer the metaphor intact into the TL, the assumptions presented by DTS encourage metaphor analysts to investigate metaphor as a cognitive product that should fit the norms of the TL.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology used in this study. I will provide explanations for the selection of the research data, selection of the examples and the methods used to analyse them.

5. Chapter Five: Research Methods and Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The principle aim of this chapter is to provide justifications for the selection of the research corpus and explanations for the major methodological decisions. This chapter prepares the ground for the actual analysis of the data that will be take place in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. It also aims to present critically the major issues related to the investigation of metaphor such as the identification, interpretation and analysis of metaphors.

5.2 Research corpus

The corpus of the research consists of fifteen speeches delivered by two American presidents, George W. Bush (2001-2008) and Barack Obama (2009-2016), in UNGA plenary meetings (George W. Bush did not deliver a speech in the 2005 session). The corpus contains the transcripts of speeches in English and their translations in Arabic. The size of the corpus is sufficient (63,591words) given that I will use the manual approach in identifying candidate metaphors in the speeches.

Appendix 1 provides links for these speeches in the UN archives. The links will lead to the documents of the whole General Assembly meeting for each year. These links provide the speeches in the six official languages of the UN. The reader can access the speeches in any language within the same link. This will enable interested readers to compare the metaphors in other languages.

The major motives for selecting these data are:

1. In general terms, the speeches fall within the political genre type. Therefore, they are suitable for the research aims. Being delivered by two American presidents who represent respectively Republican and Democrat parties, the speeches will be appropriate to investigating Lakoff's (1996) Moral Politics Theory.

2. The speeches are intended to address a wide range of political issues. Evidently, speakers will resort to various metaphorical mappings to communicate their messages.
3. The speeches are relatively 'metaphor-rich', so the corpus size need not be too large.
4. Because of the difficulties in identifying metaphors automatically, I decided to adopt a corpus that was moderate in size to enable me to analyse it all manually.
5. The topics covered by both speakers are relatively similar.
6. The political discourse in the USA after the events of 9/11 has witnessed significant shifts, and the analysis of the research corpus will show how these two American presidents frame the new political world linguistically.
7. The translations of the research corpus are professionally conducted. The Translation Service Unit at the United Nations suggests on its web page that translators should have a perfect mastery of their first language and excellent knowledge of two official additional languages. It also explains on the webpage that it applies quality control to guarantee that the work meets the high standards required for United Nations documentation. This is a strong indication that the translation process is systematic and rigorous, therefore we can make generalisations from it. Although the Translation Service Unit explains that work as a translator in the UN requires “high levels of linguistic expertise and substantive knowledge”, no further information about or biographies of the translators working in the Translation Unit at the UN were provided.⁴

5.3 Methods for Researching Metaphor

Papadoudi (2010:68) summarises the main approaches used to investigate metaphor in discourse. She argues that the study of metaphor in written or spoken discourse is conducted via two prominent approaches. The selection of one rather than the other depends on the research objectives. The first approach seeks to determine how metaphor can shape our ideological viewpoints (Abid and Abdul Manan, 2016;

⁴<http://www.un.org/depts/DGACM/Translation.shtml>)

Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolff, 2004; Lakoff, 2002). This can be achieved by defining the central metaphors in the text which can be used to understand how discourse-makers think about a particular issue and to indicate what conceptual domains are appealing to politicians and their audiences. Defining the central metaphors can also help to determine how metaphors contribute toward forming ideology. Researchers usually embark on searching for metaphors or metaphorical expressions manually in texts, before categorising them under semantic groups or attributing them to different source domains. Then analysts highlight the ideological manifestations in the text, and for this purpose they survey the frequency of metaphorical expressions and their entailments. This will help to establish the metaphor's overwhelming presence and its role in establishing particular ideologies. Ritchie (2013:183) argues that "examining metaphors that appear in political discourse provides insights into the way speakers understand their situation, and how they seek to accomplish their ends".

The second approach in investigating metaphor is to look for the role of metaphor in communicating our ideas and emotions about a particular experience. This type of research is usually conducted on spoken discourse (Cameron et al., 2009) and its aim is to investigate how metaphors are employed in addressing specific ideas or touching upon particular life experience. In this regard, Cameron et al (ibid:83) conclude that "Metaphor is, we argue, uniquely suited to this use as a delicate research instrument for investigating the web of meaning, without removing it from the discourse in which it was constructed." Researchers use this method to determine whether metaphor has assisted in communicating ideas or expressing associated feelings about an experience. Here is an example of this sort of research: Semino et al. (2016); (2017); Potts and Semino (2017) devoted a considerable amount of their investigation to explicating how metaphors were used to talk about carers' and patients' experiences of cancer.

It is worth mentioning that these two approaches have been dedicated to studying metaphor within a monolingual environment. However, I argue that researching metaphor in TS is different, as will be discussed below.

5.4 Researching Metaphor in Translation Studies (TS)

Researching metaphor in TS shares many characteristics with the two approaches mentioned in 5.3. However, there are some idiosyncratic features that are peculiar to the field of TS. These features define the outlook, approach and the methodological characteristics of investigating metaphor in TS. Questions such as: is the researcher seeking to investigate metaphor translation as a process or product? Is the research corpus of a bilingual or a multilingual nature? Is the research qualitative or quantitative? Is it inductive or deductive oriented research? will play a pronounced role in determining the research methods.

The current trend in researching translation in general, and metaphor in translation in particular, does not make translators' inaccuracies the main concern for research; rather, researchers are now more focused on the exploration of the main justifications of translators' decisions at a particular time for particular linguistic phenomena (Shuttleworth, 2013:66-67). Toury (2012:19) states: "judgement is not the job of theoretical and descriptive TS; judgements are relegated to another branch of TS, the applied branch which comprises translation training, translation aids, and translation criticism". Therefore, this study will be of a descriptive nature whereby the primary concern is to describe the ways in which metaphors are rendered into Arabic language, rather than evaluating the translation accuracy. The study also seeks to investigate the metaphorical cognitive models (SF, NP or biconceptualism) embraced by the two American speeches in the UN General Assembly sessions.

5.5 Identification, interpretation, classification and explanation of metaphors in the study corpus

The first step in the data analysis stage was to manually identify all metaphorical expressions in the whole corpus. This process took a considerable amount of time and effort as I examined the speeches word by word looking for Metaphorically Related Words (MRW). The basic criterion used to identify candidate metaphors in this initial stage was incongruity. Whenever the contextual meaning of the word in question was different from its basic meaning, the word was highlighted as a metaphorically used word. After being identified, the metaphors extracted were entered into Excel spreadsheets, with each sheet allocated to one speech. The next step was to extract the

TL metaphors and include them in the same sheets. To mitigate the element of subjectivity, the researcher used the MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit) tool (see section 5.6) to determine the metaphoricity of the lexemes in question.

Due to the large number of metaphorical expressions found in the research data (examples of metaphorical expressions were compiled in Appendix 2), the subsequent stage was to select the examples that would be subjected to analysis. However, each target group of metaphors (conceptual blends, conceptual metaphors and morality metaphors) required a different approach when selecting examples for the purpose of analysis (detailed descriptions of examples selection are available in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight).

In the first two parts of the analysis (Chapters Six and Seven), the basic principle for the examples selection was the translation shift for two main reasons. First, it is unnecessary to analyse examples where source and target language metaphors are identical. Such a step would not serve the aims of the research unless to acknowledge the existence of such identical examples. Second, the examples with a shift in metaphor translation confirm the fact that the translators decided to use different mappings or projections from those used in the SL metaphors; hence, different cognitive mechanisms were carried out by the translators. However, this does not mean that examples with identical metaphors in the SL and TL were abandoned from the analysis. As they form a considerable portion of the data, they have been included in the analysis as well. After the metaphors were identified, I needed to detect the interlinking relations between these metaphorical expressions. Therefore, the next step was the interpretation of the metaphors. The interpretation of metaphors has been defined by Charteris-Black (2004:37) as “establishing a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them”. In this phase I had to find the links between the metaphorical expressions in the text, as well as establish whether they reflect a broader conceptual pattern.

The interpretation stage also involves the classification of metaphorical expressions into different groups. Although this phase is of great significance in analysing metaphor, it has not received sufficient attention in the metaphor studies literature. To

classify the extracted metaphors, analysts need to realise the common thread between them. In this research, the examples were classified into three different groups: conceptual blends, conceptual metaphors and morality metaphorical values.

The classification of the examples of conceptual blends used the model suggested by Al-Harrasi (2001:113), which classifies metaphors, based on their source domains, into image-schematic, human experiences and intertextual metaphors. However, the only examples of conceptual blends found in the data belong to image-schema and human experience domains.

For the conceptual metaphors in Chapter Seven, the classification criterion was based on the target domains. The metaphorical expressions extracted from the corpus were distributed in separate tables based on the target domains to which they belong. These target domains were the main themes raised in the speeches: war, peace, nuclear weapons, etc. However, some target domains were excluded in the analysis stage, because only a few examples were found in the corpus reflecting those domains. The classification of moral metaphors in Chapter Eight centred on the political values endorsed by both Republicans and Democrats. The example selection process included both the metaphorical expressions and the literal logical entailments that reflect the political values of both Republicans and Democrats.

The explanation stage is the phase which reflects the meanings and the functions that metaphors indicate in the target domain. Charteris-Black (2004:39) suggests that the explanation stage implies the identification of the social agency that is involved in the production of metaphors and their social role in persuasion. Several methodological problems could arise in this stage of the research. For instance, when an analyst commences their analysis with predetermined metaphorical assumptions, it may lead to increasing the number of metaphorical expressions identified in a text, especially if the research's identification approach lacks a rigorous scientific criterion to determine the metaphoricity of the words in a text (Steen et al, 2010a).

5.6 Metaphor Identification Procedures: From MIP to MIPVU

Two major criticisms are directed against the cognitive views of metaphor. Firstly, the claims presented by conceptual linguists should be supported by authentic real-life

data (Peter et al., 2002). Secondly, analysts of conceptual metaphors should identify conceptual metaphors based on clear-cut, concise procedures. Steen (2002:386) argues that “If cognitive metaphor theories are to be tested or applied to authentic language use, the reliable identification of linguistic metaphors is a *conditio sine qua non*.” Cognitive linguists realised the dire need for sound methodological guidance to overcome these challenges.

In response to the first criticism above, metaphor scholars started to depend on real authentic data as the material for analysis. To respond to the second criticism, cognitive linguists embarked on a process to develop a systematic reliable instrument designed to identify metaphors in language and thought. Identifying metaphor in language is a delicate matter for several reasons. First, metaphors vary in terms of the levels of metaphoricity. In some metaphorical instances the degree of incongruity between the source and target domains is vast, so they are easily identified. However, in some cases the metaphoricity of the lexical item is not striking, therefore deciding its metaphoricity will be a controversial or arguable matter. An example is the meaning of the word ‘harness’ in Obama’s (2009/3): “The technology we harness can light the path to peace, or forever darken it.” The contextual meaning of the word is that the way we ‘use’ technology could be a factor in destroying human civilisation. This sense is similar to its basic dictionary meaning. But the burning question here is why the speaker used the word ‘harness’ and not any similar words such as ‘use’ or ‘exploit’. In this case, resorting to a tested and reliable metaphor identification tool can resolve such disagreements.

The principal aim of these identification tools is to mitigate the senses of subjectivity and personal intuition that are the main sources of controversy in judging the metaphorical sense of lexical items when analysing metaphors. To achieve higher degrees of accuracy and reliability, metaphor analysts should deal satisfactorily with intuition and subjectivity. Cognitive linguists provided several identification procedures, such as the metaphor identification procedure created by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), MIPVU and the Deliberate Metaphor Identification Procedure (DMIP). Recently, a new procedure was created to identify visual metaphor (Šorm and Steen, 2018). This study adopts MIPVU as a tool for metaphor identification. We need first

to introduce the Pragglejaz Group's MIP as it is the basis through which Steen et al. (2010) developed MIPVU.

MIP was the first procedure presented to identify metaphorically used words in a systematic approach (Pragglejaz, 2007:1). Although the procedure was officially presented in 2007, the discussions about its creation started in 2000 (Steen, 2016). A group of scholars from different disciplines met in Stockholm to discuss the possibility of creating a tool for metaphor identification. MIP is a procedure that came about as a result of continuous work for many years by prominent scholars and 'Pragglejaz' refers to the first letters of their names. They are Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Gerard Steen, Graham Low, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alice Deignan and Zoltán Kövecses (Steen, 2009).

Steen (2009:4) introduces the procedure as "a tool for linguistic metaphor identification in natural discourse that can be employed by cognitive linguists, stylisticians, discourse analysts, applied linguists, psycholinguists, and sociolinguists." To determine the metaphoricity of a lexical item, analysts can apply the following four steps (Pragglejaz 2007:3):

1. Read the entire text/discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse.
3. a. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
b. For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
 - more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste;
 - related to bodily action;
 - more precise (as opposed to vague);
 - historically older.

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

c. If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

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

The basis of MIP is that the metaphorical meaning is not the direct meaning of the lexical item; it resulted from a contrast between the contextual meaning and the basic meaning of that lexeme in question. The basic meaning of the utterance will disappear in the metaphorical context and be replaced by the contextual meaning. An example is the meaning of the word ‘path’ in Obama’s (2009/50) extract: “Democracy cannot be imposed on any nation from the outside. Each society must search for its own path, and no path is perfect. Each country will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its people and in its past traditions.” The basic meaning of the word ‘path’ is ‘a way people walk on to travel from one place into another’. However, the contextual meaning in this extract denotes the approaches that nations could embrace to become societies that are more democratic. The contextual meaning of the word ‘path’ has more a basic meaning in other contexts; however, the basic meaning contrasts with the contextual meaning. Therefore, its usage here is metaphorical. We can argue that much of the excitement about MIP stems from the fact that it is one of the earliest attempts in metaphor study that seeks to provide the analysts with a valuable tool to mitigate the subjectivity risk that weakens the reliability of any study. However, the procedure, as the Pragglejaz Group contends, only seeks the linguistic metaphors and not their underlying conceptual patterns.

Despite the clarity and user-friendly steps of MIP, some criticisms have been levelled against it. Steen (2016:79) acknowledges that “it does not give explicit criteria for what counts as a lexical unit, what counts as meaning in context, and so on.” Furthermore, the procedure does not give sufficient explanation for defining the basic meaning of the lexical item. The Pragglejaz Group explains that the basic meaning is the more concrete and historically older meaning of lexemes in question. However, in some

cases, the recently established senses of a lexeme are more concrete than the older ones (Dorst and Reijnierse, 2015).

In 2010, Steen et al. (2010a) suggested an extension procedure of the MIP, the developed version being called Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU). The research team named the procedure after Vrije Universiteit where their research to develop it took place.

MIPVU concentrates on the latent metaphorical aspect of linguistic expressions. MIPVU identifies metaphor related words (MRW) based on the contrast between the basic meaning and contextual meaning of the words. Exponents of MIPVU claim that the procedure may achieve higher degrees of reliability in identifying Metaphorically Related Words (MRW) than MIP. This can be attributed to the fact that MIPVU is more specific in terms of tools used in the identification process. Besides, MIPVU considers similes as potential metaphors that are created based on cross-domain mapping. Steen et al (2010:786) justify their inclusion of similes as metaphorical potentials as “it intentionally and explicitly instructs addressees to set up a cross-domain comparison between the referents designated by the words in the discourse”. The cross-domain mapping in similes cannot be captured through the analysis of the words; however, there are what MIPVU proponents call “Signals of potential cross-domain mappings” that motivate the mapping between domains. Signals of potential cross-domain mappings have been defined as the lexical items that alert the language users that a type of comparison or contrast is taking place. Examples of metaphor markers are the following words and phrases: such as, like, as, as if and so called.

In addition to the above signals, MIPVU initiators consider complex mental conception lexemes such as ‘regard as’, ‘conceive of’, ‘imagine’ and ‘behave as if’) as metaphorical flag words: “MFlag” (Steen et al. 2010:40-41). Their principal function is to alert the analyst that a cross-domain mapping process is taking place. To explain this proposition Steen et al. cited the following example (ibid:57):

For many years Thompson lived in New York in his apartment at the Chelsea Hotel. From there, **like a buzzard in its eyrie, he would make forays round the US and abroad**

In this example the entire locus of metaphorical expression is in bold. Taken separately without the lexical unit ‘like’ the meaning of the phrase “a buzzard in its eyrie” is not metaphorical and does not trigger a cross-domain mapping. It is the lexical unit ‘like’ that motivates the cross-domain mapping between the person in question and the buzzard. In this sort of metaphor, the indirect meaning is created through direct language. Steen et al. (2010) refer to this kind of metaphorical language as direct metaphors. This is unlike the case with indirect metaphors where the meaning of the word denotes a metaphorical meaning in itself. Take as an example the meaning of the word ‘game’ in “There is no great game to be won nor does America have any interest in Syria beyond the well-being of its people, the stability of its neighbours, the elimination of chemical weapons and ensuring that it does not become a safe haven for terrorists.” (Obama, 2013/10). The contextual meaning of the word ‘game’ refers to the political and military competition between the United States of America and the Soviet Union during the Cold War period. However, this is unlike the usual meaning of ‘game’ which is ‘an activity for fun’. Therefore, the word ‘game’ is used here indirectly to denote the political competition between rivals. According to MIPVU, this sort of metaphor is indirect.

To identify metaphors in a text using MIPVU, Steen et al. (2010a:25-26) suggest that analysts should apply the following steps:

1. To locate Metaphorically Related Words (MRWs) through examining the texts on a word-by-word basis.
2. If a word is used indirectly, and that use may possibly be explained by some form of a cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).
3. If a word is utilised in a direct way and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).
4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical replacement, as in third person pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect sense is conveyed by those replacements or ellipses that may hypothetically be

explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).

5. When a word is employed as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (Mflag).
6. When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are independent parts according to steps 2 through 5.

We can notice from the six steps above that MIPVU shares with MIP several steps. The essence of this procedure is to compare the basic with contextual meanings. However, the major refinement and additions made by the research group of MIPVU are:

1. Indirect and implicit metaphors
2. Metaphor signals
3. Some lexical units can be interpreted metaphorically or metonymically (as in the cases of personification).
4. MIPVU creators came up with the “borderline” cases concept. This term has been suggested for the cases such as compound words, phrasal verbs or instances where inadequate grounds to specify the contextual meaning of words are available. (Steen et al., 2010a:173)

To sum up we can consider the two procedures, MIP and MIPVU, a great contribution in the effort to make the investigation of metaphors in language more valid and replicable. Gibbs (2017b:73) states that “MIP and MIPVU... offer metaphor scholars a field guide for making judgments about what may potentially express metaphorical meaning in discourse.” More importantly, the procedures contribute to a great extent in resolving the issues of subjectivity and relying on intuition in deciding the metaphoricality of lexical items in any metaphor analysis project.

After determining the metaphoricality of the lexical item in the question, metaphor analysts have to deduce or infer the conceptual pattern that underlies this metaphor. Cognitive linguists call this process the verbalisation of conceptual metaphors. Despite the importance of such a process, little attention is given to it in the cognitive metaphor theory; that could be attributed to the fact that the verbalisation process always contains an element of subjectivity.

5.7 Verbalisation of conceptual metaphors

Unlike the issue of identifying linguistic metaphors in texts, only a few studies have touched upon the process of articulating conceptual metaphors (Steen,1999; Steen, 2011; Shuttleworth, 2017; Merakchi, 2018). Conceptual metaphor is only the tip of the iceberg (Max Black, 1979 cited in Tebbit and Kinder, 2016) and it is the “basic building block of a lot of language, thought, and communication” (Steen, 2014:2). Hence, investigating conceptual traces of the metaphor should be as important as identifying their linguistic manifestations.

In a nutshell, the meaning of articulation of the conceptual metaphor refers to specifying the exact formulation of the mappings of particular conceptual metaphors. For instance, the articulation of the conceptual metaphor for the linguistic metaphor ‘He defended his argument relentlessly’ is ARGUMENT IS WAR. The articulation is the process through which we deduce the conceptual metaphor from the linguistic one. However, this process is not as straightforward as the previous example suggests. Shuttleworth (2017:83) states: “It goes without saying that finding the right verbalisation for a mapping is not always easy and generally involves an element of subjectivity.” Similarly, Merakchi (2018:116) thinks “some subjectivity is inevitable when formulating the conceptual metaphor”.

Shuttleworth (ibid.) suggests that analysts should take into consideration two issues when articulating conceptual metaphors. First, the articulation should capture the metaphorical force of the metaphor in question, and second, the verbalisation of the conceptual metaphor should reflect an appropriate level of generalisation.

The articulation of the conceptual metaphor for Steen (2011:99) requires working on five levels. Metaphor analysts should identify:

1. metaphor related words,
2. metaphor related proposition,
3. open metaphorical comparison,
4. analogical structure
5. cross-domain mapping.

Although the five steps explain the logical and structural elements of the move from linguistic into conceptual metaphor in clear way, nevertheless the approach does not answer the whole question about verbalising conceptual metaphors. Deignan (2016) argues that “The major problem for the analyst is that the method as set out here still does not provide an answer to the problem of how we can formulate one particular conceptual metaphor rather than another, based on language data” (2016:106).

Therefore, in the current research the method for articulating the conceptual metaphor in Chapter Seven will be slightly different. First, I started by looking for MRWs through the examination of the speeches word by word. After identifying these linguistic metaphors, each one was assigned to the target domain (peace, war, democracy etc.) that seemed most appropriate. The next step was to articulate or verbalise the conceptual metaphors underlying the linguistic metaphors. Then, the level of generalisation aspect needed to be considered carefully. To explain this let us consider an example from Obama (2013/9) which appears in Chapter Seven:

Aid cannot keep pace with the suffering of the wounded and displaced. A peace process is stillborn. (Obama, 2013/9)

ولا يمكن للمعونة أن تواكب معاناة الجرحى والمشردين. وولدت عملية السلام ميتة.

The aid cannot keep pace with the suffering of wounded and displaced people. And the peace process was born dead (my back-translation).

The metaphorical related word in this case is ‘stillborn’. Although the metaphorical related word was easy to spot, we need to think carefully about the articulation of the conceptual pattern that underlies this metaphor. There are two possibilities here: the conceptual binary formula (A is B) that describes the process as the PEACE PROCESS IS A STILLBORN BABY, or we look for a more generalised formula such as PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ARE LIKE PREGNANCY. Tebbit and Kinder (2016) call the more specific type of conceptual metaphors ‘developed metaphor’ and the more general conceptual ones as ‘basic metaphor’.

5.8 Morality metaphors identification and examples selection approaches

This section presents the method used to identify candidate morality metaphors in Chapter Eight. Researchers use different approaches to explore Lakoff's model of morality metaphor. The two prominent methods are the socio-psychological and the cognitive-linguistic ones. The socio-psychological approach examines political texts searching for manifestations of the Strict Father or Nurturant Parent models without considering the metaphoricity of the examples selected (Deason and Gonzales, 2012; Moses and Gonzales, 2015; Ohl et al. 2013). On the other hand, the cognitive-linguistic method aims to identify metaphorical expressions that could be attributed to the SF or NP models. This approach is common in CL research (Cienki 2005a, 2005b; Wolters, 2012).

The approach selected in this study is a combination of both methods. Identification of the examples will include morality expressions that are metaphorically expressed and literal logical entailments that reflect the SF and NP models. The logical entailments are not metaphorical per se; however, they do "logically follow from the SF or NP model, that is, they may be entailed by them" (Cienki, 2005b:289). The analysis will not consider single lexical items or phrases as the basic units of analysis; instead, the complete sentence will be taken as the base unit of analysis.

This mixed approach (looking for metaphorical and literal entailment expressions) was used by Degani (2015) and Renardel de Lavalette et al. (2016). Degani (2015) investigates Lakoff's morality metaphors in the election speeches of President Barack Obama. The focal point in Degani's approach (2015) centres around the moral values evoked by Obama as the reference point for identifying morality metaphors. Her justification for this was that politics is a pursuit of making noble values a reality. Therefore, finding political values in the text should be a priority. After identifying examples of political values, she examines whether these political values are expressed metaphorically or not.

For the semantic analysis of her data, Degani (2015:106) takes the paragraph as her textual unit of analysis, arguing that "The framing of an issue requires an argumentative space that is larger than a few clauses." Although Degani admitted that

in some cases a paragraph might include more than one value, she decided to keep the whole paragraph as a representative for only single value.

In their study of morality metaphors, Renardel de Lavalette et al.'s (2016) aim was to determine "whether they (socio-psychological and the cognitive-linguistic approaches) would yield similar results and could thus be considered to be equally appropriate ways of testing the presence of moral language" (ibid:1). The data used in Renardel de Lavalette's study consists of twenty speeches by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama (ten for each speaker). The prominent themes of these speeches are health-care and Iraq. Renardel de Lavalette et al. (2016:22) state that using the exact annotation schemas on the same corpus produced divergent results. The outcomes of the social-psychological method to data analysis demonstrate that Obama and Bush used a similar number of expressions belonging to the SF model, but Obama used more NP language than Bush. The results of the analysis using the cognitive-linguistic annotation approach show that Bush and Obama used a similar number of lexical items attributed to the SF model, and a similar number of lexical items belonging to the NP model. Renardel de Lavalette et al (2016:20) comment that "although the two methods of data analysis are both aimed at empirically testing TMR [Theory of Moral Reasoning] by analysing political discourse, they do not equivalently measure this phenomenon".

To avoid reliability issues in the identification of morality examples, the identification approach used in the present project encompasses elements from the various approaches used above. The identification process starts with looking for a political value in the speech; then this value is examined whether it is expressed metaphorically or it is a literal logical entailment. The next step is to look in the target text at how a translator rendered this morality example into Arabic.

5.9 CMT or CBT

In this section, I will explain in what way CMT and CBT have been used in investigating metaphorical language, to inform the reader why one or the other model was used with some examples rather than others when analysing metaphorical expressions in the research data.

I will argue that epistemological motivations are solely responsible for the selection of the research method or the analytical model to study metaphor using CL advances. If we need to obtain knowledge about the way we talk metaphorically about love, democracy, war etc., then CMT will be a suitable option, as it can reveal the conceptual patterns that control how we think about these topics. On the other hand, if our purpose is to determine how the metaphorical expressions, especially of a creative and more specific type, were established, CBT will be the appropriate analytical model.

Scholars such as Chilton, Charteris-Black and Musolff use CMT to study how metaphor functions in political language. The focus of their research is on providing insights into how conceptual metaphor patterns influence the way we deal with or perceive a particular issue such as economic crisis, war on terrorism, global climate etc. For instance, Penninck (2014) concludes that metaphors were of great assistance in helping American presidents to explain the economic crises in 1929 and 2008 to the public.

However, adopting CBT as an analytical model is usually associated with different purposes. CBT has not been used to explore how conceptual blends affect the receiver's viewpoint regarding a particular issue, or how conceptual blends reveal the ideological conventions of the discourse maker. The theory has not been used to investigate how discourse-makers in general and politicians in particular use conceptual blends to create a reality, as is the case with conceptual metaphor.

CBT was used to reveal more secrets about how meanings, or creative meanings to be more precise, have emerged in complex expressions (as in the case of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi as a Pharaoh, section 3.4). The cross-domain mapping is evident; nevertheless, the CMT mechanisms cannot give a thorough account of the way this mapping happened. Therefore, I decided to test CBT to analyse a selection of examples. Following Abdul Latif's (2012:134) argument that CMT cannot provide all the contextual and social mappings of the conceptual metaphor of President Al-Sadat, EGYPT IS A FAMILY, he suggests that CBT can provide solutions for the shortcomings of using CMT to analyse metaphors.

5.10 Back-Translation

Some readers will not be acquainted with Arabic language, but they should still be able to track the discussion of explanations or examples through back-translations. Back-translation involves translating the target language examples (which are in Arabic) into English again. The function of this sort of translation is to explicate or reflect the changes that have occurred in the TL. To highlight these changes, literal translation will be the common feature of this mechanism; however, English language conventions were considered when creating the back-translations of the analysed examples. The degree of literalness depends on the objectives of the research and the sort of shift the analyst would like to highlight (syntactical, grammatical, morphological or phonological). The challenge with back-translation, as Baker (2011:7) suggests, is that “The use of back-translation is a necessary compromise; it is theoretically unsound and far from ideal”. The aim of back-translation here is not to reflect the quality of translation but to acknowledge the readers who do not speak Arabic. The type and location of shift (if there is any) appears in the translations.

5.11 Conclusion

In this chapter the major methodological issues of the study were presented. The chapter sheds light on the study corpus and the reasons behind its selection. It also highlights the identification of conceptual metaphors, conceptual blends and the political values for analysis. The way in which the conceptual metaphors have been articulated has been explained as well.

The following chapters (Six, Seven and Eight) will be dedicated to the empirical part of the thesis. Chapter Six will reveal the examples of conceptual blends which occurred in the data, and how translators translated them into Arabic. Chapter Seven deals with the conceptual metaphors extracted from the data and their translation. Chapter Eight will be allocated to investigating the identification and the translation of morality-based political metaphors.

6. Chapter Six: Translation of conceptual blends

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides answers to the first research question (section 1.6): What new insights can CBT provide as an analytical framework for metaphor translation? Instead of analysing the conceptual structures of some metaphorical expressions on the basis of two parts (source and target domains), the analysis will be carried out on four parts of the blend (two input spaces, generic space and the blend). This approach will be conducted on both the source language conceptual blends and their counterparts in the target language.

Despite the existence of a considerable body of literature on translating metaphor as a conceptual pattern, none has approached metaphorical expressions as multi-cognitive mental spaces. This chapter is an attempt to fill this gap. In general, the current explanatory chapter aims to achieve the following objective: to present an analysis of authentic examples (by authentic I mean real ones rather than examples created by theoreticians to explain their theoretical perceptions) of conceptual blends from English into Arabic based on the CBT's principles. This may strengthen the reliability of the CBT as an analytical tool to investigate the translation of metaphors. To determine to what extent the analysis of conceptual metaphorical structures as blends can explain the nature and the reasons for the shifts that occurred in the translation of metaphorical expressions.

This chapter adopts the assumption that some metaphors are not only by-products of a one-directional mapping between conceptual domains, but they are the result of various operations, mainly interaction and integration, to establish mental constructions (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). What distinguishes these integration and interaction processes from the one-directional mappings in the conceptual metaphors is that they make the metaphorical expressions richer. Because of the integration processes, blends become more replete with semantic associations and images. Utilising the analytical apparatus of CBT, researchers will be in a better position to figure out how the discourse makers (in the context of TS research this means the

original speakers and the translators) constructed the metaphorical expressions in question.

6.2 Example selection

As has been explained in section 5.6, the metaphors identification stage resulted in Appendix 2 which contains all the examples of metaphorical related words identified in the research corpus. The following step was to determine the metaphorical expressions that would be analysed using the CBT analytical model. This step resulted in the metaphorical expressions listed in Table 6.1. The metaphorical blends listed in Table 6.1 belong to one of two categories; namely, blends motivated by image schemas or human life experiences. For ease of reference, and to avoid any confusion between the chapter's sections and the examples' numbers, the numbering system in the table will use the year plus the number as per Appendix 2. Examples of conceptual blends with mental spaces motivated by image schemas are (2001/13, 2001/16, 2003/16, 2004/8, 2004/14, 2008/21, 2009/39, 2009/45, 2009/50, 2010/23, 2011/17, 2012/3) whereas conceptual blends with mental spaces motivated by human life experiences are (2001/1, 2001/9, 2001/8, 2001/15, 2001/19, 2002/6, 2002/7, 2003/19, 2003/24, 2006/5, 2007/13, 2009/47, 2009/52, 2010/2, 2010/7, 2010/15, 2011/4, 2011/34, 2012/10, 2013/10, 2013/14, 2015/7, 2016/22). To analyse these examples as conceptual metaphors with two-part conceptual structures (source domain and target domain) and one-directional mappings (each structural element in the source language mapped into a structural element in the target) would not give a detailed description of the relations that take place when creating these figurative constructions. Hence, a different model that can disclose more information about metaphor translation needs to be employed.

As stated above, some examples are particularly suited to being analysed within the CBT framework. Their constitutive elements are not conceptual domains but mental spaces. For instance, in example (2003/16) in Table 6.1, the speaker refers to Iraq as the heart of the Middle East. There are three ideas the speaker would like to raise. They are: the centrality of Iraq in the region, the political and economic transition, and body parts. The dynamic integration process used by the speaker resulted in a different or new mental space that is 'Iraq is the heart of the region'. The directionality of the

mapping of the blend's constitutive elements is not restricted from input space 2 to input space 1 as in the case of conceptual metaphors.

The conceptual blends were categorised using Al-Harrasi's classification of metaphors model. In his study of the translation of conceptual metaphors from Arabic into English, Al-Harrasi (2001:2) divided metaphors based on the type of their source domains. Metaphors were classified into image schematic metaphors, physical domains metaphors and intertextual metaphors. He argues that each source domain imposes different demands on the translator. He argues (2001:2) that different forms of human experiences create different domains which are mapped conceptually to construe abstract concepts. These experiences are our social interactions and ideological perceptions. He summarises the domains in the following table:

Type of Source Domain in Conceptual Metaphor	Nature of Aspects Mapped onto the Target Domain
Physical Domains	Image schemata, rich images, colours etc
Human life Domains	Psychology, social values and practices, and social ideologies
Intertextual Domains	Past experiences associated with specific texts

Figure 6:1 Al-Harrasi's classification of metaphors based on source domains

Based on the Al-Harrasi model, the blends will be divided into two groups:

- a) Conceptual blends whose mental spaces are motivated by image schemas.
- b) Conceptual blends whose mental spaces are of a human life nature.

Table 6.1 includes all the examples of conceptual blends extracted from the research corpus. The number of conceptual blends, compared to the entire data, is relatively small (only thirty-six examples). The blends extracted include both examples with shift in the translation (twenty-five examples) and instances where translators kept the exact blends intact in the target language (eleven examples). The analysis includes

both types of blends. The examples selected for analysis were highlighted in yellow colour.

Table 6-1 Conceptual blends with shift in the TL

No.	SL metaphor	TL metaphor	Back-translation
2001/1	The suffering of 11 September was inflicted on people of many faiths and many nations. (Bush 2001)	لقد مست ضراء ١١ أيلول/سبتمبر أناسا ينتمون إلى العديد من العقائد والعديد من الأمم.	The harm of 9/11 touched many people who belong to different faiths and nations.
2001/9	And they will find that their welcomed guests are parasites that will weaken them and eventually consume them. (Bush 2001)	وستكتشف أن ضيوفها الذين رحبت بهم طفيليون سيضعفونها ثم يلتهمونها في نهاية المطاف.	They will discover that their welcomed guests are parasites that will weaken and eventually consume them.
2001/8	And some Governments, while pledging to uphold the principles of the United Nations, have cast their lot with the terrorists. (Bush 2001)	وبينما تتعهد بعض الحكومات بالتمسك بمبادئ الأمم المتحدة، نجدها وحدث مصيرها مع مصير الإرهابيين.	while some governments pledged to hold the principles of the United Nations we found out that they unified its destiny with that of terrorists

2001/13	But the time for sympathy has now passed. The time for action has now arrived. (Obama 2001)	ولكن وقت التعزية والمواساة انتهى الآن. لقد دقت ساعة العمل.	The time for sympathy has now finished. The work clock has chimed
2001/15	To inflame ethnic hatred is to advance the cause of terror. (Bush 2001)	إن إذكاء لهيب الكراهية العرقية إنما يعني تعزيز قضية الإرهاب.	To stoke the flames of hatred is to enhance the cause of terrorism.
2001/16	Innocent people must be allowed to live their own lives, by their own customs, under their own religion. (Bush 2001)	ويجب أن يسمح للأبرياء بأن يعيشوا حياتهم وفقا لعاداتهم، وتحت مظلة ديانتهم.	the innocent people should be allowed to live their religion according to their traditions and under the umbrella of their religion.
2001/19	We are confident, too, that history has an author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. (Bush 2001)	ونحن على ثقة أيضا بأن التاريخ له صانع، يملأ الزمن والأبدية بمقاصده.	We are confident that history has a maker who fills the time and eternity with his purpose.
2002/6	After generations of deceitful dictators and broken treaties	بعد أجيال من الدكتاتوريين المخادعين ونكث المعاهدات وإزهاق الأرواح، كرسنا أنفسنا للحفاظ على معايير الكرامة	After generations of the rule of deceitful dictators and the treaties being undone

	and squandered lives, we dedicated ourselves to standards of human dignity shared by all (Bush 2002)	الإنسانية، وهي معايير يتشاطرها معنا الجميع	(breaching of treaties), and squandered lives we have dedicated ourselves to preserving the standards of human dignity, which are the standards that everyone shares with us
2002/7	to a system of security defended by all (Bush 2002)	لنظام أمن يدافع عن حياضه الجميع	For a security system where all people defend its basins
2003/16	Millions will see the freedom, equality and material progress are possible at the heart of the Middle East. (Bush 2003)	وسيرى الملايين أن الحرية والمساواة والتقدم المادي ممكن في قلب الشرق الأوسط.	Millions of people will see that freedom and equality and material progress are possible at the heart of the Middle East
2003/19	The Palestinian cause is betrayed by leaders who cling to power by feeding old hatreds and destroying the good work of others. (Bush 2003)	فالقضية الفلسطينية يخونها قادة يتمسكون بالسلطة من خلال إنكفاء الأحقاد القديمة وتدمير العمل الطيب الذي يقوم به الآخرون	The Palestinian cause is being betrayed by leaders clinging to power through fanning the old hatreds and destroying the good work done by others

2003/24	This commerce in the human life generates billions of dollars each year (Bush 2003)	وهذه التجارة في الحياة الإنسانية تدر بلايين الدولارات في كل سنة	this trade in the human life milks billions of dollars in each year
2004/8	The world must have more effective means to stabilise regions in turmoil and to halt religious violence (Bush 2004)	يجب أن يتوفر لدى العالم المزيد من الوسائل الفعالة لكفالة استقرار المناطق التي تعصف بها الاضطرابات، ووقف العنف الديني	The world should obtain more effective means to guarantee the stability of the regions stormed by turmoil and to stop the religious violence
2004/14	Today, the Iraqi and Afghan peoples are on the path of democracy and freedom. (Obama 2004)	واليوم يشق الشعبان الأفغاني والعراقي طريقهما إلى الحرية والديمقراطية.	Today, the Afghani and Iraqi peoples are breaking their way to freedom and democracy.
2006/5	The reality is that the stability we thought we saw in the Middle East was a mirage. (Bush 2006)	الواقع هو أن الاستقرار الذي اعتقدنا أننا شاهدناه في الشرق الأوسط كان سرايا.	The reality is that the stability that we thought we had seen in the Middle East was a mirage.
2007/13	Thirdly, the mission of the United Nations requires liberating people from the	ثالثاً، إن مهمة الأمم المتحدة تقتضي تحرير الأشخاص من براثن الأمية والجهل.	Thirdly, the mission of the United Nations requires to liberate people from the claws

	chains of illiteracy and ignorance. (Bush 2007)		of illiteracy and ignorance
2008/21	In the shadows of hopelessness, radicalism thrives . Eventually, that radicalism can boil over into violence, cross borders and take innocent lives across the world. (Obama 2008)	وفي ظل اليأس، تقوى شوكة التطرف. وفي نهاية المطاف، يمكن للتطرف أن يتحول إلى عنف يمتد عبر الحدود ويحصد أرواح الأبرياء في جميع أنحاء العالم.	And in light of despair, the thorn of extremism gets stronger . Ultimately, extremism can turn into violence that spills over borders and will reap the souls of innocent people across the world.
2009/39	It is hard to change something as fundamental as how we use energy. I know that. It is even harder to do so in the midst of a global recession . (Obama 2009)	ومن الصعب تغيير أمر أساسي مثل الكيفية التي نستخدم بها الطاقة. وأنا أعلم ذلك. ومن الأصعب أن تفعل ذلك في خضم ركود عالمي .	It is difficult to change a basic issue such as the way we use energy. I know that. And it is more difficult to do so in the middle of rough sea of global recession .
2009/45	to eradicate polio and strengthen public health systems (Obama 2009)	واستئصال شأفة شلل الأطفال وتعزيز نظام الصحة العامة	and eradicate polio and to enhance the system of public health

2009/47	<p>And developing nations must root out the corruption that is an obstacle to progress, for opportunity cannot thrive where individuals are oppressed and businesses have to pay bribes.</p> <p>(Obama 2009)</p>	<p>ولا بد للدول النامية من أن تجتث جذور الفساد الذي يمثل عقبة أمام التقدم لأنه لا يمكن توفير الفرصة، بينما يجري كبح الأفراد ويتعين على أرباب الأعمال التجارية دفع الرشاوي.</p>	<p>Developing countries must root out corruption, which is an obstacle to progress because opportunity cannot be afforded, while individuals are restrained and business owners have to pay bribes.</p>
2009/50	<p>Democracy cannot be imposed on any nation from the outside. Each society must search for its own path, and no path is perfect. Each country will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its people and in its past traditions.</p> <p>(Obama 2009)</p>	<p>لا يمكن فرض الديمقراطية على أي أمة من الخارج. وعلى كل مجتمع أن يسعى إلى اتباع نهجه الخاص به، وما من نهج كامل. وسوف يتبع كل بلد نهجا متأصلا في ثقافة شعبه وفي تقاليده السابقة.</p>	<p>Democracy cannot be imposed on any nation from outside. Every society should strive to follow its own approach, and there is no complete approach. Each country will follow an approach rooted in the culture of its people and in its past traditions.</p>
2009/52	<p>It was rooted in the hard-earned lessons of war, rooted in the</p>	<p>فقد كانت تُضرب جذورها في دروس الحرب القاسية المتجسدة في الحكمة القائلة بأن الأمم</p>	<p>It was rooted in the lessons of cruel warfare and it is embodied in the wisdom that nations</p>

	wisdom that nations could advance their interests by acting together instead of splitting apart. (Obama 2009)	يمكنها أن تدفع قدمًا بمصالحها بعملها يدا بيد، وليس بالتشردم.	can advance their interests by working hand in hand, not with fragmentation.
2010/2	Today, we honour those from the United Nations family who lost their lives in the earthquake and commit ourselves to stand with the people of Haiti until they can stand on their own two feet. (Obama 2010)	واليوم، فإننا نحيي ذكرى أبناء أسرة الأمم المتحدة الذي فقدوا أرواحهم في الزلزال، ونتعهد بالوقوف مع شعبها هايتي إلى أن يتمكن من الوقوف على قدميه.	We honour the memory of the sons of the United Nations family who lost their lives in the earthquake, and we promise to stand with the Haitian people until they can stand on their own feet.
2010/7	to spur growth and renewed demand that could restart job creation. (Obama 2010)	لتحفيز النمو وتجديد الطلب الذي يمكنه أن يحرك من جديد خلق فرص عمل	To stimulate growth and renew demand that can move again to create jobs
2010/15	unleashing the power of clean energy to serve as an engine of growth and	ونطلق العنان في الوقت ذاته لقوة الطاقة النظيفة لتكون بمثابة المحرك الذي يدفع عجلات النمو والتنمية والتطوير.	give free rein to the clean energy to be as the engine which pushes the wheels of

	development (Obama 2010)		development and growth.
2010/23	this time we should draw upon the teachings of tolerance that lie at the heart of the great religions that see Jerusalem's soil as sacred (Obama 2010)	هذه المرة ينبغي لنا أن نستمد التعاليم من التسامح الكائن في صميم الأديان العظيمة الثلاثة التي ترى أن تراب القدس مقدس	this time we should receive the teachings from the tolerance that exists in the core of the great three religions which consider the soil of Jerusalem as sacred
2011/4	we still live in a world scarred by conflict and plagued by poverty (Obama 2011)	فأننا لا نزال نعيش في عالم تمزقه الصراعات ويعاني من الفقر	we still live in a world torn by conflicts and suffer from poverty
2011/17	the balance of fear shifted from the ruler to those whom he ruled (Obama 2011)	ومالت كفة ميزان الرعب من الحاكم باتجاه المحكومين	the balance of scale of fear tilted from the ruler to those who ruled
2011/34	Each side has legitimate aspirations, and that is part of what makes peace so hard. And the	إن كل جانب لديه تطلعات مشروعة، وهذا جزء مما يجعل تحقيق السلام صعبًا جدًا. لأن يجري كسر الجمود إلا عندما	Every party has its legitimate ambitions, and this is part of what makes achieving peace very difficult. The stalemate will not be

	<p>deadlock will be broken only when each side learns to stand in the other's shoes (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>يضع كل جانب نفسه مكان الآخر.</p>	<p>broken unless every party puts themselves in the place of the other party.</p>
2012/3	<p>it will not be enough to put more guards in front of an Embassy or to put out statements of regret and wait for the outrage to pass (Obama 2012)</p>	<p>فلن يكون كافيًا مجرد وضع المزيد من الحراس أمام سفارة، أو إصدار بيانات الأسف، وانتظار انحسار موجة الغضب.</p>	<p>It would not be enough to simply place more guards in front of an embassy, issue statements of regret, and wait for the wave of anger to subside.</p>
2012/10	<p>the regime of Bashar Al-Assad must come to an end, so the suffering of the Syrian people can stop and a new dawn can begin (Obama 2012)</p>	<p>أن نظام بشار الأسد يجب ان ينتهي لكي يتسنى وقف معاناة الشعب السوري ولكي يبرز فجر جديد</p>	<p>The regime of Bashar Al-Assad should be terminated so the suffering of the Syrian people can be stopped and a new dawn comes out.</p>
2013/10	<p>There is no great game to be won, nor does America have any interest in Syria beyond the well-being of</p>	<p>فليست هناك لعبة كبرى لكسبها، وليست لأمريكا أي مصلحة في سوريا تتعدى رفاه شعبها واستقرار جيرانها</p>	<p>There is no major game to win, and America has no interest in Syria that goes beyond the welfare of</p>

	its people, the stability of its neighbours (Obama 2013)		its people, the stability of its neighbours,
2013/14	the occupation of the West Bank is tearing at the democratic fabric of the Jewish State. (Obama 2013)	احتلال الضفة الغربية ينهش النسيج الديمقراطي للدولة اليهودية	the occupation of the West Bank is biting the democratic fabric of the Jewish state
2015/7	today we are seeing the collapse of strongmen and fragile states breeding conflict and driving innocent men, women and children across borders on an epic scale. (Obama 2015)	نشهد اليوم انهيار ذي النفوذ وأصبحت الدول الهشة تربة خصبة لنمو وترعرع النزاعات والدفع بالابرياء من الرجال والنساء والأطفال عبر الحدود على نطاق مذهل	today we witness the collapse of powerful people and the fragile states became fertile soil for the grow and breeding of conflicts and to push innocent people of men and women and children across the borders on an epic scale.
2016/22	...because a society that asks less of oligarchs than of ordinary citizens will rot from within. (Obama 2016)	لأن المجتمع الذي يطلب من النخبة أقل مما يطلب من المواطنين العاديين سوف يتفكك من الداخل.	...because a society that asks of the oligarch less than it would ask from ordinary citizens will disintegrate from within.

The analysis will start with the examination of the components of the mental integration network in the source language. This phase of the analysis can be conceptualised as a cognitive dissection process through which we will look closely at the components of the blend. Repeating the same procedure in the target language will enable us to determine exactly what the shift is and its exact locus. In other words, such an analysis will determine precisely what mental spaces were offered, and which cognitive processes were used to generate the blend (composition, compression or elaboration). The analysis will also highlight whether new vital relations occurred as a result of the shift in the source language blend. These insights were not provided using previous theoretical frameworks as a tool for metaphor translation analysis.

6.3 Examples analysis

In this explanatory section of the study, the analysis will be commenced by investigating the source language blends. I will highlight their two conceptual inputs, generic space and the new blend. The type of the blend and whether it includes special associations (cultural, social or ideological) will be highlighted as well. After that, I will examine the constitutive elements of the target language blend. The locus of the shift and its motivation will be highlighted throughout the analysis.

6.3.1 Conceptual blends with mental spaces motivated by image schemas

Image schemas are one of the central concepts provided by Cognitive Linguistics. In this part of the analysis, I aim to explain how image schemas may provide explanations of the translation shifts which occurred in the study corpus. The examples below were combined on the basis that their source input or second input space is image schematically motivated.

Example 6.1 (2004/14)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
Today, the Iraqi and Afghan peoples are on the path of	واليوم يشق الشعبان الأفغاني والعراقي طريقهما إلى الحرية والديمقراطية.	Today, the Iraqi and Afghani peoples are breaking their way

democracy and freedom (Bush 2004)		to freedom and democracy.
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In this part of the speech, freedom and democracy have been described by G.W. Bush (2004) as destinations, and to reach them people need to travel along a path. The source domain of journey metaphor is noticeably predominant in the research corpus. Examples (2003/9)*, (2003/17)*, (2004/21)*, (2009/3)*, (2009/26)*, (2009/38)*, (2010/18)*, (2010/26)*, (2010/30)*, (2011/27)*, (2011/35)*, (2011/38)*, (2011/40)*, (2011/49)*, (2014/18)*, (2014/43)*, (2015/3)*, (2015/23)*, (2015/25)*, (2016/9)*, (2016/11)*, (2016/18)*, (2016/33)*, (2016/35)* and (2016/43)* are all examples of path or journey metaphors. However, to analyse them all would only be a matter of repetitiveness. Examples marked with asterisks are derived from the table in Appendix 2 and are not included in relevant tables in this chapter.

In politics, political agents use the ‘path’ image schema as a source of conceptual mapping or projection to convey different functions. For Charteris-Black (2004:93) journey metaphors are the most common source of conceptual reasoning in politics. Cameron (2007:207) considers journey metaphors as a conventionalised type and consequently they are frequent in English. Koteyko and Ryazanova-Clarke (2009) interestingly suggest that journey metaphors can be used to promote successful policies by encouraging the journey or to withdraw the unsuccessful policies by going back or deleting the journey. Charteris-Black (2011:66) argues that journey metaphors can be used as a measure for evaluating the success of some policies by mapping destinations to the goals.

The image schema SOURCE-PATH-TARGET is the motivation of the mental space in this example. The first input space in this example is travelling on a journey. The second input space is the endeavour of Iraq and Afghanistan to be democratic states. This mental space of travelling along a path is very schematic. There is no detailed description of the journey. All we know is the starting point (status quo) and the end point (achieving democracy and freedom).

The generic space here is that development and achieving progress is like a journey in which countries must go through different stages to reach their destination. The emergent structure (or the new reality) in this blend is that reaching a developed state requires preparing for a journey.

The target language's conceptual network preserves the same general outlook but with a slight change in the level of schematicity. The conceptual integrating network in this example consists of the first input space; that is, the frame of travelling and removing obstacles. The second input space is the process of achieving democracy in Iraq and Afghanistan. The generic space between the input spaces is that both making journeys and demanding freedom and democracy require planning and hard work. The emergent structure is that, just as making new roads requires hard work, reaching freedom and democracy also requires a considerable amount of dedication and hard work.

The process of moving toward democracy is not simple as nations face major obstacles and hardships to transit to democratic societies. This can be attributed to different factors that are beyond the scope of this chapter. The translator chooses to highlight the difficulties of travelling this path when s/he uses the verb (يشقُّ طريقهما) (yashqu țaryqahuma) (breaking their way). The blend compresses all the facts mentioned above using (يشقُّ طريق) (yashqu țaryq)(breaking way). Technically speaking, the translator has used the input space from the schematic frame of 'travelling along a path' into 'making a way'. The difference is that (شقُّ الطريق) (shaqu al-țaryq) (making the way) in Arabic reflects the fact that the traveller is already trying to overcome the obstacles in his/her way. This makes the target language blend less schematic and richer in associations. Therefore, the first input space in the product blend in the target language changed from 'travelling along a path' into 'removing obstacles during a journey'. The shift in the input spaces resulted in the change of the emergent structure in the target language blend as well.

Example 6.2 (2004/8)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
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<p>The world must have more effective means to stabilise regions in turmoil and to halt religious violence (Bush 2004)</p>	<p>يجب أن يتوفر لدى العالم المزيد من الوسائل الفعالة لكفالة استقرار المناطق التي تعصف بها الاضطرابات، ووقف العنف الديني</p>	<p>The world should obtain more effective means to guarantee the stability of the regions stormed by turmoil and to stop the religious violence</p>
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G.W. Bush (2004) calls for help to end the political and military conflicts in the world. He describes the places where the conflicts take place as ‘destabilised’ (this is a logical inference from the call to stabilise these countries). Similar examples of stability and instability image schema in the corpus are (2002/27) *, (2003/18)*, (2004/8), (2006/5), (2006/14)*, (2007/8)*, (2008/19)*, (2010/24), (2013/2), (2013/6)*, (2013/10), (2014/8)*, (2014/9)*, (2014/10)*, (2014/21)* and (2015/16)*. However, the current example could be representative of the group above as they all include identical input spaces and projections. In politics, destabilised states are ones where political, economic or social problems erupt. This sense indicates that the countries in question were stable before these events occurred, i.e. they transferred or moved from one state into a different one. This meaning is motivated by the image schema of MOVEMENT. Political agents frequently use image schematic expressions to communicate various political ideas (Al-Harrasi, 2001:80). In the case of the stabilisation example, an additional image schema contributes in establishing the conceptual integration network which is BALANCE. BALANCE image schema can also be used to express the state of political stability. We usually observe that in the case of stable objects they are characterised by enjoying a state of harmony, i.e., there is no tension or a counter-force struggle between their constituents. Therefore, in the opposite or contradicting case, lack of harmony, and unrest, are causes of destabilised societies.

The conceptual integration network in this example consists of the first input space of political instability. The second input space is of the mental image schema of BALANCE. The generic space is that we can understand the state of political instability a society goes through, using the BALANCE image schemas. The emergent structure of the conceptual blend is generated through an elaboration process.

In the target language the blend is slightly different. As a result of the translator's action a different mental space is evident in the target blend; it is the image schema of FORCE. The Arabic root of the word (يعصف) (ya' Şif) is (ع ص ف) ('Ş f) (storm), and its basic meaning refers to the powerful movement of winds. Storms and strong winds are manifestations of unstable weather and our experiential base for rough weather suggests that strong winds are powerful natural phenomena that may cause huge damage. In this sense, and based on this understanding, the translator exploits the image schema of FORCE to reason about political turmoil. The use of word (يعصف) (ya' Şif) (to storm) is evidence that we may conceptualise the damage caused by political instability in terms of damage caused by natural force. This inference is in accord with the argument made by Hedblom et al. (2016:55) that image schemas can be a driving force to determine the generic space of conceptual blends.

The target language conceptual integration network is made up of the first input space which is 'political unrest' and the second input space which is the image schema of FORCE. The generic space between the spaces is the sense of instability caused by political turmoil. Thus, the emergent structure is that political unrest is as harmful as strong winds or stormy weather.

Using the linguistic view, Newmark (1981) argues that this sort of translation procedure is translating a metaphor into a sense. However, the analysis of such examples using CBT indicates that metaphors have not been rendered into a sense, as Newmark (1981) argued, but it is a realisation of an image schema with richer image associations.

Example 6.3 (2008/21)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
Eventually, that radicalism can boil over into violence, cross borders and take	وفي نهاية المطاف، يمكن للتطرف أن يتحول إلى عنف يمتد عبر الحدود ويحصد أرواح الأبرياء في جميع أنحاء العالم.	At the end of the way, radicalism will transfer to turn into a violence which will reap the souls of

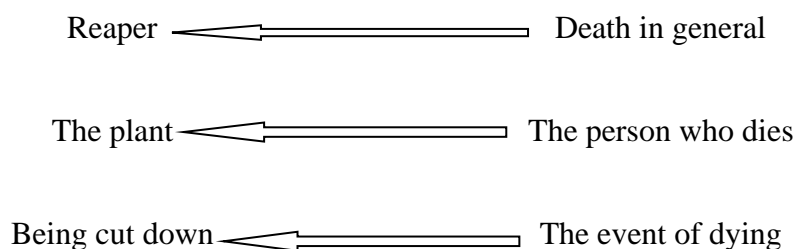
innocent lives across the world (Bush 2008)		innocent people across the world.
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The motivation of the source language metaphorical blend in this example is the image schema of TAKING. Radicalism has been described as an agent that takes people’s lives. The conceptual integration network of the G.W. Bush extract (2008) consists of the first input space which is ‘the killing of innocent people by terrorists’ and the second input space is the image schema of TAKING.

In the target language, the outcome of the translation is a completely different blend. To express the severity of killing innocents, the blend describes the killing of innocent people as reaping their lives. The sentence of (يحصدُ أرواح الابرياء) (yaḥṣidu arwāḥa al-a’abryā’)(reaping the lives of innocent people) is the focus of the blend. Using the word ‘reaping’, the speaker evokes the image of death as the Grim Reaper. This blend is a much-renowned example in the literature about conceptual blending. However, Dancygier and Sweetser (2014:117) explain the way by which this blend projected:

Note that it is precisely metonymic connections which inform us of the two input spaces to this blend: the scythe is metonymic for the source-domain frame of Reaping, while the skeleton is metonymic for the target-domain frame of Death (as is, they argue, the monk’s robe, since monks were understood in medieval Europe to have been the normal professional performers of prayers for the souls of the dead).

However, they argue that the Grim Reaper blend also can refer to nonviolent death as in the case of epidemics or natural disasters. This conceptual blend is of the double-scope type blend. It includes many mental spaces participating in making the blend. Kövecses (2005:279) breaks down the blend constituents into:



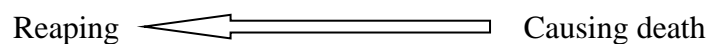


Figure 6:2 Grim Reaper mental spaces

Although Kövecses' analysis provides a more thorough view of cognitive projections in the Grim Reaper blend, nonetheless it has a number of limitations. First, it does not bring to the surface the sense of cruelty that distinguishes the Grim Reaper usage rather than the literal mentioning of death. Second, Kövecses (2005:282) argues that, although the blend has been produced through universal cognitive processes, its usage can only appear in a culture where Christianity is the dominant religious belief. However, I assume this is not an accurate suggestion as, for instance, the metaphorical blend of (حصدُ الأرواح) (ḥaṣḍu al-arwāḥ) (reaping the lives) is common in Arabic as signifying death, albeit without the image of a cloaked skeleton wielding a large scythe.

It seems that Kövecses built his assumption on the basis of the appearance of the Grim Reaper, or more precisely on the cowl worn by the Grim Reaper. In some cases (as in this example) it is not necessary to mention the Grim Reaper himself to denote the idea of death. Mentioning a word like 'harvest' can trigger the idea of the Grim Reaper. Additionally, in a world where images can spread to each corner of the globe in a matter of seconds, thanks to technological advances and social media platforms, the belonging of an image or symbol to a particular community becomes less realistic.

In the target language conceptual integration network, the blend consists of the act of killing of innocent people as the first input space. The second input space is of multiple frames. According to Turner and Fauconnier (2012), spaces of individual human dying, human killer, and reapers in the scenario of 'harvest' participate in shaping this conceptual blend. The generic space is, in both inputs, the sense of cruelty of the killing action, whereas the emergent structure is that people will be envisaged as plants which the Grim Reaper will cut down. The translation procedure in this example shifted the course of the blend from a very image schematic type (TAKE image schema) into the Grim Reaper novel and richer blend.

Example 6.4 (2003/16)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
Millions will see that freedom, equality and material progress are possible at the heart of the Middle East. (Bush 2003)	وسيرى الملايين أن الحرية والمساواة والتقدم المادي ممكن في قلب الشرق الأوسط.	Millions of people will see that freedom and equality and material progress are possible at the heart of the Middle East.

In this part of his speech President G.W. Bush (2003) argues that Iraq will be a symbol of freedom and democracy after the supposed liberation. The nations of the Middle-East will look forward to this new democracy with the hope of imitating this successful experience in their own countries. In addition to the current example, examples of heart metaphors in the corpus are (2004/15)*, (2010/23), (2011/1)*. However, in examples (2003/16) and (2004/15)* the translator maintained the exact conceptual blend in the TL, whereas in examples (2010/23) and (2011/1)* the translator chose to change the rich ‘heart’ metaphor into the ‘core’, which is a more schematic option. The current example is an explanation of the first case (maintaining the exact conceptual blend of ‘heart’ in the TL).

In the source language text, two mental spaces have been integrated to create the blend. The first mental space is ‘geography’ and second one is ‘body’. The conceptual integration network consists of the first input space which is ‘Iraq’ while the second mental space is the ‘body’. The generic space is that both Iraq and the heart represent central parts in the ‘geography’ and ‘body’ mental spaces. The emergent structure is that as a heart is the centre of the body, likewise Iraq represents the heart of the Middle-East region. Consequently, a democratic Iraq (the heart of the Middle-East) will lead to supplying the whole body (Middle-East) with blood.

It is worth mentioning here that the figurative use of ‘heart’ is a well-studied topic in the cognitive study of metaphor. Al-Harrasi (2001:145) argues that the heart metaphor

represents an instantiation of the CORE image schema. He justifies this perception by pointing out that if the heart stops the whole body will stop functioning.

In the target language blend, the translator has transferred the exact conceptual blending network from the source language into the target language, maintaining the exact mental spaces which existed in the original blend. Unlike the previous interpretations of translating such a figurative use of ‘heart’, this view of blending transfer can grant a different angle that may assist in interpreting the transfer of figurative language from one language into another. For instance, Newmark (1981), one of the early scholars who suggested metaphor translation procedures, suggests that translators can reproduce the same metaphorical image in the target language. This is still a broad and general prescriptive suggestion for a more complex phenomenon. The traditional school of metaphor translation study will suggest that the translator reproduced the same image of ‘heart’ in the TL. Using the CBT as an analytical model, we can infer that the heart metaphor is a result of establishing a parallel conceptual integration network using the same mental spaces as those in the original blend (‘geography’ and ‘anatomy’). I base this assumption on the fact that, when we think of any issue, what comes first to mind is not the words, as words are only manifestations of pre-existent cognitive domains (such as the domain of ‘body’) that host more detailed entities (heart is a pivotal body part) that help in understanding or facilitating any communicative act.

Example 6.5 (2010/23)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
<p>This time we should draw upon the teachings of tolerance that lie at the heart of the three great religions that see Jerusalem’s soil as sacred. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>هذه المرة، ينبغي لنا أن نستمد التعاليم من التسامح الكامن في صميم الأديان العظيمة الثلاثة التي ترى أن تراب القدس مقدس.</p>	<p>This time we should take the teachings from the tolerance which is existing in the essence of the three great religions, which consider the soil of Jerusalem as sacred.</p>

Barack Obama (2010) in this example stresses the value of tolerance in religious teachings. He emphasises that politicians should resort to applying this value as a means to achieve peace in our world. The blend in this example consists of two mental spaces: the first one is ‘religion’ and the second mental space is ‘anatomy’. The conceptual integration network consists of the first input space, which is the centrality of tolerance in religions, and the second input space which is the body organs (using heart to denote the centrality of the concept). The generic space is that the status of the tolerance in the three great religions is as important and significant as the position of the heart in the body. The emergent structure is the idea of centrality or significance of something that has been projected to the heart of a living body. This blend is an example of a single-scope blend type. In the target language, the blend has shifted from the richer mental space of anatomy or body organs ‘heart’ into a more abstract image schematic mental space (صميم) (Şamym) (essence). Similar instances of such a translation shift occurred in examples (2010/23), (2011/1)* and (2013/6)*. The meaning of the word (صميم) (Şamym) (essence) in Arabic refers to the vital part of anything. Although the two meanings are similar in the source language and target language blend, the translator has opted for a more abstract version of the CORE image schema. The result of this translation procedure has led to diluting the source language blend using less schematic image schema. However, this is different from the case in example (2014/31)* where the source language blend (core) and the target language blend (صميم) (Şamym) (essence) are both manifestations of the same abstract image schema (core).

Example 6.6 (2016/22)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
because a society that asks less of oligarchs than of ordinary citizens will rot from within . (Obama 2016)	لأن المجتمع الذي يطلب من النخبة أقل مما يطلب من المواطنين العاديين سوف يتفكك من الداخل .	because a society that asks of the oligarch less than it would ask from ordinary citizens will disintegrate from within

In this blend, Obama (2016) explains the fact that demanding the less fortunate class to give more than the privileged people will lead to the destruction of the society. To express the idea of the collapse of societies due to internal factors, he opted for the words “rot from within”. The conceptual integration network of this blend consists of the first input space which is that societies suffer injustice among their citizens and the second input space which is the image schema of CORE. This image schema has been realised using the rich image of rotting. Mainly the meaning of rot is associated with fruits or animals as a result of bacterial activity, which usually happens inside the item itself or starting at its core. Generic space in this example represents the fact that, as destructive bacterial activities lead to decay or rot, in a similar manner injustice in a society can result in comparable results. The emergent structure in the blend is that societies can decay due to internal political or social injustice. In the target language, although the translation seems different, the translator maintained the exact image schema but shifted the way we may realise this image schema in the target language.

The target language suggests that a society can disintegrate from within. The use of the verb ‘disintegrate’ can be an instantiation of CORE image schema. This can be demonstrated by the fact that to disintegrate an item you should deactivate or dismantle its central part. In machines, the engine is the central part and, if the engine malfunctions, the machine will immediately stop working.

6.3.2 Conceptual blends with mental spaces motivated by human life experiences

The conceptual blends in this group relate to human life mental spaces. By human life mental spaces, I mean all daily experiences that we go through and which we may build on to reason about abstract concepts.

These sorts of blends constitute the majority of the examples in the corpus. However, due to the goals set for this research, I only selected those in which a striking shift is noticeable in the target language. I assume that to include many examples where the SL blend is exactly translated into the target language will not contribute much to the discussion. Nevertheless, we can learn from such patterns in the data that English and Arabic are similar in the way they reason about political abstract concepts.

Example 6.7 (2002/6)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
After generations of deceitful dictators and broken treaties and squandered lives (Bush 2002)	بعد أجيال من الدكتاتوريين المخادعين ونكث المعاهدات وإزهاق الأرواح	After generations of the rule of deceitful dictators and the treaties being undone⁵ and squandered lives

Before embarking on the analysis of this example, a brief introduction to the contextual information of this part of the speech will be useful. G.W. Bush (2002) contends that making political treaties is such hard work, it requires a series of negotiations to reach a compromise. Therefore, the breaking of them by dictators is a waste of time and resources. The contextual meaning of the verb ‘break’ in this example refers to the concept of not committing to the conditions set in political negotiations.

In this blend, the first input space is the frame of political treaties and how they can be adhered to or abandoned, and the second is the idea of breaking items. The generic space is that political treaties are fragile and should be handled with care. The emergent structure in this blend is the new understanding of political treaties as delicate objects. This new insight into abandoning political treaties was not possible before setting up this blend. The structure of the blend consists of a group of politicians making a treaty, and negotiations between different parties to reach acceptable agreement. The vital relation connecting the mental spaces is a cause-and-effect relationship. When items are broken, they will no longer function and possibly they cannot be repaired. Similarly, broken political treaties can no longer be effective.

In the target language, the blend is established differently. By using the verb (نكث) (nakatha) (undo), the translator described the breaking of treaties as undoing thread

⁵ This is a literal translation, however the idiomatic meaning of the phrase (نكث المعاهدات) (nakath al-mūāhadāt) is ‘breaching of treaties’

which has been spun with great effort. Traditionally, people in Arab countries made clothes and blankets from wool. Therefore, to break a treaty which required a great deal of hard work to make is similar to undoing the balls of yarn that took considerable time and effort to be made.

The mental spaces taking part in this blend are ‘undoing political treaties’ and ‘working on woollen crafts’. The first input space is ‘undoing political treaties’ and the second input space is ‘undoing yarn items’. The generic space of this blend is that both signing treaties and working on yarn craft are not easy tasks. The generic space in the target language blend shows how breaking treaties is a lamentable issue, comparing the treaties with items made from yarn that take a considerable amount of time and effort to make. The emergent structure here is that the two disparate mental spaces of ‘making or undoing yarn items’ and ‘making political treaties’ have been compressed to produce this novel blend in Arabic.

The translation procedure in this example shifted the source language blend from a simplex type into a single-scope blend. The source language blend ‘broken treaties’ is a simplex blend as it is of the conventional type and even goes unnoticed in our everyday language. However, this is opposed to the target language blend where the description of breaching treaties was projected to the rich space of undoing thread. The outcome of the translation technique used is that the conceptual blend ‘breaking treaties’ has transferred to become ‘breaking treaties is undoing threads’ in the target language text. In terms of the vital relations shifts, cause-effect vital relations changed in the target language blend. The cause-effect (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002) vital relation in the source language blend is the same in both blends. The unfulfilling of the treaty conditions will lead to breaking it, whereas in the target language blend the same sort of action will lead to undoing the threads of wool.

Example 6.8 (2002/7)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
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<p>And to a system of security defended by all (Bush 2007)</p>	<p>لنظام أمن يدافع عن حياضه الجميع</p>	<p>For a security system where all people defend its basins.</p>
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In this example Bush (2002) highlights the fact that the peace and security of the world is a collective responsibility. This example represents an instance of a type of complex projections between mental spaces to communicate abstract ideas. In the source language blending, security is described as a valuable thing. In fact, the motive of the blend in this example is the selection of the word ‘defend’. The blend suggests that security is equal to any valuable thing for individuals’ lives and hence should be defended by all society members. In terms of components of the conceptual integration network, the first input space is the significance of security for people and the second input space is that normal people tend to defend their valuable possessions. The emergent structure establishes that security is of equal importance to our precious possessions and the duty of defending it, as in the case with water basins, is not an individual’s responsibility.

The target language blend was noticeably altered. The first input space is ‘the importance of security for societies’, whereas the second input space is ‘the significance of water basins for people living in the desert’. The generic space in the blend is that security and water are valuable and should be defended by all people. The emergent structure (or the new reality in the blend) is that the security system is as significant as land with water basins (حياض) (hyāḍ) whose protection is a collective responsibility.

The translation procedure shifted the source language blend into a richer blend in the target language. The concept of valuableness has been preserved in both blends, however, with a noticeable change in the conceptual inputs. The mental space of ‘water basins’ used in the target text is cultural-specific and more peculiar to the target language and its culture. It is also more original or innovative than the source language one.

The process that the translator used to create this new meaning or the emergent structure is compression. The translator compressed his/her knowledge of Arabian desert life (using the phrase ‘water basins’) to the notion of security. It is obvious that cultural backgrounds have played a vital role in performing the compression process here.

The above example confirms Coulson’s (2005:187) view that individuals can utilise cultural models to express the ever-changing social world through conceptual blending. It also supports the idea that cultural elements of the target language may be considered as a great resource that translators may use when translating metaphorical blends. This conclusion is different from the common perception in metaphor translation literature that culture constitutive elements of metaphor can be a hindrance for translators.

Example 6.9 (2010/15)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
unleashing the power of clean energy to serve as an engine of growth and development (Obama 2010)	ونطلق العنان في الوقت ذاته لقوة الطاقة النظيفة لتكون بمثابة المحرك الذي يدفع عجلات النمو والتنمية والتطوير.	give free rein to the clean energy to be as the engine which pushes the wheels of development and growth.

In this extract, Obama (2010) presents his perception of the clean energy issue. He states that, in a continuation of efforts to protect the planet, America will help all major economies which seek to mitigate effects of global warming. He also mentions the essential role clean energy will play in the development and growth movement. In terms of the blend, President Obama uses the verb ‘unleash’ to express the idea of the potential capabilities of clean energy if exploited properly. The conceptual blend in

this example consists of the first input space, that is the FORCE image schema, and the second input space of realising the potentials of clean energy. The emergent structure yielded here is that clean energy has great potentials if it is given the chance to be a source of energy. To give more approximation of the blend, we need to imagine the power or force generated when we try to restrain an animal when it wants to run or move freely.

The translator opted for a different conceptual blend in the target text. Instead of using the word ‘unleash’ to express the idea of the prospective power, the translator uses (يطلقُ العنان) (yūṭlqu al-‘anān) (give free rein), a metaphorical expression. The meaning of the word (العنان) (al-‘anān) is ‘rein’, and (يطلقُ العنان) (yūṭlqu al-‘anān) (give free rein) refers to animal control in Arabic. If you want an animal (a horse or a camel) to run as fast as possible, the rider needs to give free rein or to let the rope loose. The generic space includes both ‘clean energy’ and ‘animals have a power that should not be underestimated’. The emergent structure in this case or the novel understanding of the concept is linking the potential huge power of clean power to the power generated by powerful animals when given free rein. Even though the specific image of unleashing is different from the image of loosening the rope, as stated in the Arabic expression, both the original English and the Arabic translation attempt to capture the image schematic level of FORCE.

Example 6.10 (2010/2)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
Today, we honour those from the United Nations family who lost their lives in the earthquake and commit ourselves to stand with the people of Haiti until they can stand on their	واليوم، فإننا نحيي ذكرى أبناء أسرة الأمم المتحدة الذين فقدوا أرواحهم في الزلزال، ونتعهد بالوقوف مع شعب هايتي إلى أن يتمكن من الوقوف على قدميه.	We honour the memory of the sons of the United Nations family who lost their lives in the earthquake, and we promise to stand with the Haitian people until they can

own two feet. (Obama 2010)		stand on their own feet.
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The source language blend in this example manifests in the description by Barack Obama (2010) of the United Nations as a family. This example raises an interesting point in terms of language gender neutrality. The conceptual integration network of this blend in the SL consists of the first input space which is ‘the United Nations’. The second input is social category, in this case ‘family’. The generic space is the sense of cooperation and the endeavour of wellbeing in the mental spaces of ‘family’ and ‘United Nations’. The emergent structure is that the United Nations act or should act as family members seeking the welfare and wellbeing of all United Nations family members. The vital relation connecting the mental spaces is analogy. The conceptual structural in this metaphorical blend can be classified as one single-scope blend. This is because single-scope blends depend in their establishing on one of the conceptual structures of the inputs (Dancygier, 2016:40). Single-scope blends, to a great extent, have the characteristics of conceptual metaphors whereby one of the inputs stands for the ‘source domain’ in the proper conceptual theory of metaphor (Kövecses,2005). In this example, it is clear that the ‘family’ input space underlies the whole conceptual blend.

Arabic language is not gender neutral. The translator opted for the choice of (أبناء) (abnā) (sons) instead of the more generic term ‘family’ in the SL. In the target language, the blend consists of two frames but the second frame functions as a filler for the first frame. This type of blend is called a simplex blend (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). The word (أبناء) (abnā) (sons) in the target language blend acts as a filler for the political body ‘the United Nations’. Kövecses (2010:277) and Dancygier and Sweetser (2014:90) argue that a simplex blend includes two spaces in which the second space is a filler for the roles in that frame. Kövecses (2010:277) argues that kinship is a good example of simplex blend. In the sentence ‘Harry is Sam’s father’, Harry occupies or fills the position of ‘father’. In Example 6.10 the blend becomes ‘Haitian people are sons of the United Nations’. The generic space in this blend is the same as that of the source language blend: cooperation among nations. The emergent structure is that member states of the UN are their sons.

To check this assumption, we may analyse a sentence which describes political or military positions: ‘Obama is the Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States of America’. This denotes that Obama fills the frame of the military position mentioned. Therefore, this sentence is in fact a simplex blend. A possible inference here is that the function of the blend is to specify the identity of the individual who occupies a position. Likewise, sentences which describe the positions of officials (city mayor, university chancellor, headmaster etc.) can be categorised as simplex blends.

Noticeably, the translation procedure has incurred an ideological shift. By ideology, I mean the way of thinking of an individual or a group of people as a result of social or political life style. Charteris-Black (2004) suggests that the lexical choices made by the author are a significant signal of his/her underlying ideology. Semino (2008:32) points out that figurative language is rarely neutral. Al-Buamrani (2015) suggests that every talk about a metaphor is in fact a talk about ideology. In more technical terms, Al-Harrasi (2001:118) explains that a political metaphor becomes ideological when it exploits embedded ideological assumptions to be mapped as a source domain in a mapping with a target political domain. Conceptual blends can be ideologically motivated. The ideological aspect here is raised through the addition of the word (أبناء) (abnā) (sons) to the target language blend. The projection in the source language conceptual blend does not highlight any particular gender, with the plural pronoun (those) being used to refer to the people who died in the earthquake.

Example 6.11 (2003/19)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
The Palestinian cause is betrayed by leaders who cling to power by feeding old hatreds and destroying the good work of others. (Bush 2003)	فالقضية الفلسطينية يخونها قادة يتمسكون بالسلطة من خلال إنكفاء الأحقاد القديمة وتدمير العمل الطيب الذي يقوم به الآخرون.	The Palestinian cause is being betrayed by leaders clinging to power through fanning the old hatreds and destroying the good work done by others.

In this extract President Bush (2003) accuses the Palestinian authority of not exerting enough efforts for the Palestinian cause. Their tactic is to use incitement to hatred to stay in power. To communicate this meaning, Bush uses the knowledge of living objects and how can they grow by feeding mental space. The first input space is intensifying hatred, while the second input space is the increase of mental space. The generic space is that when we feed something it will grow and encouraging the language of hatred will only lead to the increase of hate between rivals. The emergent structure is the sense that the amount of feeling (hatred in this case) can be controlled. We can mitigate or increase the intensity of our feelings.

In the target language, the blend is completely different, with the translator using their knowledge of fire to communicate the accusations of President Bush to Palestinian leaders. In fact, there is an established relationship between fire and heat in political discourse. In his work about the metaphor of fire, Charteris-Black (2016:155) acknowledges that “Given the fascination of fire and its salience in human consciousness, we might expect politicians to rely extensively on fire metaphors”. The translator builds up a different blend connecting the knowledge of fire to the encouragement of political divisions. In the Arabic language the verb (إذكاء) (īdhkā) (stoking or fanning) refers to the process of increasing the intensity of fire. The verb does not usually refer to igniting the fire, but to intensifying it. The selection of this verb by the translator denotes the fact that hatred already exists and some leaders work to intensify it.

The shift of the first input space in the target language conceptual network from ‘feeding’ into ‘fanning’ or ‘stoking’ could result in new inferences. In the target language blend, where ‘fire’ is the second input space, one may infer that the consequences of encouraging fire will be more severe than is the case in the source language blend. However, the translation procedure preserves the same type of blend in the target language, which is single-scope blend type. The first input in this conceptual integration network is the mental space of ‘incitement to hatred’ while the second input space is ‘fire’. The generic space is the ability to control both fire and hatred. Politicians’ actions can determine the levels or extent of hatred; since ‘hatred’ is conceptualised as ‘fire’, this entails metaphorically that politicians know how to extinguish it.

It is worth pausing here to examine how the translator establishes a new integration network of 'hatred' through using 'fire' in the target language blend, and why specifically fire is selected to talk about hate. In CL, literature, hatred is a psychological emotion of disliking persons or objects. The relation between hate and fire is an indirect and complex one. According to Navarro et al. (2013:10) hate is a "strong, negative feeling against the object of hatred." The outcome or consequence of such strong negative feeling can be anything but a positive result. Similarly, hatred shares with fire the sense of harm and destructive ability. In Arabic language, for instance, such metaphorical understanding of hatred as fire manifested in one of the most sacred texts, the narrations of Prophet Mohamed (peace be upon him). He describes envy (which implies a degree of hatred) as:

وعن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: "إياكم والحسد، فإن الحسد يأكل الحسنات كما تأكل النار الحطب، أو قال: العشب".

Abu Hurairah (May Allah be pleased with him) said: "The Prophet (peace be upon him) said, 'Beware of envy because envy consumes (destroys) the virtues just as the fire consumes the firewood,' (Sunnah.com accessed on 20/09/2020).

Envy is a degree of hate described as the fire that consumes firewood; and firewood is used to stand for believers' virtues. This conforms to the assumption of hate as a destructive power. In this way, the common aspects between fire and hatred are projected to establish the generic space between hatred and fire.

However, we cannot describe all situations of hate as negative. Hatred for bad habits such as lying or hypocrisy is a constructive behaviour and therefore positive. So, the projection of fire to hatred is of a partial nature. It is only the destructive feature of fire that is linked to the political hatred. Dancygier (2016:30) and Fauconnier and Turner (2002:310) call this sort of linking "selective projection". Since the frame of 'political hatred' is completely different from that of 'fire', and the structural constituents of the two frames are not identical, the new blend in this instance cannot be set from a single frame; rather both frames contribute toward shaping the blend, which is why it is a double-scope blend network. The vital relation involved in the source and target language blends is cause-and-effect relationship.

Example 6.12 (2007/13)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
Thirdly, the mission of the United Nations requires liberating people from the chains of illiteracy and ignorance. (Bush 2007)	ثالثاً، إن مهمة الأمم المتحدة تقتضي تحرير الأشخاص من براثن الأمية والجهل.	Thirdly, the mission of the United Nations requires to liberate people from the claws of illiteracy and ignorance.

In this example, President Bush (2007) states that the mission of the United Nations is to help people eradicate illiteracy and ignorance. He suggests that these are the main causes of societies not achieving the required progress. The speaker communicates this idea metaphorically through establishing a cognitive blend with ‘chains’. However, the conceptual blend of ‘chains’ is more frequent with the concept ‘poverty’ than with ‘illiteracy’. A search in Sketch Engine English Web 2015 (enTenTen15) corpus resulted in a concordance of about 160 metaphorical expressions of ‘chains of poverty’ versus three examples of ‘chains of illiteracy’.

The conceptual integration network of the source text blend consists of the first input space that is the impact of illiteracy and ignorance on shackling the development of societies. The second input space is represented in the mental space of restricting the freedom of movement by chains. The generic space in the source language conceptual integration network is that both illiteracy and ignorance are like chains that hamper the society’s movement. Based on this new conceptual pattern, societies are being personified or given the attributes of a living organism. The target language blend has maintained the idea of restriction of movement or progress but uses a different mental space. This shift in the mental space has resulted in an entirely different metaphorical image. Instead of using the chains to denote the idea of restriction of movement, the translator resorts to the word (برائن) (barāthn) (claws). The metaphorical scenario in this blend describes illiteracy and ignorance as a predator with claws, and once the predator gets its claws into the prey’s body, it becomes unable to move.

The first input space in this new blend is the impact of illiteracy and ignorance on the development of societies. The second input space is the mental space of animals hunting. The generic space in the target text conceptual integration network is that illiteracy and ignorance are like the claws of the predator. Once they hold the prey (society, in this case), it will not be able to move away or escape. The emergent structure is that societies are victims of illiteracy and ignorance. The vital relation used to connect the mental spaces in the blends is analogy.

Example 6.13 (2011/34)

Source language blend	Target language blend	Back-translation
the deadlock will be broken only when each side learns to stand in the other's shoes (Obama 2011)	لن يجري كسر الجمود إلا عندما يضع كل جانب نفسه مكان الآخر،	The stalemate will not be broken unless every party puts themselves in the place of the other party,

In this example President Obama (2011) urges Palestinians and Israelis not to stick to their own views to reach peace, but each party should understand the other's position in the hope of achieving the sought-after deal. To communicate the idea of concession for the sake of peace, the speaker uses the idiomatic expression "to stand in somebody else's shoes". This is an interesting instance as it showcases how idioms are treated in CL (for more details see section 2.3.4). Cognitive linguists (Langlotz, 2006; Gibbs et al., 1997; Kövecses, 1996) have suggested new insights for the use of idioms in language. Idioms in Cognitive Linguistics are not just figurative words used to communicate fixed meanings independently of any conceptual systematic processes. Kövecses (2010:232) analysed idiomatic expressions containing the word 'fire' or one of its associations. Phrases such as 'spitting fire', 'set fire to something', 'spark off', 'burning the candle', 'snuff out' and 'fan the flames' show that what plays a significant role in establishing the idiom is not the lexical words, but the concept itself. In other words, we use our knowledge of fire to create idioms, and words are only manifestations of this knowledge. Kövecses (ibid:232) concludes "idioms (or, at least, the majority of them) are conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature". Since idioms are

conceptually motivated, they reflect underlying conceptual patterns. They tend to be conceptual rather than merely linguistic devices; consequently, idioms will be valid to reason about complex political issues.

Returning to the analysis of the idiom in question, what we have here are not conceptual domains, but different mental spaces (to compare the difference between conceptual domain and mental spaces cf. page 36). The following analysis can explicate more about the relation between idioms and conceptual blending. The meaning of the idiom in this example is to be in another person's situation or predicament, and the knowledge exploited in creating the idiom comes from the experience of the shoe-wearing. The shoes we wear should fit our foot size as bigger or smaller shoes will be neither comfortable nor practical.

The cognitive mechanism exploited in this idiom is the knowledge about shoes that has been projected on the predicaments. Any predicament would be difficult to understand unless we have sufficient information about the circumstances and details of that situation. The cognitive process creating the blend is elaboration; the speaker elaborates the knowledge about the mental space of 'shoes' to the issue of measuring difficulties and predicaments.

I argue that the cognitive structures involved in the projection of this idiom are not conceptual domains as Kövecses (1996, 2010) suggests, but mental spaces. Fauconnier (2012:1) defines mental spaces as "very partial assemblies constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action." The conceptual structures of shoes and predicament are not up to the level of conceptual domains; they are mental spaces in the sense that they are "more specific than frames, in that they do not operate with generic roles and relations in most cases but with specific instances of roles and relations" (Kövecses 2017:326). Therefore, it is not only conceptual domains which can take part in constructing idioms; mental spaces may conduct a similar role.

The conceptual integration network in the source language consists of four input spaces: the first is the mental space of 'predicament' and the second is the input space of 'shoes'. The generic space between the inputs is the sense of peculiarity (we cannot wear other people's shoes because they will not fit our feet). In a similar vein, we

cannot appreciate or understand another person's predicaments as they evolve from detailed issues that we do not know or cannot understand. The emergent structure is that it will be difficult to judge another's situations as we do not experience what they are going through.

The translator has opted to express the idiom differently in Arabic. In Arabic language and culture there is no direct equivalent for the English 'shoes' idiom. Despite the availability of the lexical items in Arabic, the absence of the concept of standing in someone's shoes to feel or understand his/her situation is likely to be the reason for the translation shift. The translator establishes an equivalent blend using a different input space. The TL blend is (يضع كل جانب نفسه مكان الآخر) (yāḍu kūlu jānibin nafsahū makān alĀkhr) (each party puts himself on the side of the other) as an alternative for the shoes idiom. It suggests that there are two persons or a group of people who stand on opposite sides, and to thoroughly appreciate or understand each other's situation, they need to exchange their positions. This will give them the opportunity to see things differently, and consequently their evaluation of the issue will be different. The first input space of this blend is the domain of 'problems and predicaments'. The second input space is the mental space of 'location'. Then, the non-imagistic or image schematic domain of LOCATION motivates the idiomatic expression (يضع كل جانب نفسه مكان الآخر) (yāḍu kūlu jānibin nafsahū makān alĀkhr) (each party put himself on the side of the other) in Arabic. The generic space in this conceptual integration network is that as the space we occupy affects the way we evaluate things, our understanding of situations or predicaments will be affected by the details we have. The common aspect here is that in both cases the closer we move the clearer the issue becomes. The emergent structure of the blend is that our judgment of another's situations or predicament is a result of the position we occupy. Since the two inputs are distinct, the vital relation linking them is dis-analogy. The translation procedure opted for by the translator has shifted the blend from a richer conceptual structure into a more image schematic version. This was a result of the absence of standing in someone's shoes as a way of evaluation or appreciation of their problems.

Table 6.2 provides a summary of the examples elicited, the domains which motivated the mental spaces and what sort of action was taken by translators to transfer the blends into Arabic.

6.4 Conclusion

The major aim of this chapter was to provide a new interpretation of the translation of conceptual blends in the study corpus. A cognitive perspective has been used to highlight the semantic shifts in the translation of metaphorical expressions. The above analysis of the examples proposes that conceptual integration networks with their four mental spaces enable the analysts to determine the patterns of shift between the source and target language blends more accurately. In this explanatory study it has been observed that the most common trend in translating conceptual blends motivated by image schemas is to enrich or to impoverish blends. This can be performed by increasing the number of mental spaces involved in establishing the blend (cf.2009/21) or by replacing the image schema with a less schematic version (cf.2010/23). However, blends can maintain the same mental spaces used in forming the source language conceptual integration space (cf.2003/16).

In the second group in the analysis, it is obvious that the target language conceptual blends are more creative than their counterparts in the source language (cf.2004/14, 2004/8, 2005/23, 2016/22). This creativity is a result of intensifying the blends in the target language. Intensification is achieved by using different mental spaces with more semantic associations. Another observation regarding the translation of blends is the replacement of the single-scope blend with a simplex blend in the target language (cf.2003/16). The motivation of the shift in this example is ideological. The shift of the blend could be a consequence of the lack of the source language blend image in the target language and its culture (cf.2002/6). It is worth mentioning here that the use of cultural references may be considered as a strategic option in establishing efficient and creative blends, as in the cases of (2004/14) and (2004/8).

Based on the analysis above, I can conclude that CBT can be used as an analytical tool for examining metaphorical blends and their translation. The reason for this can be attributed to the detailed description that CBT theorists provide for metaphorical blends components. Comparing the blend components (input spaces 1 and 2, emergent structure and the conceptual blend) in the SL and the TL will enable analysts to accurately observe and determine the interactions of the blend elements in shaping the final conceptual blend.

Table 6-2 Summary of the translation of conceptual blends

Example No.	SL blend	TL blend	Human life	Image schema	Observation
6.1 (2004/14)	are on the path of democracy	يشق الشعبان الأفغاني والعراقي طريقهما		√	Intensifying the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema
6.2 (2004/8)	stabilize regions in turmoil	المناطق التي تعصف بها الاضطرابات		√	BALANCE image schema realised with rich image
6.3 (2008/21)	take innocent lives across the world.	ويحصد أرواح الأبرياء في جميع أنحاء العالم.		√	Take image schema into double-scope blend
6.4 (2003/16)	heart of the Middle East.	في قلب الشرق الأوسط.		√	Maintaining CENTRE-PERIPHERY / CORE image schema
6.5 (2005/23)	at the heart of the three great religions	في صميم الأديان العظيمة الثلاثة		√	Abstraction of CENTRE-PERIPHERY / CORE

					image schema in the target blend
6.6 (2016/22)	will rot from within	سوف يتفكك من الداخل.		√	Shifting the CORE rich image schema in the source language conceptual blend into more schematic image schema version of the same image schema
6.7 (2002/6)	broken treaties	ونكت المعاهدات		√	Changing the input space from the mental space of breaking into undoing spun. The shift from a simplex blend into single-scope blend. Maintain the

					vital relation cause-and- effect
6.8 (2002/7)	defended by all	لنظام أمن يدافع عن حياضه الجميع	√		The source language blend became more intense in the target language. The cognitive process is compression. Culture can assist the translator to perform conceptual operations
6.9 (2010/15)	unleashing the power	ونطلق العنان	√		Intensifying the blend
6.10 (2010/2)	United Nations family	أبناء أسرة الأمم المتحدة	√		Single-scope blend into simplex blend. The shift is ideologically motivated

6.11 (2003/19)	feeding old hatreds	إذكاء الأحقاد القديمة	√		Single-scope blend into double-scope blend
6.12 (2007/13)	chains of illiteracy and ignorance	برائن الأمية والجهل.	√		Shift in the mental space and vital relations
6.13 (2011/29)	stand in the other's shoes	عندما يضع كل جانبا نفسه مكان الأخر،	√		Dilute the blend because of cultural restraints. This can be achieved through using less idiomatic expression

As can be seen in the table above, different translation actions were taken to translate the conceptual blends into Arabic. We can see that there is no persistent action taken by the translators in transferring the examples above. Each case imposes different requirements on the translators.

7. Chapter Seven: Translating Conceptual Metaphors

7.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks answers to the second research question: What are the metaphorical choices opted for by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA? What are the source domains used to establish conceptual metaphors in these speeches? What are the translation approaches used to translate these metaphors into Arabic? This chapter also seeks to answer partially the fifth research question: In which ways does culture appear to affect the translator's selection of translational choices?

The chapter will also identify the linguistic metaphors and their conceptual patterns used by both G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA. The chapter also seeks to examine in what way these metaphors are translated into Arabic. As has been mentioned in the theoretical discussions of this thesis, previous work on translating English political metaphors into Arabic has only focused on the issue of translatability. In this thesis, the analysis will include the metaphorical expressions in both the SL and TL. This will assist in specifying what and where the shift in metaphors occurred. To achieve this, the Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) of Charteris-Black (2004) will be adopted as the theoretical approach to analyse the way metaphors have been established in the source texts. Charteris-Black argues that Critical Metaphor Analysis assists metaphor analysts to identify "which metaphors are chosen and to explain why these metaphors are chosen by illustrating how they create political myths" (Charteris-Black, 2011:48). Since context is of major importance in Critical Metaphor Analysis, a contextual background will be provided for each example. This will be followed by an interpretation of the metaphorical aspects of each metaphor. Two main parameters will be investigated when analysing the translated metaphors; namely the richness and mapping parameters.

7.2 Selection and analysis of examples

The process of selecting metaphors for the purpose of analysis in this chapter was made through specific rigorous steps. Firstly, the whole corpus was examined for Metaphorically Related Words (MRW). Secondly, these metaphorical expressions were categorised under the themes (target domains) they were used to reason about.

Examples of these target domains are: poverty, freedom, peace, war, economy, nuclear power and terrorism. Thirdly, the following step was to identify the type of metaphor based on its conceptual function. Metaphors could be ontological, structural and orientational. Ontological metaphors are the type of metaphors where we use well-known physical objects to reason about abstract concepts; for instance, when we talk about a mind in terms of a machine. In structural metaphors we use a well-delineated concept to reason about an abstract concept as when we talk about time as money ('you are wasting my time'). In the case of orientational metaphors we use spatial orientations (up, down, centre, periphery) to reason about abstract concepts. Due to the lack of space, it will not be possible to analyse all the examples extracted. Only a sample of those instances will be taken as a representative for each target domain. The criterion for the examples selection will be the mapping parameter (see section 2.3.5). By the mapping parameter, I mean the nature of the links the conceptualisers make between the source and target domains structural constitutive elements. The more incongruent and disparate those elements are, the more complex and creative the metaphors will be.

7.2.1 Metaphors of Poverty

One of the target domains, or themes, that G.W. Bush and Barack Obama raise in their speeches in the UN General Assembly is poverty. Poverty is a social burden that politicians seek to fight. It is one of the common concepts that is used by politicians to gain public support. Although the common-sense meaning of poverty is the lack of financial resources to obtain basic needs, politicians resort to more concrete conceptual domains to explicate its nature, the reasons for it and its effects. I assume poverty as a social phenomenon is more complex than our simple superficial understanding of lacking money. Being poor is being in a low position; poverty is a prison; poverty is a poisonous or harmful plant. These are all metaphorical mappings which are used by politicians to talk about various associations of the concept 'poverty'. Before proceeding on the analysis of poverty metaphorical examples, I will explain first the metaphors extracted and the basis on which the sample examples were nominated for analysis.

Table 7-1 Poverty metaphors

No.	SL example	Source domain	Arabic translation	Back-translation
2004/7	the United States and many other nations have acted to lift the crushing burden of debt that limits the growth of developing economies and holds millions of people in poverty . (Bush 2004)	Container image schema	فإنه يتعين على الولايات المتحدة والعديد من الدول أن تعمل على تخفيف عبء الديون الكاسح الذي يحد من نمو اقتصادات البلدان النامية ويجعل ملايين البشر رهينة الفقر.	The United States and many nations should work to alleviate the sweeping debt burden that limits the growth of developing countries' economies and makes millions of people as a hostage to poverty .
2006/2	hundreds of millions of people lifted out of desperate poverty . (Bush 2006)	Orientation	وانتشل مئات الملايين من البشر من براثن الفقر المدقع.	lifting of hundreds of millions of people from the claws of poverty .

2007/16	In the long run, the best way to lift people out of poverty is through trade and investment. (Bush 2007)	Orientation	وفي الأجل الطويل، فإن أفضل سبيل لانتشال الأشخاص من الفقر هي من خلال التجارة والاستثمار.	In the long term, the best way to lift people out of poverty is through trade and investment.
2009/46	And we will set our sights on the eradication of extreme poverty in our time. (Obama 2009)	Force image schema	وسوف ينصب تركيزنا على استئصال الفقر المدقع في عصرنا.	Our focus will be to eradicate extreme poverty in our age.
2010/30	America will partner with nations that offer their people a path out of poverty . (Obama 2010)	Journey	وستكون أمريكا شريكة للدول التي تقدم لشعبها مسارا للخروج من الفقر	America will be a partner to countries that offer their people a path out of poverty .
2010/34	a world where the promise of development reaches into the prisons of	Confinement	عالم يصل فيه الوعد بالتنمية إلى سجون الفقر والمرض	a world where the promise of development reaches the prisons of

	poverty and disease. (Obama 2010)			poverty and disease.
2014/4	Hundreds of millions of human beings have been freed from the prison of poverty, with the proportion of those living in extreme poverty cut in half. (Obama 2014)	Confinement	وتحرر مئات الملايين من البشر من أسر الفقر، مع انخفاض نسبة من يعيشون في الفقر المدقع إلى النصف	Hundreds of millions have been freed from the prison of poverty , with a decline of those who live in extreme poverty into a half.
2014/48	America is committed to a development agenda that eradicates extreme poverty by 2030. (Obama 2014)	Force image schema	وأمریکا ملتزمة بخطة التنمية للقضاء على الفقر المدقع بحلول عام 2030.	America is committed to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030.
2015/33	help economies lift people out of	Orientation	ومساعدة الاقتصادات على انتشال الناس من وهدة الفقر	to help the economies to pull out people

	poverty (Obama 2015)			from the lowest of poverty
2016/26	poverty in this country fell at the fastest rate in nearly 50 years. (Obama 2016)	Orientation	انخفض الفقر في هذا البلد بأسرع معدل في قرابة 50 عاما	Poverty in this country has fallen at the fastest rate in nearly 50 years
2016/28	Only then can we continue lifting all people up from poverty without condemning our children to a planet beyond their capacity to repair it. (Obama 2016)	Orientation	عندئذ فقط سيكون بمقدورنا أن نواصل انتشال جميع الناس من الفقر بدون أن نحكم على أطفالنا بكوكب لا قدرة لهم على إصلاحه.	Only then will we be able to continue lifting all people out of poverty without condemning our children to a planet that they cannot fix.

As the table above shows, the speakers use different source domains to reason about poverty. Examples (2015/33), (2007/16), (2006/2), (2016/26) and (2016/28) indicate that spatial source domain is the predominant domain used to map poverty metaphorically. The FORCE source domain is manifested in the use of the word ‘eradicate’ in two examples, (2009/46) and (2014/48). Similarly, the idea of POVERTY AS CONFINEMENT appears in two examples (2014/4) and (2010/34). Speakers use the JOURNEY source domain in one case (2010/30). The CONTAINER image schema is used in one example (2004/7).

Example7.1 (2016/28)

<p>Only then can we continue lifting all people up from poverty without condemning our children to a planet beyond their capacity to repair it. (Obama 2016)</p>	<p>عندئذ فقط سيكون بمقدورنا أن نواصل انتشال جميع الناس من الفقر بدون أن نحكم على أطفالنا بكوكب لا قدرة لهم على إصلاحه.</p>	<p>Only then will we be able to continue lifting all people out of poverty without condemning our children to a planet that they cannot fix.</p>
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In this part of his speech Barack Obama (2016) mentions how the improvement of the economic situations in Asia helped people there to change their economic position. Likewise, examples (2015/33), (2007/16), (2006/2), (2016/26) and (2016/28) apply identical spatial source domains. Therefore, the current example is representative of a spatiality case. Using the verb ‘lift’, speakers in these examples conceptualise poverty as being in a low position. Helping people economically implies lifting them from that low position. Lakoff (1980:462) suggests that such metaphors have a basis in the physical and cultural aspects of our lives. Concepts such as happiness, sadness, consciousness, unconsciousness, health and life, sickness and death, more and less are all structured using conceptual orientational metaphors.

It appears to be the case that the link between being in a difficult or good situation and the spatial domain is similar in Arabic. Sentences such as (وقف صامداً في وجه المحنة) (waqafa šāmīdn fy wajihi al-mihan) (he stood firm in the face of the adversity) and (يتزحزح من مكانه في المحن) (lam yatazaḥziḥ min makanihi fy al-maḥn) (he does not move from his position in hard times) (he does not move from his position in hard times) denote the positive attitude for people who face difficulties in their lives. Down orientation metaphors are used to express the opposite idea. Examples such as: (طرحته أرضاً) (ṭaraḥtuhu al-mashākil arḍn) (he has been laid off because of difficulties) and (لم ينهض من مكانه أثر تلك الضربة القاصمة) (lam yanḥḍ min makanihi aithra tilka al-ḍarbtī al-qaṣimah) (he could not stand because of that strong blow) indicate the negative outcomes that troubles could trigger.

In the target text, the translator has maintained the exact metaphor of that in the source language. As I mentioned above, the mapping of poverty to low position is a common concept in Arabic. The translation procedure triggers no shift in the target language text.

Example 7.2 (2014/4)

<p>Hundreds of millions of human beings have been freed from the prison of poverty, with the proportion of those living in extreme poverty cut in half. (Obama 2014)</p>	<p>وتحرر مئات الملايين من البشر من أسر الفقر، مع انخفاض نسبة من يعيشون في الفقر المدقع إلى النصف</p>	<p>Hundreds of millions have been freed from the captivity of poverty, with a decline of those who live in extreme poverty into a half</p>
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In this speech Barack Obama (2014) explicates the developments our world has experienced since the establishment of the United Nations. One of these improvements is the reduction of the number of people who live in poverty. Using the words ‘prison’ and ‘free from’ in examples (2014/4) and (2010/34), speakers conceptualise POVERTY AS CONFINEMENT. However, this example was selected as the conceptual metaphor of CONFINEMENT is more graphic. In his discussion of the issue, Obama describes ‘poverty’ as a prison people are kept in.

First, the basis of linking or mapping ‘poverty’ to ‘captivity’ needs to be explained. Exploring the metaphorical mappings from a cognitive angle will reveal the underlying relationship in this metaphor. As captive people or prisoners are restricted in their ability to move, poverty exerts the same effect on poor people. In other words, lack of financial resources functions as a restrictor to the potentials of poor people. Poor people cannot obtain a good education or good medication, and nor can they start a business. Their ability to get rid of poverty is restricted by the fact they have not enough resources.

Although the metaphorical understanding of poverty as a captivity or being poor as being in a prison is common in Arabic (a search in the Sketch Engine arTenTen12 corpus resulted in a concordance of about 300 metaphorical expressions of ‘prison of poverty’), the translator opted for a different metaphorical image. The addition of the word (أسر) (assr) (captivity) in the target language version has shifted the metaphorical meaning. Al-māny (المعاني) Arabic–Arabic online dictionary, explains that the meaning of the verb (أسر) is to capture someone in the battlefield and restrict their freedom. Hence, it is slightly different from putting someone in prison. The TLM can entail that being a poor person or ‘a captive of poverty’ is voluntary choice. Furthermore, such an understanding of poverty may encourage people to surrender to poverty.

Example 7.3 (2004/7)

<p>the United States and many other nations have acted to lift the crushing burden of debt that limits the growth of developing economies and holds millions of people in poverty. (Bush 2004)</p>	<p>فإنه يتعين على الولايات المتحدة والعديد من الدول أن تعمل على تخفيف عبء الديون الكاسح الذي يحد من نمو اقتصادات البلدان النامية ويجعل ملايين البشر رهينة الفقر.</p>	<p>The United States and many nations should work to alleviate the sweeping debt burden that limits the growth of developing countries’ economies and makes millions of people as a hostage to poverty.</p>
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This example has been selected for analysis as it implies an interesting shift in the TL version. G.W. Bush, in this example, uses the CONTAINER image schema to explain how financial debts keep poor countries poor. The CONTAINER metaphor manifested in the phrase ‘in poverty’. In the TL, the translator shifted this metaphorical perception into a richer image using the word (رهينة)(rahynah) (hostage). This personified sort of metaphor implies that debts contribute to making poor countries into hostages to poverty. The translator in the TL utilised a rich image metaphor instead of the more schematic version in the SL.

7.2.2 Metaphors of Peace

The target domain of ‘peace’ is one of themes that American politicians propagate regularly in the United Nations speeches. The simple understanding of ‘peace’ is that it is the absence of armed conflicts or violence locally, regionally or internationally. However, the ongoing conflicts our world is witnessing confirm that every party has its own understanding of peace. The role of metaphor as a cognitive and linguistic tool may help in deciphering the complexity of the peace concept.

Different metaphors are used to refer to ‘peace’. Politicians tend to use many conceptual domains to conceptualise it. For instance, doves and olive branches are symbolic images for ‘peace’. The ‘game’ metaphor is used to talk about loss or gain, tactics or strategies in peace negotiation processes (Bridgeman, 2002). Metaphors of ‘path’ and ‘building’ are used to legitimise and delegitimise political resolutions (Koteyko and Ryazanova-Clarke, 2009). G.W. Bush and Barack Obama use various domains to explain their views about peace metaphorically. The source domains used are ‘birth’, ‘journey’, ‘building’ and ‘movement’ image schema. The table below shows how the concept of peace is metaphorically conceptualised in the research corpus.

Table 7-2 Metaphors of Peace

No.	SL example	Source domain	Arabic translation	Back-translation
2003/25	and both point the way to peace , the peace that comes when all are free. (Bush 2003)	Journey	وتشير أيضاً إلى طريق السلام - السلام الذي يتحقق حينما يصبح الجميع احرارا	It also indicates the path to peace - the peace that is achieved when all are free
2004/19	Even after the setbacks and frustrations of recent months, good will and hard	Journey	وحتى بعد النكسات والإحباطات التي حدثت في الشهور الأخيرة، فإن حسن النية والجهد الشاق يمكن أن	Even after the setbacks and frustrations of recent months, goodwill and

	effort can achieve the promise of the road map to peace . (Bush 2004)		يحققا ما بشرت به خريطة الطريق إلى السلام.	hard effort can achieve what the roadmap to peace had promised.
2006/11	We respect your courage and your determination to live in peace and freedom . (Bush 2006)	Container	إننا نحترم شجاعتكم وتصميمكم على العيش في كنف السلام والحرية.	We respect your courage and determination to live in the shadow of peace and freedom .
2007/1	The Declaration opens by recognising the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom and justice and peace in the world. (Bush 2007)	Building	ويستهل هذا الإعلان بالاعتراف بالكرامة المتأصلة وبالحقوق المتساوية الثابتة لجميع أعضاء الأسرة البشرية كأساس للحرية والعدل والسلام في العالم.	This declaration opens with the recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as a foundation for freedom, justice and peace in the world.
2009/3	The technology we harness can light the path to peace , or forever darken it. (Obama 2009)	Journey	والتكنولوجيا التي نسخرها يمكن أن تثير السبيل إلى السلام، أو تلفه بالظلام إلى الأبد.	The technology we harness can light the path to peace or darken it forever.
2009/4	Because the time has come for the world to move in a new direction , we must embrace a new era of engagement based on mutual interests and mutual respect, (Obama 2009)	Journey	ولأن الأوان قد آن لكي ينطلق العالم في اتجاه جديد، يجب علينا أن نتبنى عهدا جديدا من المشاركة القائمة على المصالح المتبادلة والاحترام المتبادل،	Because the time has come for the world to embark on a new direction , we must embrace a new era of engagement based on mutual

				interests and mutual respect,
2009/6	America has worked steadily and aggressively to advance the cause of two States - Israel and Palestine -in which peace and security take root. (Obama 2009)	Planting	وعملت أمريكا بجد وفاعلية من أجل إحراز التقدم بشأن قضية وجود الدولتين - إسرائيل وفلسطين التي يستتب فيها الأمن والسلام	America has worked hard and efficiently to achieve progress regarding the existence of two states- Israel and Palestine -in which security and peace will settle.
2009/12	The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be a peace of large nations or of small nations. (Obama 2009)	Building	لا يمكن أن يُبنى هيكل السلام العالمي بعمل رجل واحد أو حزب واحد أو دولة واحدة . ولا يمكن أن يكون سلام الدول الكبيرة أو الدول الصغيرة.	The world peace structure cannot be built with the work of one man, one party, or one country. It cannot be peace for big countries or small countries.
2009/19	Together we must build new coalitions that bridge old divides (Bush 2009)	Building	ويجب أن نبنى معا تحالفات جديدة لسد الفجوات القديمة	Together, we must build new coalitions to bridge old gaps
2009/26	I am committed to diplomacy that opens a path to greater prosperity and more secure peace for both nations if they live	Journey	أنا ملتزم بالدبلوماسية التي تمهد الطريق لحياة أكثر ازدهارا وسلاما وأكثر أمنا لكنتا الدولتين إذا ارتقيتا إلى مستوى التزاماتهما.	I am committed to diplomacy that paves the way to a more prosperous, peaceful and safer life for both

	up to their obligations. (Obama 2009)			countries if they live up to their commitments.
2010/18	I refuse to accept that future. We all have a choice to make. Each of us must choose the path of peace . (Obama 2010)	Journey	وأنا أرفض قبول ذلك المستقبل . فلدينا جميعًا فرصة الاختيار. ولا بد لكل منا أن يختار طريق السلام.	And I refuse to accept that future. We all have a choice. Each of us must choose the path of peace .
2010/35	a future where the children of Israel and Palestine can build the peace that was not possible for their parents (Obama 2010)	Building	مستقبل يمكن فيه لأطفال إسرائيل وفلسطين أن يبنيوا السلام الذي كان ليس ممكنا لأبائهم	A future where the children of Israel and Palestine can build the peace which was not possible for their parents.
2011/13	to move decisively in the direction of peace . (Obama 2009)	Journey	للمسير بطريقة حاسمة في اتجاه السلام.	to march decisively towards peace .
2013/9	A peace process is stillborn . (Obama 2013)	Birth	وولدت عملية السلام ميتة.	the peace process was born dead
2014/1	We come together at a crossroad between war and peace, between disorder and integration, between fear and hope. (Obama 2014)	Journey	إننا نجتمع عند مفترق طرق بين الحرب والسلام، بين الفوضى والنظام، بين الخوف والأمل.	We meet at the crossroads between war and peace, between chaos and order, between fear and hope.
2014/17	Moreover, a different path is available - the path of diplomacy	Journey	وعلاوة على ذلك، فهناك مسار مختلف متاح – مسار الدبلوماسية والسلام،	Moreover, there is a different path available - the path of

	and peace , and the ideals that this institution is designed to uphold. (Obama 2014)		والمثل العليا التي تهدف هذه المؤسسة إلى دعمها.	diplomacy and peace , and the ideals that this institution aims to support.
2014/18	If Russia takes that path - a path that for stretches of the post-Cold War period resulted in prosperity for the Russian people - (Obama 2014)	Journey	وإذا سلكت روسيا ذلك المسار - المسار الذي امتد في فترة ما بعد الحرب الباردة وأدى إلى تحقيق الازدهار للشعب الروسي	And if Russia takes that path - the path that extended in the post-Cold War period and led to prosperity for the Russian people.
2014/19	That is the kind of cooperation we are prepared to pursue again, if Russia changes course . (Obama 2014)	Journey	وهذا هو نوع التعاون الذي نحن على استعداد لمواصلته مرة أخرى مع روسيا، إذا غيرت منهجها	And this is the kind of cooperation that we are ready to continue once again with Russia, if it changes its approach
2014/42	The good news is that we also see signs that the tide can be reversed . (Obama 2014)	Water	والخبر السار هو أننا نرى أيضا دلائل على إمكان عكس مسار هذا التيار.	The good news is that we are also seeing indications that this stream trend can be reversed .

As Table 7.2 shows, the speakers conceptualise peace metaphorically using different source domains. The domain of BUILDING was used in examples (2007/1), (2009/12), (2009/19), and (2010/35). The source domain of JOURNEY was the most frequent domain used to reason about peace. Examples of this domain are (2003/25), (2004/19), (2009/3), (2009/4), (2009/9), (2009/26), (2010/18), (2014/1), (2014/19), (2014/17) and (2014/18). Example (2009/6) was the only case where Obama used the PLANTING source domain to talk about peace, whereas in (2014/42) he opted for a different domain of WATER MOVEMENT (tide). In Example (2013/9) the failure of

the peace process was mapped metaphorically using the BIRTH domain. Below, there is a detailed analysis about the source domains used and their equivalents in Arabic.

Example 7.4 (2013/9)

<p>A peace process is stillborn. (Obama 2013)</p>	<p>ولدت عملية السلام ميتة.</p>	<p>the peace process was born dead.</p>
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This example was selected for analysis as it implies a very complex and interesting mapping between two entirely incongruent conceptual domains, namely ‘peace’ and ‘birth’ source domains. The context of the current example lies within the Syrian civil war. Obama (2013) argues that there is no aid process that can alleviate the suffering that Syrians are going through. He also explains that the peace negotiations have not succeeded in ending the war. To express his disappointment, Obama described the peace process as ‘Stillborn’. ‘Stillborn’ refers to a thing that ends before it has the chance to begin. The main conclusion that could be inferred from the stillbirth metaphor is that the chances for peace are diminishing. Additional entailments can be triggered from this metaphor. For instance, the peace negotiations did not get the chance to begin. The metaphor of stillbirth can also raise comparison of the negative and sad feelings that bereaved parents suffer with the state of sorrow and suffering when losing peace.

Cognitively speaking, more mappings can be deduced from linking the domains of ‘pregnancy’ and ‘peace process’. For instance, the period in which the foetus is taking shape can be mapped to the time in which parties negotiate peace. The pain of pregnancy can be mapped to the difficult phases where disagreements prevail between negotiators. The idea of ‘stillborn’ can also be used to map the idea of an end to hopes of peace or the evaporation of dreams of peace. A critical implication of this metaphor is that the opportunities for achieving peace are diminishing. The status quo of the Syrian civil war confirms this entailment.

In the target language, the translation maintained the original metaphorical expression. The translator selected the phrase (وُلِدَ مَيِّتًا) (wūlida maytan) (born dead) to express the idea of negotiation failure. Therefore, we can conclude that the peace process could be conceptualised as a child in both English and Arabic.

Example 7.5(2010/18)

<p>I refuse to accept that future. We all have a choice to make. Each of us must choose the path of peace. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>وأنا أرفض قبول ذلك المستقبل. فلدينا جميعًا فرصة الاختيار. ولا بد لكل منا أن يختار طريق السلام.</p>	<p>I refuse to accept that future. We all have a chance to select. Every one of us should select the path of peace.</p>
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This example is meant to be a representative case for the metaphorical related word ‘path’ which was used in five instances (2009/3, 2009/26, 2010/18, 2014/17, 2014/18) out of six examples using journey as their source domain. Journey is a very common source domain that politicians deploy in their political reasoning. Charteris-Black (2011:324) comments that:

Journeys are therefore a highly expressive source domain for political metaphor because they integrate basic cognitive schematic knowledge of daily experience of movement with other rich and varied knowledge of experiences that only sometimes occur when we go on journeys.

In this example, Obama (2010) insists that all parties should select peace as the ultimate solution for the Israeli-Arab conflict. The motive of this metaphor is the image schema source-path-goal. One of the prominent insights of the cognitive turn in studying metaphor is the role image schemas play in shaping political metaphors (Chilton, 2006). The function of using the journey metaphor here is to convey the meaning of progress in achieving peace. The entailment triggered through using the journey metaphor to talk about peace is that, as travellers may face difficulties during their journeys, peace brokers will encounter obstacles and constraints in their efforts to achieve peace.

In this example, the speaker conceptualises political options as paths. He insists that the best path is that which leads to peace. In the path metaphor, the parties involved in the peace negotiations can be mapped to travellers and journey obstacles can be mapped to negotiation stumbles.

The SLM has not changed in the TL. Literal translation technique has transferred the conceptual metaphor into the target language. I assume here that the linguistic manifestation of ‘peace as path’ reflects the validity of the conceptual thinking of peace as a journey in both languages. To validate this high degree of similarity in conceptualising peace as a journey metaphor, a search in the Arabic corpus (OPUS2Arabic) using the Arabic phrase (طريقُ السلام) (tariqu al-salām) (peace path) resulted in a concordance of 487 examples.

Example 7.6 (2010/35)

<p>... a future where the children of Israel and Palestine can build the peace that was not possible for their parents. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>مستقبل يمكن فيه لأطفال إسرائيل وفلسطين أن يبنيوا السلام الذي كان ليس ممكناً لأبائهم.</p>	<p>A future where the children of Israel and Palestine can build the peace which was not possible to their parents.</p>
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Examples (2007/1, 2009/12 and 2010/35) use the BUILDING source domain to talk about peace. They are approximately identical, and therefore example (2010/35) was selected randomly to explicate the mapping of the ‘building’ source domain into the ‘peace’ target domain. This metaphor embodies the notion of peace as a construction. Conceptualising peace as a construction or a building, Obama (2010) can evoke many novel meanings. The cognitive structural constituents of ‘building’ can be mapped to the conceptual constituents of the peace-making concept. As buildings can be erected or demolished, politicians can build peace or diminish it. Builders can be the peace-makers, the design of the building can be mapped to the final shape of the agreement, and so on. Charteris-Black (2004:96) suggests that the building metaphor can indicate the meaning of progress. Unlike in the case of the journey metaphor, where the

progress is on a horizontal scale, the progress in the building metaphor is of a vertical nature.

It is noticeable that the literal translation has maintained the building metaphor in Arabic. Consequently, this may defy the claim that literal translation cannot be an alternative translation strategy to render metaphors between different languages and cultures (Abu-Ain, 2014:86).

Example 7.7 (2009/19)

<p>Together we must build new coalitions that bridge old divides Obama (2009)</p>	<p>ويجب أن نبني معا تحالفات جديدة لسد الفجوات القديمة</p>	<p>Together, we must build new coalitions to bridge old gaps</p>
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This example belongs to the building source domain, however it is different from (2009/12) and (2010/35) as it includes a shift in the target language translation. The context of this extract denotes Obama’s (2009) conviction that old divides are the main reasons for disputes in our world. Solving these differences will lead to peace. Using the word ‘bridge’ indicates that the conflicted parties are on two different separated pieces of land. In order that they meet, they need a means that can make their meeting possible. In this example the speaker opts for the bridge to be this means. This scenario is a reflection of the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL RIVALS ARE ON SEPARATED LANDS. It also instantiates the conceptual metaphor PEACE IS A CONSTRUCTION. To bridge a gap between rivals, we need first to create communication channels (metaphorically to build bridges). The basic meaning of the word ‘bridge’ (as a verb), in OMEED, is to make something possible by getting rid of differences. This example gives rise to an interesting issue regarding identifying Metaphorically Related Words in language. Marhula and Rosinski (2014:36) explain that:

MIPVU, unlike MIP, takes into account the grammatical word class. For example, according to MIPVU, the basic sense of the verb to dog cannot be established with

reference to the animal referent because the noun and the verb are two distinct lexical units. According to its dictionary definition, the verb to dog in its basic sense denotes a kind of action performed by humans (MD). Thus, the verb to dog when used in its basic sense, should not be marked as a Metaphorically Related Word (MRW).

This example raises an interesting issue regarding the grammatical categories of words in MIPVU. Steen et al. (2010a:17) confirm that “in our procedure the noun cannot provide a basic sense against which any contextual sense of the verb can be identified as metaphorical since these are different lexical units.” However, Gibbs (2013: 319) argues that “People speak metaphorically to the extent that they do, because they think metaphorically about many abstract ideas and events.” Using the verb ‘to bridge’ in this context is a result of thinking metaphorically about the political differences. Thus, the question here is: if the word ‘bridge’ is not intentionally used in an indirect manner, why does the speaker not verbalise the idea literally? It is possible to say for instance ‘Together we must build new coalitions that end/overcome old divides’. The meaning of the verb ‘to bridge’ has a different meaning from the basic meaning stated above. The meaning intended is ‘to transfer from state 1 (conflict) into state 2 (peace)’.

In the target language text, the translator has opted for a different linguistic metaphor but maintained the same conceptual domain of ‘building’. The phrase (سدُّ الفجوات) (sadd al-fajawāt) refers to ‘filling the gaps’. In building and construction, gaps may cause a threat to the whole enterprise. Engineers usually assure that there are no gaps left in the foundation works. These gaps can cause cracks which threaten the stability of the building. The mapping in the target language shifted from the ‘bridge’ domain into ‘filling gaps’. The TLM is less rich with associations than that of the source language metaphor. The bridge metaphor includes people on different pieces of land, and they are willing to reach each other. To do so, they need to cross the divided line using a bridge. It is clear that more associations and images are triggered by the SLM than that in the target language.

Example 7.8 (2009/6)

<p>America has worked steadily and aggressively to advance the cause of two states - Israel and Palestine - in which peace and security take root. Obama (2009)</p>	<p>وعملت أمريكا بجد وفاعلية من أجل إحراز التقدم بشأن قضية وجود الدولتين - إسرائيل وفلسطين التي يستتب فيها الامن والسلام</p>	<p>America has worked hard and efficiently to achieve progress regarding the existence of two states- Israel and Palestine - which security and peace will settle in.</p>
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In this example Obama (2009) describes the suggestion of two states as the ideal solution for the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. The mapping process in the SLM describes the two states solution as the soil where peace can take root. The metaphorical mapping entails that peace is like a plant that seeks a fertile soil to grow in properly. The linguistic metaphors indicate that they are instantiations of the conceptual metaphors INDEPENDENT STATES ARE FERTILE SOIL FOR PEACE AND SECURITY and THE PEACE PROCESS IS A SEED.

In the target language, both metaphors have been replaced by the conceptual metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS. The shift occurred as a result of using the verb (يستتبُّ) (yastatibu) (to settle). According to Al-māny (المعاني) Arabic-Arabic dictionary, one of the meanings of the word (استتب) (astataba) is (استقر) (astaqara) to settle. The metaphorical meaning that the verb (يستتبُّ) (yastatibu) (to settle) in this case is that the two states have been conceptualised as containers where a liquid (peace, in this case) is settled. The translation procedure has shifted the rich metaphor of soil and planting (it is rich in sense that more associations of meanings are embedded in this metaphorical expression) into a less rich image schema.

Example 7.9 (2006/11)

<p>We respect your courage and your determination to live in peace and freedom. (Bush 2006)</p>	<p>إننا نحترم شجاعتكم وتصميمكم على العيش في كنف السلام والحرية.</p>	<p>We respect your courage and determination to live in the shadow of peace and freedom.</p>
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In this metaphor, G.W. Bush talks to the people of Afghanistan, thanking them for their efforts to fight the Taliban, encouraging them to make peace and appreciating their efforts to defend democracy. The metaphorical focus in the SL metaphor is the phrase ‘in peace and freedom’. From the cognitive point of view, this phrase motivates the image schema of CONTAINER. Peace and freedom are conceptualised as containers that Afghani people live in. In the TL, the translator opted for a richer image alternative than the schematic one in the SL. Al-māny (المعاني) Arabic-Arabic dictionary suggests several meanings of the word (كنف) (kanaf), among them (الظل) (al-ẓil) (shadow). This indicates that the speaker conceptualises freedom and peace as trees under which the Afghani people enjoy their shade. This shift from image schema metaphors into rich images is different from cases such as (2007/6) where the SLM and the TLM maintain the same CONTAINER image schema.

7.2.3 Metaphors of War

Metaphor as a linguistic and cognitive device is of paramount importance in mobilising resources for war (Eubanks, 2000; Silberstein, 2002). Howe (1988) states that a considerable amount of American presidents’ rhetoric stems from the domain of war. Bates (2004) argues that the metaphors of savage and civilisation contributed in mobilising the international support for the first Iraq war in 1991.

The majority of previous studies of war metaphors have focused on the concept of warfare as a source domain that structures or frames the way people talk about different issues. Researchers such as (Chiang and Duann, 2007; Flusberg et al., 2017) examined how the war domain was useful in elaborating various topics. It is also adopted by governmental bodies and non-governmental organisations to declare policies

(Flusberg et al., 2017). This raises the question of why the domain of war is so pervasive in talking about different themes. Flusberg et al. (2018) argue that war metaphors have the ability to use properly our basic and schematic knowledge to debate or argue about situations involving opposing parties. Barrett (2007:5) argues that war metaphors can have a positive impact, such as ‘the war on breast cancer’. Such a war will increase the awareness of this disease, new drugs and wider screening. However, we cannot overlook the other side of war metaphors. They may have counterproductive results, as well. For instance, to describe cancer patients as losing their fight against the disease is a harsh metaphor. One of the implications of war metaphor in this context is the patient’s feelings of weakness and guilt that they did not combat the cancer bravely (Flusberg et al., 2018:9).

This section of the analysis will touch on ‘war’ as a target domain. We will examine how two American presidents express their conventions of war metaphorically. Table 7.3 includes the examples of war metaphors in the research corpus. Since all the metaphors are of the ontological type, only two examples were taken to be representative of this group of war metaphors.

Table 7-3 Metaphors of war

No.	SL example	Source domain	Arabic translation	Back-translation
2001/10	For every regime that sponsors terror there is a price to be paid , and it will be paid . (Bush2001)	Money	وهناك ثمن يجب أن يدفعه كل نظام يرعى الإرهاب، وسيدفع ذلك الثمن.	And there is a cost that every regime that sponsors terror must pay , and it will pay that price.

2009/16	...rooted in the cleavages of a long-gone Cold War . (Obama 2009)	Temperature	... التي تعود جذورها إلى انقسامات الحرب الباردة	...that have their roots in the Cold War
2009/32	We must remember that the greatest price of this conflict is not paid by us. It is not paid by politicians. (Obama 2009)	Money	ويجب أن نتذكر أن أفدح ثمن لهذا الصراع لم نتكبده نحن. ولم يتكبده الساسة.	We have to remember that the highest cost for this conflict was not paid by us. It will not be paid by politicians
2011/8	So let there be no doubt: the tide of war is receding . (Obama 2011)	Water	ولذلك يجب ألا يكون هناك أي شك: إن موجة الحرب تتحسر.	So there should be no doubt: the wave of war is receding .
2011/3	we cannot avoid having war brought upon us if there are convulsions in other parts of the world. (Obama 2011)	Movement image schema	لا يمكننا تجنب الحرب التي تُفرض علينا إذا كانت هناك اضطرابات عنيفة في أجزاء أخرى من العالم.	we cannot avoid a war imposed on us if there are violent unrest in other parts of the world.
2014/20	will we solve our problems together in a spirit of mutual interest and	Movement image schema	هل سنتوصل معا إلى حل لمشاكلنا بروح الاهتمام المشترك والاحترام المتبادل، أم سننحدر إلى	Will we together find a solution to our problems in the spirit of

	mutual respect, or will we descend into the destructive rivalries of the past? (Obama 2014)		مستوى المنافسات المدمرة في الماضي؟	mutual interest and mutual respect, or will we descend to the level of devastating rivalries in the past?
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Both speakers have scarcely used metaphors to talk about war. Two examples were selected to be analysed, (2009/32) and (2011/8), as the mappings conducted to establish these metaphors are more complex than the ones used in (2009/16), (2011/3), (2001/11) and (2014/20).

Example 7.10 (2009/32)

We must remember that the greatest price of this conflict is not paid by us. It is not paid by politicians. (Obama 2009)	ويجب أن نتذكر أن أفدح ثمن لهذا الصراع لم نتكبد نحن. ولم يتكبد السياسة،	We have to remember that the highest cost for this conflict was not paid by us. It will not be paid by politicians
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This extract is centred on the Israeli-Arab conflict. Obama (2009) explains the consequences of the conflict in terms of cost-and-effect logic. In a simple sense, war is associated with destruction. The infrastructure of a country has been established with money paid by tax payers; demolishing it in a war is in fact a material loss for citizens. This is the price that will be paid. There is an additional, different type of cost or price that will be paid; it is the damage suffered by individuals. Wars usually create a state of fear, anxiety, and uncertainty among people. Actually, these feelings may develop into serious diseases. All of these consequences are losses that will be incurred by a nation during and after wars.

Mapping the domain of ‘money’ into ‘war’ can result in the conceptual metaphor WAR IS BUSINESS. The source domain of ‘business’ enables us to talk about the target domain of ‘war losses’. In this case, the ‘paying’ structural element is mapped to the consequences resulting from war. Lakoff (1991) argues that the WAR IS BUSINESS metaphor has been used to justify the war on Iraq.

The translation technique opted for by the translator is literal technique. This technique contributed to maintaining the same linguistic and conceptual metaphor in the target text. However, the translator used the word (تكبد) (takabda) (paid by) which in Arabic occasionally associates with the negative side of paying money for losses. The translator managed to expose to the reader the negative aspect of the metaphor, i.e. the losses caused by wars. However, the sense of loss was not explicit in the source language.

Example 7.11 (2011/8)

<p>So let there be no doubt: the tide of war is receding. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>ولذلك يجب أن لا يكون هناك أدنى شك أن موجة الحرب تتحسر</p>	<p>Therefore, there should be no doubt that the wave of war is receding</p>
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In the frame of changing the strategic policies of the USA, President Obama (2011) in this extract announces that his country will reduce its military forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. The reason for the change in foreign policy can be attributed to the defeat of Al-Qaida and the decline of violence in Iraq at that time. This announcement was a critical point in the history of the American war on terror as it brought an end to a decade of war in the Middle-East and Asia.

The linguistic metaphor used to talk about war in this instance is ‘the tide of war’. The contextual meaning of the word ‘tide’ here is that the tendency to go to war is declining due to the diminution of terrorist activities. In this case, the conceptualiser exploits our experience of the ‘water’ domain to talk about strategic war plans. In other words, the concrete knowledge of water movement helps in communicating a less delineated

abstract issue. The mapping process conducted between the domains in question is a manifestation of a very specific cognitive pattern MILITARY ACTIVITIES ARE WAVES. One possible reason for using the ‘tide’ metaphor is to highlight the force and momentum that tides create.

In the target language the translation of the ‘tide’ metaphor was slightly shifted. The translator selected (موجةُ الحرب) (mawjatu al-ḥarb) (wave of war) as an equivalent for the tide of war. Although tides and waves are different in terms of the forces that form them (gravity and wind), they both belong to the same domain of ‘water’. As tides can be strong, so waves can be strong and big in size. Both can express the change or transfer from one particular state into another. The richness of the source and the target language metaphors is equal. Both metaphors are created based on the conceptualisers’ propositional knowledge of the ‘water’ domain.

7.2.4 Metaphors of Economy

Conceptual metaphors are of paramount importance when talking about the economy. They facilitate grasping the abstract concepts and complex economic relations (Rojo López and Orts Llopis, 2010; Charteris-Black, 2004). Terms such as ‘recession’, ‘liquidity’, ‘economic boom’, ‘economic growth’ and ‘economic bail-out’, are all metaphorical concepts which have been used to give meaning to very complex economic phenomena.

Economy is one of the most frequently raised topics in the research corpus. This is to be expected as the economy is the driving factor in the world’s prosperity.

Table 7-4 Metaphors of Economy

No.	SL example	Source domain	Arabic translation	Back-translation
2007/17	Open markets ignite growth, encourage	Fire	فالأسواق المفتوحة تلهب النمو وتشجع الاستثمار وتزيد الشفافية وتعزز سيادة	The open markets blaze the

	investment, increase transparency, strengthen the rule of law and help countries help themselves. (Bush 2007)		القانون وتساعد البلدان على مساعدة أنفسهم.	growth and encourage investment and increase transparency and enhance the rule of law and help countries help themselves
2008/18	The Federal Reserve has injected urgently needed liquidity into the system. (Bush 2008)	Disease	لقد ضخ المصرف الاحتياطي الاتحادي في النظام المالي السيولة الضرورية والعاجلة .	The Federal Reserve has pumped the needed and urgent liquidity
2009/7	to bring the global economy back from the brink . (Obama 2009)	Personification	لإنقاذ الاقتصاد العالمي من حافة الهاوية .	to save the global economy from the brink of the abyss .
2009/31	As a result of these efforts on both sides, the economy in the West Bank has	Growth	ونتيجة لتلك الجهود من الجانبين، فإن الاقتصاد في الضفة الغربية بدأ في النمو.	As a result of these efforts on both sides, the economy in the West

	begun to grow. (Obama 2009)			Bank has begun to grow.
2009/41	The world is still recovering from the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. (Bush 2009)	Disease	أن العالم ما يزال يتعافى من أسوأ أزمة اقتصادية يشهدها منذ الكساد الكبير.	The world is still recovering from the worst economic crisis witnessed since Great Depression
2010/4	a financial crisis on Wall Street devastated American families on Main Street (Obama 2010)	Destruction	حطمت الازمة المالية في شارع الشركات المالية ولستريت حياة العائلات الامريكية في الشوارع العامة لمدننا	The economic crisis in the financial Wall Street has devastated the life of American families.
2010/5	The global economy suffered an enormous blow during the	Fighting	وعانى الاقتصاد العالمي خلال الأزمة المالية من ضربة هائلة	The global economy suffered during the financial crisis a

	financial crisis (Obama 2010)			massive blow
2010/9	The global economy has been pulled back from the brink of a depression (Obama 2010)	Geography	لقد تم انتشار الاقتصاد العالمي من حافة السقوط في كساد شديد،	The global economy has been pulled from the brink of recession
2010/10	But we cannot -and will not- rest until these seeds of progress grow into a broader prosperity, not only for all Americans but for peoples around the world. (Obama 2010)	Planting	أنا لا نستطيع ولن يهدأ لنا بال إلى أن تنمو بذور التقدم هذه وتصبح رخاء أوسع لجميع الأمريكيين فحسب ، وإنما لجميع الشعوب في أنحاء العالم كافة.	We cannot and will not rest until these seeds of progress grow and become a broader prosperity not only for all Americans, but for all people around the world.
2010/24	Today, as in past times of economic downturn, some put	Orientation	واليوم، كما في أوقات الهبوط الاقتصادي في الماضي، يضع البعض حقوق الإنسان جانبا تيمنا بوعده الاستقرار القصير.	Today, as in times of economic downturn in the past,

	human rights aside for the promise of short-term stability. (Obama 2010)			some people put human rights aside after the promise of short-term stability
2010/36	a future where the cloud of recession gives way to the light of renewal, (Obama 2010)	Weather	مستقبل تنفّش فيه غيوم الركود الاقتصادي أمام ضوء التجدد،	A future where the clouds of recession disperse in front of the light of renewal,
2010/50	No country can afford the corruption that plagues the world like a cancer. (Obama 2010)	Disease	وما من بلد يستطيع أن يتحمّل الفساد الذي يجتاح العالم مثل السرطان.	No country can tolerate corruption sweeping the globe like cancer
2011/44	Around the world recovery is still fragile. Markets remain volatile. (Obama 2011)	Disease	فالانتعاش العالمي مازال هشاً حول العالم. والأسواق لا تزال متقلبة.	Global recovery remains fragile around the world. Markets

				remain volatile.
2011/46	<p>leaders face a different challenge as they shift their economy towards more self-reliance, boosting domestic demand while slowing inflation. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>Movement image schema</p>	<p>يواجه القادة تحديا مختلفا فيما يحولون وجهة اقتصادهم نحو زيادة الاعتماد على الذات، وتعزيز الطلب المحلي مع العمل على إبطاء التضخم</p>	<p>leaders face a different challenge as they shift their economy's orientation towards increasing self-reliance, boosting domestic demand while working to slow inflation.</p>
2013/2	<p>Now, five years after the global economy collapsed and thanks to coordinated efforts by the countries here today (Obama 2013)</p>	<p>Structures</p>	<p>والآن، وبعد مرور خمس سنوات على انهيار الاقتصاد العالمي، وبفضل الجهود المنسقة التي تبذلها البلدان الممثلة هنا اليوم،</p>	<p>Now, five years after the global economy collapsed, and thanks to the concerted efforts of the countries represented here today,</p>

2014/5	And the world economy continues to strengthen after the worst financial crisis of our lives. (Obama 2014)	Strength	والاقتصاد العالمي يزداد قوة بعد أسوأ أزمة مالية شهدناها في حياتنا.	And the global economy is getting stronger after the worst financial crisis we have ever seen.
2014/44	because ultimately those investments are the best antidote to violence. (Obama 2014)	Disease	لأن هذه الاستثمارات هي أفضل ترياق للعنف في نهاية المطاف.	because these investments are the ultimate antidote to violence.
2015/35	When a free media can inform the public, corruption and abuse are exposed and can be rooted out. (Obama 2015)	Planting	وعندما تتمكن الصحافة الحرة من توعية الجمهور، ينكشف الفساد وإساءة استخدام السلطة ويمكن اجتثاثهما.	When a free press can educate the public, corruption and abuse of power are exposed and can be eliminated.

2016/1	<p>From the depths of the greatest financial crisis of our time, we coordinated our response to avoid further catastrophe and return the global economy to growth (Obama 2016)</p>	Growth image schema	<p>لقد نهضنا من أعماق أكبر أزمة مالية في عصرنا، وقمنا بتنسيق استجابتنا لتجنب حدوث كارثة إضافية وإعادة نمو الاقتصاد العالمي.</p>	<p>We have risen from the depths of the greatest financial crisis of our time, and we have coordinated our response to avoid an additional catastrophe and re-grow the global economy.</p>
2016/11	<p>In order to move forward, however, we do have to acknowledge that the existing path to global integration requires a course correction. (Obama 2016)</p>	Journey	<p>لكن علينا، من أجل المضي قدما، أن نقر بأن الطريق القائمة صوب التكامل العالمي تتطلب تصحيح المسار.</p>	<p>But, in order to move forward, we must recognise that the path towards global integration requires a correction.</p>

2016/15	It starts with making the global economy work better for all people and not just for those at the top . (Obama 2016)	Orientation	إنها تبدأ بتحسين أداء الاقتصاد العالمي لصالح جميع الشعوب وليس لمن هم في القمة فقط.	It begins by improving the performance of the global economy for the benefit of all peoples, not just those at the top .
2016/17	central planned control of the economy is a dead end . (Obama 2016)	Journey	أن السيطرة المخططة مركزيا على الاقتصاد طريق مسدود.	Centrally planned control of the economy is a dead end .
2016/20	It does not require succumbing to a soulless capitalism that benefits only the few (Obama 2016)	Personification	ولا يتطلب الخضوع للرأسمالية العديمة الرحمة التي تعود بالنفع على القلة فقط،	It does not require submission to the ruthless capitalism that benefits only the few,
2016/23	That is why we have pushed for transparency and cooperation in rooting out corruption and tracking illicit	Planting	وهذا هو السبب الذي جعلنا نشجع على الشفافية والتعاون في استئصال الفساد وتعقب الأموال غير المشروعة،	This is why we encourage transparency and cooperation in

	dollars (Obama 2016)			eradicating corruption and tracking illegal money
2016/34	economies can only grow to a certain point (Obama 2016)	Growth	لا يمكن للاقتصادات أن تنمو إلاّ لنقطة محددة،	Economies can only grow to a specific point

The table shows that ‘disease’ (2008/18, 2009/41, 2010/50, 2011/44, 2014/44) and image schema source domains (2009/31, 2011/37, 2016/1, 2016/34) are the most common domains used by both speakers to talk metaphorically about economy; then come the ‘personification’ (2009/7, 2010/9, 2016/20) and ‘planting’ (2010/10, 2015/35, 2016/23) source domains. ‘Journey’ (2016/11, 2016/17) and ‘orientation’ source domains (2010/24, 2016/15) are used equally. The least used domains are ‘weather’ (2010/36), ‘fire’ (2007/17), ‘structure’ (2013/2) and ‘fighting’ (2010/5). This analysis will be restricted to the unconventional metaphors in the table, or metaphors with complex mappings (see section 2.3.5).

Example 7.12 (2009/41)

The world is still recovering from the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. (Obama 2009)	أن العالم ما يزال يتعافى من أسوأ أزمة اقتصادية يشهدها منذ الكساد الكبير.	The world is still recovering from the worst economic crisis witnessed since the great depression.
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President Obama (2009) urges the United Nations member states to do more to improve the economic situations for their people. In his elaboration about the global

economic status he mentions that the world economy is improving after experiencing a huge blow. To communicate the idea of improving in a less technical manner, Obama describes our world as a sick person who has suffered a serious disease, but is now recovering. The cause of the world's illness is the economic crisis. Cognitively speaking, two conceptual metaphors are instantiated in this example. The first is THE WORLD IS A SICK PERSON and the second THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A DISEASE. These metaphors entail that the sick body needs a diagnosis, a treatment and a follow-up by specialists. Charteris-Black (2000:157) calls this type of metaphor anthropomorphic as it describes "inanimate entities as if they were animate". Charteris-Black (ibid:157) claims the 'economy as a sick person' metaphor entails that "the economy is a passive entity whose condition can be influenced by the right decisions; this perception permits the economist to present himself as a doctor or surgeon who can take an active role in influencing economic events". Silaski and Durovic (2010) conducted a study to examine the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A (SICK) PERSON in both Serbian and English. They concluded that there is a noticeable similarity in the way English and Serbian languages conceptualise economies in trouble. They both use the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON. Wang et al. (2013) conducted a similar study to find out how the Russian and British economic press dealt with the 2008 economic crisis. The two conceptual metaphors examined are ECONOMIC CRISIS IS A LIVING ORGANISM and ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON. They concluded that there is a great resemblance in the way the British and the Russian press describe the economic downturn. However, a slight difference was noticed in the way lexical items realised these conceptual patterns.

In the target language the literal translation technique is adopted again in this example. The meaning of the word (يتعافى) (yata fá) (recover) in this context is used to express the state of regaining health after being sick. However, the use of the word is not restricted to human beings only; it can be used for any living object. In terms of mapping and richness parameters, the translator has maintained the exact mappings conducted in the source language metaphor. Both source language and target language metaphors enjoy an equal level of richness. By richness I mean the number of associations attached to or triggered by a conceptual metaphor. This metaphor is highly rich as, when we describe a financial crisis as a disease, it triggers several semantic

associations, such as the symptoms of the disease, causes, treatment and any preventive procedure that can reduce side-effects. It is worth mentioning here that the richness of the metaphor is not merely about the mental images evoked by it. It also refers to the networks of new associations that are established as a consequence of thinking of concept X in terms of concept Y.

Example 7.13 (2014/44)

<p>And we will expand our programmes to support entrepreneurship and civil society, education and youth, because ultimately those investments are the best antidote to violence. (Obama 2014)</p>	<p>وسوف نوسع نطاق برامجنا لدعم ريادة الأعمال والمجتمع المدني، والتعليم والشباب، لأن هذه الاستثمارات هي أفضل ترياق للعنف في نهاية المطاف.</p>	<p>We will expand the scope of our programmes to support entrepreneurship and civil society, education and youth. Eventually these investments are the best antidote for the violence.</p>
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In an elaboration about the USA policy to fight terrorism, Obama (2014) suggests that the economic investment in a number of different sectors will be the perfect solution for ending radicalisation of young people. He is convinced that this is the best option ever as he describes it as an antidote. Hence, the conceptual metaphor established is RADICALISATION/TERRORISM IS A DISEASE and ECONOMIC INITIATIVES ARE ANTIDOTES. Using a ‘poison’ metaphor may indicate two issues here. First is the speaker’s knowledge of the cause and severity of the problem. Second, this metaphor urges the international community to make a quick move as a slower reaction will accelerate the spread of disease in the body. In this way, metaphor does not only explicate an ambiguous reality, but also plays a significant role in creating one.

The mapping of ‘antidote’ and ‘reforming economic programmes’ is of a novel or original type. However, novelty is not an unchallenged issue and novelty is perceived differently from one individual to another (Papadoudi, 2010:29). What is a novel metaphor for one user may be a conventional one for another user. The level of originality or novelty depends on factors such as the cultural background of both the

conceptualiser and the receiver, their education levels, political affiliations etc. Gibbs (2017) thinks that the originality or conventionality of a metaphor depends on the frequency of the usage. The more widespread a metaphor is, the less unconventional it will be. I believe that metaphor as an indirect type of language usage is still metaphor whatever the levels of familiarity for its users. We cannot deny the metaphoricity of expressions such as ‘the opposition attacked the president for his later resolutions’ because of their high degree of conventionality. In the TLM, and similar to the previous examples, the same metaphor has been retained through the literal translation technique. The meaning of the word ترياق (taryāq) in Arabic denotes the exact meaning of ‘antidote’.

Example 7.14 (2010/4)

<p>a financial crisis on Wall Street devastated American families on Main Street. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>حطمت الازمة المالية في شارع الشركات المالية وول ستريت حياة العائلات الامريكية في الشوارع العامة لمدننا</p>	<p>the economic disaster in the financial street Wall Street has devastated the life of American families.</p>
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The basic meaning of the verb ‘to devastate’ is of a concrete nature whereas the contextual meaning indicates an abstract state. The verb ‘devastated’ has been utilised to indicate the severe damage caused by the financial crisis. The novel meaning emergent in this example is a manifestation of the conceptual metaphor FINANCIAL CRISES ARE NATURAL DISASTERS. The second metaphorical expression used in this example is ‘Wall Street’. The metonymic expression ‘Wall Street’ is used as an iconic term to represent the American financial and banking sector. It is worth mentioning here the perception of metonym in the CMT. In contrast to the traditional view that the function of metonymy in language is only of a referential nature, some metaphor scholars suggest that it also helps to provide understanding of particular abstract concepts (Knowles and Moon, 2004; Zheng, 2014; Littlemore, 2015). Cognitive linguists (Kövecses, 2002; Deignan, 2005) believe that metonymy and conceptual metaphors are highly similar in terms of the cognitive process they perform. Unlike conceptual metaphors, where the mapping or cognitive link is made

between two domains, conceptual metonyms conduct the link or mapping in the same semantic domain (Steen, 2007).

In the target language text, the metaphor and metonymy have received slightly different treatment. The conceptual metaphor FINANCIAL CRISES ARE NATURAL DISASTERS has been preserved in the target text through using the same verb ‘devastated’ (حطمت) (ḥaṭmat) (destroy). The conceptual metonymy ‘Wall Street’ has been shifted into a conceptual metonymy plus sense. The translator added (شارع الشركات المالية) (shār al-sharkiāt al-mālyh) (street of financial corporations) which is an explanation for ‘Wall Street’. In a similar vein, the metaphorical metonymic ‘Main Street’ has been translated into (الشوارع العامة) (alshawarā alāmah) (general streets). However, the intended meaning of ‘Main Street’ in this context is ‘the streets where the important businesses and big retailers exist’.

Example 7.15 (2010/50)

<p>No country can afford the corruption that plagues the world like a cancer. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>وما من بلد يستطيع أن يتحمل الفساد الذي يجتاح العالم مثل السرطان.</p>	<p>No country can tolerate corruption sweeping the globe like cancer</p>
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One of the destructive factors that humble the growth and progress of any society is corruption. According to United Nations anticorruption bodies, the value of corruption represents 5 per cent of the global GDP.⁶

Recognising the risks of this issue on the global economy, Obama (2010) describes it as a cancer. The majority of examples of cancer metaphor in the corpus are linked to political or security issues such as terrorism. Using the cancer metaphor in political

⁶ (<http://www.un.org/en/events/anticorruptionday/index.shtml>).

discourse denotes that the issues in question are “disturbing, growing, and life threatening” (Meisenberg and Meisenberg, 2015).

The conceptual metaphor that results from describing ‘corruption’ in terms of ‘cancer’ will be HUMAN SOCIETIES ARE LIVING BODIES. The linguistic metaphors in this extract raise two issues. The first one is of an ethical nature. I assume that mapping ‘corruption’ (which is an immoral act) to ‘cancer’ may have a negative bearing on a cancer patient’s psychological well-being when they hear or read this metaphor. The second issue is of a technical nature. The metaphorical focus in this example lies in the phrase ‘like cancer’. The traditional view of figurative language considers this phrase to be a simile. However, CL and conceptual theory scholars treat the traditional simile as a metaphor. This is attributed to the fact that the phrase ‘corruption like a cancer’ still establishes the cross-domain mappings between ‘cancer’ and ‘corruption’.

The mapping of the conceptual domains of ‘corruption’ and ‘cancer’ can be created through linking many constitutional structures of the domains concerned. For instance, the fast spreading of cancer in the body can be mapped to the spread of corruption in the society. As cancer requires a considerable time of therapy, corruption needs substantial time to be eliminated. However, there is a significant element that is missing in this metaphor. It is the cause of corruption and the corrupted individuals. This goes in line with the “invariance principle” where not all corresponding elements between domains can be mapped. The target language text retained the same linguistic metaphor. Similar to the previous examples, the translator opts for the direct equivalent of the word ‘cancer’ in Arabic, which is (سرطان)(saratān). It is common in Arabic language to use the word (سرطان)(saratān) (cancer) to talk about social or political problems.

Example 7.16 (2008/18)

<p>The Federal Reserve has injected urgently needed liquidity into the system. (Bush 2008)</p>	<p>لقد ضخ المصرف الاحتياطي الاتحادي في النظام المالي السيولة الضرورية والعاجلة.</p>	<p>The Federal Reserve has pumped the needed and urgent liquidity</p>
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The financial crisis was a critical event for the American economy. In his speech, G.W. Bush (2008) explains the required steps that will be taken to save the American economy from collapse. One of the steps in the economic reform package is to provide the financial system with more liquidity. Supplying the American financial system with more money is described as injecting money into it. The conceptual metaphors established through the mapping of 'medical treatment' into 'struggling economy' is THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM IS A LIVING BODY. Using the verb 'to inject' enables us to verbalise a more specific conceptual metaphor, which is ECONOMIC REFORM PACKAGES ARE MEDICAL TREATMENT.

In the target language, the translator selected a different metaphorical alternative. The translator resorted to the verb (ضخ) (ḍakha) (to pump). The verb has more than one meaning and can be used in different contexts. According to Al-māny (المعاني) Arabic online dictionary the basic meaning of the verb (ضخ) (ḍakha) (to pump) is 'to pour the water'. The verb can also be used to refer to inserting new elements into existing systems. It is common to hear in Arabic the phrase (ضخُ دماء جديدة) (ḍakhu dimā' jadydah) (to pump a fresh blood into...). When younger people take important positions in a business or organisation, they are referred to as 'fresh blood'. It is not usual to use the verb (ضخ) (ḍakha) (pump) to mean 'inject'. Therefore, the shift in this case is not just replacing one lexical item with another; rather, the way we conceptualise issues is the primary motivation for the shift. The translation procedure in this case resulted in a shift from a very specific metaphorical expression (inject liquidity) into a metaphor with a more general sense. Using the verb (ضخ) (ḍakha) (pump) can provide different possibilities for the substance pumped. It could be water, blood or any other substance.

This sort of shift explains in what way the translation of metaphor based on a cognitive approach may give novel interpretations for the translation choices. Such interpretations as metaphors are transferred from one language to another would not be possible using the linguistic approach to investigate metaphor translation.

Example 7.17 (2010/36)

<p>a future where the cloud of recession gives way to the light of renewal. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>مستقبل تنقشع فيه غيوم الركود الاقتصادي أمام ضوء التجدد،</p>	<p>A future where the clouds of recession disperse in front of the light of renewal,</p>
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The speaker describes the undesirable state of the economy as cloudy weather. The mapping in this example is complex and of a creative nature. The conceptualiser unifies two unrelated concepts (economic situation and weather) in one conceptual pattern. The linguistic metaphor is a manifestation of the conceptual metaphor ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS. Since the undesirable economic state is being described as cloudy, this may entail that a good economic situation can be defined as beautiful weather. The mapping of the ‘difficult economic situation’ with ‘cloudy weather’ can trigger also the negative psychological states caused by unpleasant weather. In the target language version of the metaphor, the translator maintains the same metaphorical mappings that exist in the source language. The translation suggests that ‘the light of renewal’ will dispose of ‘the cloud of recession’.

7.2.5 Metaphors of Nuclear Weapons

Whereas other political themes vary in the amount of interest and tension they may cause, nuclear weapons constitute a critical and sensitive topic that attracts considerable attention across the globe. This may be attributed to many reasons. For instance, if a nuclear war starts, this will harm not only the rival parties but the whole world. Also, nuclear weapons have been used as a cover to justify Iraq war. Lule (2004) argues that G.W. Bush deployed metaphors to justify the second Iraq war. Mooney and Preece (2011) argue that in democratic systems, unlike the case in dictatorship regimes, politicians require delegation from their people to use power. To obtain this delegation they need to convince people that their argument is valid. Here comes the role of metaphor in this persuasion task. Table 7.5 contains the metaphors used by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama when talking about the nuclear weapons issue.

Table 7-5 Metaphors of nuclear weapons

No.	SL example	Source domain	Arabic translation	Back-translation
2009/24	A fragile consensus stands in the way of this frightening outcome, and that is the basic bargain that shapes the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). (Obama 2009)	Business	ويحول دون هذه النتيجة المخيفة توافق آراء هش، وتلك هي الصفقة الأساسية التي تشكل معاهدة عدم انتشار الأسلحة النووية .	This frightening outcome is precluded by a fragile consensus, and that is the basic bargain that constitutes the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.
2010/24	The next twelve months could be pivotal in determining whether this compact will be strengthened or will slowly dissolve. America intends to keep our end of the bargain . (Obama 2010)	Business	ويمكن أن تكون الأشهر الاثني عشر القادمة محورية في تحديد ما إذا كانت هذه المعاهدة ستعزز أو سيلغى العمل بها ببطء وتعزز أمريكا الالتزام بما تعهدت به	The next twelve months will be central to determine whether this agreement will be enhanced or slowly dissolve. America intends to commit to what has been pledged
2011/40	There is a future of greater opportunity for the people of those nations (Iran & North Korea) if	Source-path-goal image schema	هناك مستقبل لفرصة أكبر أمام شعبي هاتين الدولتين إذا وقت حكومتاهما	There is a future for a greater opportunity for the people of these two countries if their

	<p>their governments meet their international obligations. But if they continue down a path that is outside international law, they must be met with greater pressure and isolation. (Obama 2011)</p>		<p>بالتزاماتهما الدولية. ولكن إذا استمرنا في السير على الطريق الخارج عن القانون الدولي، فيجب مواجهتهما بمزيد من الضغط والعزلة.</p>	<p>governments fulfil their international obligations. But if they continue to walk on the path outside of international law, they must be faced with more pressure and isolation.</p>
2015/21	<p>Our objective was to test whether Iran could change course, accept constraints and allow the world to verify that its nuclear programme would be peaceful (Obama 2015).</p>	Source-path-goal image schema	<p>فقد تمثل هدفنا في اختبار ما إذا كان بوسع إيران أن تغير مسارها وتقبل بالقيود وتسمح للعالم بالتحقق من أن برنامجها النووي سيكون للأغراض السلمية.</p>	<p>Our goal has been to test whether Iran can change its course, accept restrictions and allow the world to verify that its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes.</p>
2015/23	<p>That path is now available to a nation such as Iran, which, as of this moment, continues to deploy violent proxies to advance its interests. (Obama 2015)</p>	Source-path-goal image schema	<p>وذلك الطريق متاح الآن أمام دولة مثل إيران، التي لا تزال حتى هذه اللحظة، تواصل نشر وكلاء العنف من أجل تحقيق مصالحها</p>	<p>And that path is now open to a country like Iran, which until this moment continues to deploy agents of violence in order to achieve its interests.</p>
2015/25	<p>If Iran chooses a different path, that</p>	Source-path-goal	<p>وإذا اختارت إيران مساراً مختلفاً،</p>	<p>And if Iran chooses a different path,</p>

	will be good for the security of the region, good for the Iranian people and good for the world. (Obama 2015)	image schema	فسيكون ذلك أمرا يبشر بالخير للأمن في المنطقة، وبالخير للشعب الإيراني، وبالخير للعالم بأسره.	then that will be a good sign for the security of the region, good for the Iranian people, and good for the whole world.
2016/9	that the end of the Cold War lifted the shadow of nuclear Armageddon , that the battlefields of Europe have been replaced by peaceful union and that China and India remain on a path of remarkable growth. (Obama 2016)	Religion	أن نهاية الحرب الباردة أزلت شبح اندلاع حرب نووية، وأن ساحات المعارك في أوروبا حل محلها اتحاد سلمي، وأن الصين والهند لم تبرحا على طريق نمو ملحوظ.	That the end of the Cold War removed the spectre of a nuclear war , and the battlefields in Europe were replaced by a peaceful union, and that China and India had not abandoned the path of remarkable growth.
2016/42	And any country that breaks this basic bargain must face consequences (Obama 2016).	Business	وعلى أي بلد ينقض هذه الصفقة الأساسية أن يواجه العواقب.	And any country that breaks this basic deal has to face the consequences.
2016/43	And those nations with these weapons, like the United States, have a unique responsibility to pursue the path of reducing our	Source-path-goal image schema	وتتحمل الدول التي لديها هذه الأسلحة، مثل الولايات المتحدة، مسؤولية فريدة عن مواصلة السير في طريق الحد من	Countries that have these weapons, such as the United States, have a unique responsibility to continue along the path of reducing

	stockpiles and reaffirming basic norms, like the commitment to never test them again. (Obama 2016)		مخزوناتنا والتأكيد من جديد على القواعد الأساسية، مثل الالتزام بعدم اختبار هذه الأسلحة مرة أخرى إطلاقاً.	our stocks and reaffirming basic rules, such as the obligation not to test these weapons again at all.
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Table 7.5 shows that metaphors about nuclear power were used only by President Obama. The most prominent source domain Obama used to talk about nuclear weapons metaphorically is the image schema domain of ‘source-path-goal’ (2011/32, 2015/21, 2015/23, 2015/25 and 2016/43). This metaphor suggests that the endeavour to gain or abandon nuclear weapons is a goal and to reach it countries should travel through a trajectory. The domain of ‘business’ was used in examples (2009/24), (2010/24) and (2016/42). Two metaphors were selected for the analysis; the first is (2016/9). In this example Obama used the religious term ‘Armageddon’ to warn against the risks of a nuclear war. This sort of mapping is complex and the metaphor created as a result of this mapping is an unconventional one. The second example is (2010/24) as it implies a shift in the TL version of the SL metaphor.

Example 7.18 (2016/9)

...the end of the Cold War lifted the shadow of nuclear Armageddon , that the battlefields of Europe have been replaced by peaceful union (Obama 2016)	أن نهاية الحرب الباردة أزلت شبح اندلاع حرب نووية، وأن ساحات المعارك في أوروبا حل محلها اتحاد سلمي،	The end of the cold war removed the shadow of the outbreak of nuclear war and the battlefields in Europe have been replaced by a peaceful union,
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The metaphorical focus in this example is ‘nuclear Armageddon’. The meaning of ‘Armageddon’ refers to the battle that will end the world. The other meaning

mentioned in OMEED is that Armageddon appeared in the Bible as a place where the final battle between good and evil will be fought. However, in this context Obama (2016) used ‘Armageddon’ to refer to the threat of a devastating nuclear war between states that own nuclear powers. This type of metaphor has been called, by Al-Harrasi (2001), intertextual conceptual metaphor. Intertextuality can be considered as source domains for metaphorical conceptualisation (ibid:115). Al-Harrasi attributes the difficulty of translating this type of metaphor to translators’ lack of knowledge about past events in the historical records or in different types of recorded memories (religious books, well-known historical books, prominent pieces of literature).

However, in the technological era we are experiencing now, obtaining information is more convenient than before. Gaining information about any intertextual metaphors is not as difficult a task as it was. Therefore, I argue that deletion or paraphrasing of intertextual metaphors may imply ideological motivations, rather than the lack of knowledge about the metaphors in question.

In the TL, the translator shifted the Armageddon metaphor into literal sense. The choice made was the replacement of ‘Armageddon’ with a non-metaphorical option (حربٌ نووية) (ḥarbun nawawyh) (nuclear war). It is not a plausible justification that the erasing of the metaphorical expression is due to the lack of equivalence in the target language. The translation solution here is not a replacement of the concept with a less culturally loaded alternative either. Al-Harrasi (2001:288) contends that:

deletion of whole conceptual metaphors is better seen as a manifestation of higher pragmatic strategies of translation. As example of such a strategy is filtering out ideological metaphors which might be viewed negatively by the target language audience

In this example there is no need for any ideological filtering. The metaphor does not posit any sensitive connotations or political implications in the target language. It seems the translator decided to take a neutral position with the audience in the target language. The translation of ‘Armageddon’ into ‘nuclear war’ maintains the message intended by the speaker and mitigates the weight of cultural specificity of the source language metaphor. However, this contradicts what Newmark (1981:160) claims: that political texts are “sacred” sort of texts that translators cannot interfere with.

Example 7.19 (2010/24)

<p>The next twelve months could be pivotal in determining whether this compact will be strengthened or will slowly dissolve. America intends to keep our end of the bargain. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>ويمكن أن تكون الأشهر الاثني عشر القادمة محورية في تحديد ما إذا كانت هذه المعاهدة ستعزز أو سيلغى العمل بها ببطء وتعزز أمريكا الالتزام بما تعهدت به</p>	<p>The next twelve months will be central to determine whether this agreement will be enhanced or slowly dissolve. America intends to commit to what has been pledged.</p>
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The source language metaphorical expression is a reflection of the conceptual metaphor AGREEMENTS ARE BARGAINS. Obama (2009) considers that reaching a nuclear agreement and committing to its items is a bargain for all nations. He states that America will commit to achieving it, providing that other nations meet their responsibilities and do their part as well.

The mapping process in this metaphor has linked the concept of success in politics with ending bargains. Conceptualisation of the non-proliferation agreement as a ‘bargain’ means that there are two or more parties involved in such a deal. This may entail that there are a seller, a buyer, a mediator and there is a price, as well. However, this mapping process was entirely different in the target language. The translator translated this metaphor with an explanation of the ‘bargain’ metaphor, suggesting that America will be committed to fulfilling this pledge. But, on what basis did the translator shift the source domain ‘bargain’ into (العهد) (al-ahad) (pledge)? Possibly, the cross-domain mapping between ‘bargain’ and ‘pledge’ was aiming to highlight the aspect of moral obligation shared between the two concepts.

In the TL version the translator opted for the deletion of the ‘bargain’ metaphor, although such an understanding of politics as a business is common in Arabic. In Arabic politics, political agents accuse each other of selling the Palestinian cause and

getting the price. Hence, the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS BUSINESS frames the way people perceive politics in Arabic. This may lead us to deduce that the conventionality of a metaphor in a particular language cannot be the sole factor that determines its level of translatability.

7.2.6 Metaphors of Terrorism

Although the concept of terrorism has been used in different eras of American history, 9/11 can be considered the actual start for the ‘war on terror’ metaphor. The way America perceived issues before 9/11 was very different from how it perceived them after 9/11. Since that time, ‘war on terror’ has become America’s guiding principle (Tsui, 2016:8), and the way American presidents perceive terrorism will reveal the way they will react towards it. The way G.W. Bush views the world after 9/11 is as two opposing camps. He clearly suggests: “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” (UNGA 2001).

Different studies have been devoted to tackling the metaphorical conceptualisation of terrorism by American presidents (Lakoff, 2004; Spencer, 2012; Charteris-Black, 2004). These scholars agree that using metaphor in terrorism rhetoric can perform two main functions: first, metaphors lead to the justification of the security procedures taken by authorities; second, metaphors can facilitate an understanding of the complex nature of terrorist networks and their activities. Table 7.6 includes the metaphorical expressions used in the corpus to conceptualise terrorism.

Table 7-6 Metaphors of terrorism

No.	SL example	Source domain	Arabic translation	Back-translation
2013/3	Next year the international coalition will end its war in	Core image schema	وسينهي التحالف الدولي العام القادم الحرب في أفغانستان، بعد أن حقق مهمته المتمثلة في تفكيك العمود	Next year, the international coalition will end the war in

	Afghanistan, having achieved its mission of dismantling the core of Al-Qaida that attacked us on 9/11. (Obama 2013)		الفكري لتنظيم القاعدة الذي هاجمنا في 11 أيلول / سبتمبر	Afghanistan, having fulfilled its mission to dismantle the backbone of Al-Qaida that attacked us on September 11.
2014/13	will we come together to reject the cancer of violent extremism? (Obama 2014)	Disease	وهل ستجتمع كلمتنا لرفض سرطان التطرف العنيف؟	will our word become unified to reject the cancer of violent extremism?
2014/37	The ideology of ISIL or Al-Qaida or Boko Haram will wilt and die if it is consistently exposed and confronted and refuted in the light of day. (Obama 2014)	Plants	إن عقيدة داعش أو القاعدة أو بوكو حرام سوف تذوي وتفنئ إذا جرى على الدوام كشفها ومجابهتها وفضحها في وضح النهار.	The ideology of ISIL, Al Qaida or Boko Haram will wither away and perish if it is confronted and exposed in broad daylight.

2014/39	by getting intolerance out of schools, stopping radicalisation before it spreads and promoting institutions and programmes that build new bridges of understanding. (Obama 2014)	Epidemic	باخراج التعصب من المدارس، ووقف التطرف قبل أن ينتشر، وتعزيز المؤسسات والبرامج التي تبني جسورا جديدة من التفاهم.	by removing intolerance from schools, stopping extremism before it spreads, and strengthening institutions and programmes that build new bridges of understanding.
2015/18	And history tells us that the dark forces unleashed by this type of politics surely make all of us less secure. Our world has been there before. We gain nothing from going back. (Obama 2015)	Darkness	ويخبرنا التاريخ بأن القوى الظلامية التي يطلقها هذا النوع من السياسات تجعلنا بالتأكيد جميعا نشعر بأننا أقل أمنا. ولقد شهد عالمنا ذلك من قبل. ولن نستفيد شيئا من العودة إلى ذلك.	History tells us that the dark forces unleashed by such a type of policies make us all feel less safe. Our world has seen this before. We will not benefit from returning to that.
2015/29	We know that ISIL - which emerged out of the chaos of	Poison	إننا نعلم أن تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية - الذي نشأ منفضى العراق وسوريا - يعتمد في بقائه على	We know that the Islamic State - which

	Iraq and Syria - depends on perpetual war to survive, but we also know that they gain adherents because of a poisonous ideology. (Obama 2015)		إدامة الحرب، ولكننا أيضا نعلم أنه يكسب أتباعا بسبب أيديولوجية سامة.	arose from the chaos of Iraq and Syria - depends for its survival on sustaining the war, but we also know that it is gaining followers because of a poisonous ideology.
2015/30	is to work to reject such extremism that infects too many of our young people. (Obama 2015)	Disease	العمل على رفض ذلك التطرف الذي يصيب أعدادا كبيرة من الشباب.	to work to reject the extremism that affects large numbers of young people.

Since all metaphors used to reason about terrorism are of unconventional type (except 2013/3), two examples were selected for detailed analysis: (2014/13) and (2014/37). The third example (2013/3) was selected because it implies an interesting shift in the TL.

Example 7.20 (2013/3)

Next year the international coalition will end its war in	وسينهي التحالف الدولي العام القادم الحرب في أفغانستان، بعد أن حقق مهمته المتمثلة في تفكيك	The international coalition will end next year the war in
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Afghanistan, having achieved its mission of dismantling the core of Al- Qaida that attacked us on 9/11. (Obama 2013)	العمود الفقري لتنظيم القاعدة الذي هاجمنا في 11 أيلول/سبتمبر	Afghanistan, after achieving its mission of dismantling the backbone of Al-Qaida organisation which attacked us in 11 September.
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Barack Obama’s 2013 speech explains the steps that will be taken by the American government to end its military presence in Afghanistan. He claims that the United States of America can withdraw from Afghanistan after managing to disassemble the Al-Qaida organisation which was the major threat to the USA and its allies. The metaphorical focus in this part is the word ‘core’. The speaker suggests that America dismantled the core of Al-Qaida, but what does this metaphor refer to?

The use of ‘core’ in this example makes Al-Qaida a physical object. It has a central part that is its core. To defeat Al-Qaida we need to dismantle its core. In fact, this mapping is a result of our propositional knowledge about the concept of ‘essence’. For instance, the heart is the central part of the human body, the engine is the core of the car, and in computers the central processing unit is the core. If these central parts malfunction, the objects in question will stop functioning as before. The ‘core’ metaphor facilitates our understanding of the concept of Al- Qaida by shaping it through more physical properties.

In the target language, the translator opts for a different conceptual metaphor. This metaphor maintains the ‘centrality’ concept emphasised by the speaker, but using a different richer image. The translator selects the phrase (العمود الفقري) (al-‘amūdu al-faqry) (backbone). We notice, in the target language metaphor, the mapping tends to be more specific than the source language metaphor. This new mapping will result in different entailments from that in the original metaphor. Whereas in the SLM dismantling the ‘core’ will lead to the malfunction of the entire object, this is not the case in the human body. Our bodies can still perform other functions even with a sick heart. If the car engine is disabled, the car cannot start, but a person can still speak even with an afflicted backbone.

The translation procedure in this case has transferred the metaphor from a less rich image or image schema of ‘core’ into a richer image metaphor. This has been performed through replacing the generic source domain of ‘core or essence’ with the ‘backbone’ domain.

Example 7.21(2014/13)

<p>will we come together to reject the cancer of violent extremism (Obama 2014)</p>	<p>وهل ستجتمع كلمتها لرفض سرطان التطرف العنيف؟</p>	<p>will their word become unified to reject the cancer of violent extremism</p>
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Barack Obama (2014) denotes here the importance of cooperation among the member states of the United Nations to face the threats imposed by terrorism. The speaker in this case maps the ‘threat of terrorism’ to ‘cancer disease’. This metaphor can lead to many inferences: terrorism is as deadly as cancer; terrorism can spread as fast as cancer; often there is no effective cure but to amputate the affected limb, even if this is the harshest choice available. Similarly, no treatment has proved effective in eradicating terrorism, apart from direct confrontation with terrorist groups. These sorts of mappings make the metaphor rich with semantic associations rather than talking directly about terrorism.

In the target language, the translator has maintained the identical mappings of the source language metaphor. A similar strategy has been opted for in examples (2014/39), (2014/13), (2015/18), (2015/29) and (2015/30). This may lead to the conclusion that speakers of English and Arabic conceptualise terrorism in a similar manner.

Example 7.22 (2014/3)

<p>The ideology of ISIL or Al-Qaida or Boko Haram will wilt and die if it is</p>	<p>إن عقيدة داعش أو القاعدة أو بوكو حرام سوف تذوي وتفنئ إذا جرى على الدوام كشفها</p>	<p>The ideology of ISIL, Al-Qaida or Boko Haram will wither away and</p>
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consistently exposed and confronted and refuted in the light of day. (Obama 2014)	ومجابهتها وفضحها في وضح النهار.	perish if it is confronted and exposed in broad daylight.
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President Obama (2014) suggests in this extract that fighting terrorist organisations should not be limited to using only military force. Revealing the poisonous ideology of ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant), Al-Qaida and Boko Haram to the public will reduce their harm. This exposure can refute their allegations that they are fighting for a just cause. Consequently, these organisations will lose their coherence and become more inefficient. To communicate this argument, the speaker imports observations from the ‘plants’ domain and applies them to the target domain of ‘terrorists’ ideology’. The speaker exploits his propositional knowledge about plants in talking about terrorists’ ideology. The conceptual pattern IDEOLOGY IS A PLANT is a novel or original metaphor. Several structural elements can be mapped from the domain of ‘plants’ into ‘terrorism’: poisonous plants equate to terrorist organisations; the way plants grow represents the way terrorist organisations grow; how plants extend roots into the soil approximates how terrorist organisations spread in societies etc. In the target language, the translator opts for the verb (تذوي) (tadhwy). It refers to the process of plants wilting from lack of water. Similar to the previous example (6.19), the metaphorical expression in the target language reflects the exact metaphor of the source language. Thus, English and Arabic convey the idea of the terrorist organisations’ using the ‘plants’ source domain.

7.2.7 Metaphors of Iraq

Iraq was and still is a central theme in the American rhetoric. Abid and Manan (2016) concluded that G.W. Bush’s rhetoric was oriented to convince the public of the nuclear, biological and chemical weapons threat Iraq imposed on America and world peace. After the invasion of Iraq, this image has completely altered. Bush claimed that Iraq became the beacon for democracy and freedom. Conceptual metaphor theorists (Lakoff, 1991; Lule, 2004) argue that metaphor was one of the essential means American broadcasts excessively exploited to build up for the war on Iraq. Lakoff

(1991) explains how the invasion of Iraq under the administration of G.W. Bush's father was metaphorically mobilised:

The discourse over whether the U.S. should go to war in the gulf was a panorama of metaphor. Secretary of State Baker saw Saddam as "sitting on our economic lifeline." President Bush saw him as having a "stranglehold" on the U.S. economy. General Schwarzkopf characterized the occupation of Kuwait as a "rape." The President said that the U.S. was in the gulf to "protect freedom, protect our future, and protect the innocent," and that we must "push Saddam Hussein back." Saddam was seen as Hitler. It is vital, literally vital, to understand just what role metaphorical thought played in precipitating the gulf war.

The principal goal of analysing Iraq metaphors is to ascertain what were the metaphorical expressions used to legitimatise the invasion and to persuade the member states of the United Nations that it was a moral act.

Table 7-7 Metaphors of Iraq

No.	SL example	Source domain	Arabic translation	Back-translation
2002/19	Saddam Hussein has subverted that programme, working around the sanctions to buy missile technology and military materials (Bush 2002)	Movement	وقام صدام حسين بإفساد ذلك البرنامج، بالالتفاف حول الجزاءات لشراء تكنولوجيا القذائف والمواد العسكرية	Saddam Hussein ruined that programme, bypassing the sanctions to buy missile technology and military hardware
2002/26	The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. They have suffered	Captivity	أن الولايات المتحدة ليس لديها مشكلة مع الشعب العراقي، ذلك الشعب الذي عانى أكثر من	The United States does not have any issues with the Iraqi people, the people who suffered

	<p>too long in silent captivity. Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and great strategic goal. (Bush 2002)</p>		<p>اللازم قيد الأسر الصامت والحرية للشعب العراقي قضية اخلاقية عظيمة وهدف استراتيجي عظيم</p>	<p>more than enough of the shackles of silent captivity and the freedom of the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and a noble strategic target.</p>
2002/28	<p>With every step the Iraqi regime takes towards gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, our own options to confront that regime will narrow. (Bush 2002)</p>	Movement	<p>وستضييق الخيارات امامنا فيما يتعلق بمواجهة النظام العراقي مع كل خطوة يخطوها ذلك النظام صوب الحصول على اشد الاسلحة الرهيبة فتكاً ونشرها</p>	<p>Our options will be narrow regarding confronting the Iraqi regime with every step that regime takes towards obtaining and deploying the most deadly and terrible weapons.</p>
2003/7	<p>The regime of Saddam Hussein cultivated ties to terror while it built weapons of mass destruction (Bush 2003)</p>	Growth	<p>اما نظام صدام حسين فكان يغذي علاقاته بالإرهاب في نفس الوقت الذي كان يعمل فيه على بناء أسلحة الدمار الشامل</p>	<p>As for Saddam Hussein's regime, it was feeding its relations with terrorism at the same time as it was working on building weapons of mass destruction</p>
2003/10	<p>Across the world nations are more secure because an</p>	Falling	<p>اما على مستوى العالم، فتشعر الدول بمزيد من الامن لسقوط حد حلفاء الإرهاب</p>	<p>As for the world, countries feel more secure as a result of the</p>

	ally of terror has fallen. (Bush 2003)			falling of one of the allies of terrorism
2008/20	The extremists find their most fertile recruiting grounds in societies trapped in chaos and despair - places where people see no prospect of a better life. (Bush 2008)	Ground or soil	ويجد المتطرفون أخصب مراتعهم للتجنيد في المجتمعات العالقة في شريك في الفوضى واليأس - تلك الأماكن التي لا يرى الناس فيها أملا في حياة أفضل.	Extremists find their most fertile grounds for recruitment in societies caught in chaos and despair - places where people see no hope for a better life.
2014/41	Iraq has come perilously close to plunging back into the abyss .The conflict has created a fertile recruiting ground for terrorists, who inevitably export such violence (Obama 2014).	Ground or soil	والعراق بات على وشك الانزلاق الخطير في الهاوية من جديد. وقد أوجد الصراع أرضا خصبة لتجنيد الإرهابيين الذين يصتروا حتما مثل هذا العنف.	And Iraq is about to terrifyingly slip into the abyss again. The conflict has created fertile ground for the recruitment of terrorists who inevitably export such violence.

As Table 7.7 shows, three unconventional metaphors (2002/26, 2014/41, 2008/20) were used to reason about terrorism metaphorically. Other examples (2003/7, 2002/21, 2002/30, 2003/10) were formulated using more schematic source domains. The analysis below will be conducted on the two unconventional examples as they are the most graphic in the list. It is worth mentioning here that Bush and Obama used an identical unconventional metaphor to talk about recruiting terrorists in (2008/20) and (2014/41).

Example 7.23 (2002/26)

<p>The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. They have suffered too long in silent captivity. Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and great strategic goal. (Bush 2002)</p>	<p>أن الولايات المتحدة ليس لديها مشكلة مع الشعب العراقي، ذلك الشعب الذي عانى أكثر من اللازم قيد الأسر الصامت والحرية للشعب العراقي قضية اخلاقية عظيمة وهدف استراتيجي عظيم</p>	<p>The United States does not have any issues with the Iraqi people, the people who suffered more than enough of the shackles of silent captivity and the freedom of the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and a noble strategic target.</p>
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G.W. Bush (2002) describes the oppression suffered by the Iraqi people as ‘silent captivity’. This linguistic metaphorical expression underlies the conceptual metaphor OPPRESSION IS CAPTIVITY. In the target language, the conceptual metaphor OPPRESSION IS A CAPTIVITY WHICH IRAQI PEOPLE ARE KEPT IN becomes IRAQI PEOPLE ARE A PRISONER MANACLED WITH HANDCUFFS. The word (قيود) (quyūd) (shackles) is being used as an entailment of the conceptual metaphor OPPRESSION IS A CAPTIVITY WHICH IRAQI PEOPLE ARE KEPT IN. The type of shift triggered by this translation procedure is to change the metaphor from an abstract into a more concrete one (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This change is a result of adding a new entailment of the source domain in the target language.

Example 7.24 (2014/41)

<p>Iraq has come perilously close to plunging back into the abyss .The conflict has created a fertile recruiting ground for terrorists, who inevitably</p>	<p>والعراق بات على وشك الانزلاق الخطير في الهاوية من جديد. وقد أوجد الصراع أرضا خصبة لتجنيد الإرهابيين الذين</p>	<p>And Iraq is about to terrifyingly slip into the abyss again. The conflict has created fertile ground for the recruitment of terrorists who</p>
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export such violence. (Obama 2014)	يصدّرون حتماً مثل هذا العنف.	inevitably export such violence.
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Barack Obama (2014) urges the international community to defy religious extremism. He also suggests that the armed conflicts in Iraq make it a good place for recruiting more terrorists. Obama maps the idea of ‘recruiting’ to ‘agricultural activities’. The metaphor reveals several aspects about recruiting activities. Most significantly, it suggests that the recruiting process is of a systematic nature and is highly organised. However, the metaphor in this case is used to highlight the negative aspects of this organisation. Iraq has been described as a big land that may produce harmful plants. In the target language version, the translator uses the Arabic phrase (أرضاً خصبة) (arḍn kihṣbh) as an equivalent of ‘fertile grounding’. The phrase in Arabic denotes the land that is productive for agricultural activities.

7.3 Conclusion

The analysis carried out in this chapter reflects the fact that the translation of metaphors does not just entail replacing linguistic items in a direct manner. In some cases, translators employ different strategies and different types of knowledge to transfer the source language metaphors efficiently into the target language and its culture. The knowledge exploited is not restricted to linguistic knowledge; cultural and ideological awareness has also played a significant role in shaping the target language metaphors.

The second noticeable outcome is the huge similarity between English and Arabic languages in terms of the conceptualisation of different political target domains. The analysis of the metaphorical examples indicate that English and Arabic speakers, to a great extent, use similar linguistic metaphors to convey several political themes. This conforms with the conclusion of King (1989) and Matsuki (1995) that unrelated languages, such as English, Chinese and Japanese, share a considerable number of cognitive processes. In terms of the translation shifts, they occurred in only a few instances in the research data. Two possible justifications for the selection of literal translation as the principal translation strategy are: first, that translators are required to produce an identical target text to the source language one; second, the Translation

Unit uses machine translation in translating speeches delivered in the UNGA. However, future research needs to be done to investigate whether literal translation is the overwhelming strategy in other UN departments (General Assembly, Security Council, UN resolutions).

8. Chapter Eight: Political metaphorical values in G.W. Bush's and Barack Obama's speeches in UNGA

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will present answers for research questions three and four (section 1.6). The questions the chapter will answer are:

(3) To what extent are political metaphorical moral values reflected in the corpus of speeches given by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama? What translation approaches are used to reflect these values in the Arabic version?

(4) To what extent do G.W. Bush and Barack Obama each embrace the Strict Father (SF) and Nurturant Parent (NP) models in the UNGA speeches?

Unlike in Chapters Six and Seven, where the metaphorical examples selected for analysis are all taken from Appendix 2, in this chapter the morality examples are derived from an independent analysis of the original research corpus. The analysis will be carried out on both metaphorical examples and logical entailments which are not metaphors per se but are logical inferences of the morality models.

As politics centres on persuasion, political agents usually work very hard to grant their arguments a moral perspective. Despite the fact that morality is of great importance in politics, it is still a controversial issue. The way people appreciate and understand morality is different from person to person and on the level of entire nations. One of these implications is that different people have divergent perceptions about the same moral issues. For instance, G.W. Bush tries to frame the invasion of Iraq as a moral act; however, millions of people around the world went out on demonstrations condemning the American military invasion. These demonstrations contradict the justification that this war was a moral cause. Some Iraqi people themselves think that fighting Americans in Iraq is a noble and moral issue, which also contradicts the moral justification of the war. The way people think about and define political concepts which are abstract in nature, such as liberty, freedom and democracy, differs from one society or social grouping to another. That is how morality can be controversial, and

that is the reason we need additional cognitive and linguistic tools, such as metaphor, to help us communicate and understand our moral conventions more efficiently.

Abdul Latif (2012:130) argues that morality differs from one society and culture to another. The way people perceive and obey authority (which is an essential moral act in MPT) is not identical in all societies. For instance, the conceptual mapping in the metaphor NATION IS FAMILY (see section 2.10) in American political discourse is different from that in Egyptian society. In America, the mapping between the source domain 'Family' and the target 'Nation' is conducted between the responsibilities of the head of state who provides the care and security for American citizens and the responsibility of the father who provides care and protection for family members. This sort of communication in the American version of the metaphor can be bi-directional. The authority does not consider him/herself the absolute authority (especially in the case of the NP model). However, in Egyptian society and political discourse, especially in Al-Sadat speeches, the NATION IS FAMILY metaphor is based on 'communication between the father as the absolute authority and his sons' (the source domain) and 'the government and citizens' reactions' (the target domain). In this sort of communication (especially in rural areas) the father's values overwhelm the communication process. This is reflected in the patriarchal manner in which Al-Sadat addressed his people.

The focus of the current chapter will be the examination of Lakoff's family-based models of the Theory of Moral Politics (TMP). This will be done by analysing the previously discussed speeches by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama. The model adopted for the analysis will be Degani's (2015) morality metaphor annotations. This model considers moral values as the benchmark through which analysts measure the adherence of the speaker to one or other of Lakoff's (1996/2002) SF or NP models.

In previous studies (Ahrens, 2009; Ahrens, 2011; Wolters, 2012; Cienki, 2005a; Cienki, 2005b) the availability of direct metaphorical expressions or metaphorical entailments was the criterion to determine whether morality metaphors are echoed or not in specific types of political discourse (inauguration speeches, election speeches, election debates). It was confirmed in several studies that family metaphors, as suggested by Lakoff in his theory of moral reasoning (1996/2002), were not used

considerably by Democrats or Republicans (Cienki 2004). I would like to point out that, similar to the above studies, little metaphorical language was found in the research corpus that directly reflected Lakoff’s family models. However, several literal examples do logically follow the cognitive models of SF and NP.

In her research about morality language, Degani (2015) takes a different approach when she argues that values are the starting point for looking at metaphors. Her reason for selecting values as the first step in identifying metaphors is that values are the essence of Lakoff’s models. What American politicians express is in fact a reflection of values encapsulated in literal or metaphorical language. Therefore, a search for morality metaphors should start with determining the political values invoked. This approach could also mitigate any sense of subjectivity when ascribing examples to one of Lakoff’s models.

8.2 The Strict Father metaphors

This section will be dedicated to examining the conservative values expressed metaphorically in the UNGA. The two moral values that Republicans prioritise, as the Strict Father model advocates, are strength and discipline. However, there are moral sub-values that come as a result of embracing the SF model. These values have been explained in detail in section 2.10.1. To recapitulate, Table 8.1 summaries these values as deduced by Degani (2015).

Table 8-1 Political values of the Republicans

Political value	Sub-values
Strength group	<p>moral strength</p> <p>moral authority</p> <p>moral order</p> <p>moral boundaries</p>

	moral essence moral wholeness moral purity moral health
Moral self-interest	self-control self-reliance self-interest
Nurturance	helping others

In this section, we will find out how these values are expressed metaphorically by President G.W. Bush. The analysis of the examples will reveal what are the source domains and the nature of mappings used to create Republican metaphors, and what translation procedures are used to transfer them into Arabic.

8.2.1 Freedom and democracy values

I assume that these two values are closely related, or inseparable. Democracy is a manifestation of freedom. The latter is only available in democratic societies in which people can express their views and select their leaders. In a parallel manner, real democracies are only available in free societies. If there is any breach of democratic values, the democratic environment in these societies will enable different institutions to rectify the situation. Due to this close relationship, I decided to analysis freedom and democracy in one section.

Bush 1

<p>The democratic hopes we see growing in the Middle East are growing everywhere. (Bush 2004)</p>	<p>إن الآمال الديمقراطية التي نراها تتزايد في الشرق الأوسط تنمو في كل مكان آخر.</p>	<p>The democratic hopes, which we see increasing in the Middle East, are growing in other different places.</p>
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In this example, G.W. Bush uses the source domain of the ‘growth’ image schema to talk about the political and democratic developments the Middle East region is witnessing. One of the entailments of using the ‘growth’ image schema as a source domain to conceptualise ‘democracy’ is that we will conceptualise DEMOCRACY AS A LIVING OBJECT. In addition to understanding democracy as a political value, the ‘growth’ image schema can be used to evaluate political values. In this sense, we can talk about the growth of democracy in some societies and a retreat or dying-back of democracy in less democratic ones.

In the target language, the ‘growth’ metaphor has been deleted in the first instance and retained in the second. The translator selected to use ‘increase’ to maintain the meaning of ‘transferring from one situation to another’.

Bush 2

<p>As liberty flourishes, nations grow in tolerance, and hope, and peace. And we are seeing the bright future begin to take root in the broader Middle East. (Bush 2006)</p>	<p>ومع تفتح زهور الحرية، تزداد الأمم تسامحًا وأملًا وسلامًا. ونحن نرى ذلك المستقبل المشرق وقد بدأ يضرب بجذوره في الشرق الأوسط الأوسع.</p>	<p>As freedom flowers blossom, nations become more tolerant. We can see that in the bright future which roots are taking place in the broader Middle East.</p>
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To talk about the spread of liberty or freedom across the world, the speaker used the word ‘flourish’. The basic meaning of the word ‘flourish’ in OMEED is ‘to grow well and be healthy’. This can entail freedom and liberty as a living object that was small and has become larger. Applying CL principles, the word ‘flourish’ is a realisation of the INCREASE image schema. The speaker uses this image schema to acknowledge the spread of freedom and liberty around the world. However, the image is still of abstract nature i.e., no more details are associated with this metaphor.

The translator chose to map the growth of democracy into the image of a flower in its most blooming stages. We all know that plants flourish when their needs are fulfilled through water, nutrients and light. Reflecting this mapping on ‘freedom’ means the countries in question have achieved good levels of freedom and liberty. The translator here shifted the source domain of the metaphor from an image schematic nature into a rich metaphor (a metaphor with several associations).

8.2.2 Strength value

To be morally strong, citizens should abstain from committing immoral behaviour. This can be achieved through self-denial and self-discipline. It is one of the basic values that Republicans advocate. In this section I will provide some examples of how G.W. Bush embedded this value metaphorically.

Bush 3

<p>We have been more than patient. We have tried sanctions. We have tried the carrot of oil-for-food and the stick of the coalition military strikes. (Bush 2002)</p>	<p>ولقد صبرنا أكثر من اللازم. وحاولنا الجزاءات. وحاولنا جزرة النفط مقابل الغذاء وعصا الضربات العسكرية من قبل التحالف.</p>	<p>We have been patient more than necessary. We tried the carrot of the oil-for-food policy and the stick of the military strikes by the coalition.</p>
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This is an interesting example of how metaphorical moral thinking can influence the way politicians communicate their ideas. Due to cognitive load and cultural connotation, this example will take more space of elaboration. I will start with the contextual meaning, then the cognitive aspect and end with the cultural implications of the metaphorical expression.

As stated in *The Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (Speake, 1999:58), the meaning of this idiom stems from the idea of offering a carrot to a donkey to encourage it to move and using a stick if it will not. President Bush (2002) uses the idiomatic expression ‘the carrot and stick’ to indicate that the American government tried both enticement and intimidation, to make the Iraqi government respond to American demands. The carrot has been used to refer to the selling of oil, and the stick stands for the military strikes by the coalition. The metaphorical usage of the idiom ‘carrot and stick’ in this case denotes some sort of authoritative language. G.W. Bush is as an authoritative figure who decides whether to feed or hit Iraq. (Saddam in such a case stands metaphorically for the Iraqi nation).

According to *The Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (ibid: Preface), an idiom is a form of expression or a phrase peculiar to a language and agreed by the users of the language in question. Knowles and Moon (2004:20) contend that literal interpretation of idioms will lead to false or impossible interpretations. Speake (ibid.) also suggests that idioms are the most recalcitrant linguistic forms for translation. However, this classical view does not conform to the CL perception of idioms. Cognitive linguists do not consider idioms as arbitrary units of meaning; rather, they are motivated and consequently they fit a pattern existing in our conceptual system (Lakoff, 1993:211). Kövecses (2002:233) also supports this view. He suggests that idioms are products of our conceptual system. Gibbs et al. (1997:142) propose that figurative language scholars do not see idioms as metaphors but classical examples of dead metaphors, whereas Li (2010:1) considers that many idioms are generated from the underlying conceptual metaphors. Gibbs and O'brien (1990) suggest that idioms are understood in terms of the wider conceptual metaphorical system of English. They exemplify this argument using the idiom ‘spill the beans’. The mapping process occurs between ‘beans’ (ideas) that have been spilled out of a ‘container’ (mind). Hence, the motivation of

establishing this idiom is the mapping between concrete objects (beans from a container) and abstract ones (ideas) (Gibbs and O'brien, 1990:38).

However, from the cultural point of view, the employment of this idiom has derogatory connotations in Arabic. Many people in the Arab world consider a donkey as a symbol of stupidity, even the donkey's braying is used to compare with someone's unpleasant voice. The donkey's stupidity is represented in the fact that the donkey is following the carrot but never reaches it. Therefore, describing a government as a donkey which should choose between walking in hope of getting the carrot or being threatened by the stick will not encourage the Iraqi regime to respond positively; even less so because this idiomatic expression has negative associations in Arabic culture. Such metaphorical expressions in politics can invoke negative images if the speaker does not pay due attention to their cultural connotations.

In the target language, the translator has produced the same idiom. In fact, this idiom has been conventionalised in Arabic language. For instance, Aljazeera News Channel has used it on its website as (ليبرمان يعتمد خطة "العصا والجزرة" مع الفلسطينيين) (Lieberman adopts the carrot and stick plan with Palestinians') (Aljazeera.net 18/08/2016).

The analysis of this example confirms two critical issues. First, in conceptual theory of metaphor, what matters is the conceptual implications of the metaphor and not its inadvertent use. Second, punishment is in the essence of the Republican Party thought model (or Strict Father model). Authority figures are encouraged to resort to punishment whenever they feel the need to.

Bush 4

<p>Had Saddam Hussein been appeased instead of stopped, he would have endangered the peace and stability of the world. (Bush 2002)</p>	<p>ولو جرى استرضاء صدام حسين بدلا من إيقافه لعرض سلام العالم واستقراره للخطر.</p>	<p>If Saddam Hussein had been appeased instead of prevented, he would have endangered the peace and stability of the world.</p>
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In this part of the speech, G.W. Bush (2002) explains that Saddam Hussein's behaviour is not tolerable anymore and a military invasion is necessary to halt his threat. Taking the Conservatives' cognitive way into consideration when analysing this example, Saddam Hussein will be envisaged as a person whose consistent misbehaviour will lead to greater problems. To fix this situation, the authority figure decided to intervene and use force to solve the issue. It seems, on first sight, that this sort of language is not metaphorical; however, cognitive metaphor analysts emphasise "to look behind explicit utterances to find conceptual structures that the users themselves may not be aware of" (Musolff, 2004:3).

In the target language versions, the literal translation aims to communicate the exact meanings of the source language metaphorical entailments. This outcome defies the old-school view (Nida 1964) that literal translation is incapable of rendering metaphorical meanings. Furthermore, the function of literal translation is not only to explain the different (specifically syntactic or grammatical) relations between languages, it can also be a plausible alternative in communicating subconscious metaphorical meanings. In the section that follows we will discuss the Nurturant Parent model. The examples extracted are from the speeches of President Barack Obama in the General Assembly from 2009 until 2016.

8.3 Nurturant Parent metaphors

Unlike the Strict Father model, where strictness and punishment are the core values, nurturance and empathy are considered to be the backbone morals of the Nurturant Parent (NP) cognitive model. Before investigating the examples of the NP model in the corpus, a brief recap of the main principles of the model is deemed helpful (for a detailed explanation see section 2.10.2). The family in the NP model consists of two parents or only one. The moral authority is gender neutral and both parents share caring responsibility. The close relationship between parents and children is strengthened by love and empathy. The concept of punishment does not give priority to physical punishment. An act of restitution will be sufficient to deter children committing wrong-doing. Self-discipline and self-reliance in children is achieved through respect and care rather than deprivation and sufferance. The NP model activates a group of moral priorities that are enfolded in a set of metaphors.

Degani (2015:136) conceptualised the Nurturant Government based on this model as a government that takes care of its citizens by providing them with their basic needs of food, housing, education and health care. The Nurturant Government takes care of infrastructure and provides job opportunities for citizens. Protecting the environment is a priority, and establishing good and peaceful relations with other nations is a significant priority. However, Degani's (2015) data was comprised of Obama's 2008 election speeches. One of the contributions of this study is to discover whether NP values were manifested in Obama's speeches in the UN.

Having presented the main tenets of the NP model, I am now moving to introduce the examples extracted from the corpus as a representation of this model. The analysis will include a discussion of how translators transfer these metaphors into Arabic. The table below, as inferred from Degani (2015), summarises the major values of the NP model.

Table 8-2 Political values of the Democrats

Political values	Sub-values
Fairness	fair taxation/ fair distribution of money
Social rights	employment for everyone / education for everyone / health care for everyone
We	cooperation / unity / equality /empowering people /non-confrontational diplomacy / support of immigration
Protection	protection from crime / protection from harm
Opportunity	opportunity for children / opportunity for everyone

Care	caring for the environment / caring for people / supporting nurturant professions / caring for children / investing in education / help for people in need / caring for troops and veterans / caring for the old / caring for families / caring for future generations
Freedom	independence from non-renewable energy sources / right to abortion
Responsibility	responsibility to one another

Comparing Table 8.2 above with Table 8.1, we notice that NP metaphors outnumber their SF counterparts. This can be attributed to the fact that the two models share some political moral values, although these values are labelled differently. For instance, the nurturance and care values are similar, but the value has been called ‘Care’ in NP and expanded to encompass several sub-values as shown in Table 8.2.

8.3.1 Care / nurturance values

Nurturance is a central theme in this model. Helping people in need is nurturant and moral; abstaining from doing this is immoral. However, the care or nurturance value in Lakoff’s moral theory (1996/2002) consists of a constellation of smaller care values (see Table 8.2 above). Below are some examples extracted from the data that invoke this value:

Obama 1

To combat the poverty that punishes our children, we must act on the belief that freedom from want is a	وبغية مكافحة الفقر الذي يعاقب أطفالنا، يجب أن نعمل إيماناً منا	In order to combat poverty that punishes our children, we must act with a belief that
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basic human right. (Obama 2011)	بأن التحرر من الفاقة حق أساسي من حقوق الإنسان.	freedom from want is a basic human right.
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In this example, Obama (2011) calls on the UN member states to exert more effort to diminish poverty. Two care values invoked in this example are ‘caring for people’ and ‘fairness in wealth distribution’. The conceptual metaphor raised here is POVERTY IS AN ENEMY THAT WE SHOULD FIGHT. Using ‘combatting’ as a cognitive source domain necessitates or motivates other mappings in return: we need to prepare well for this fight; plans and strategic steps need to be in place; we need to evaluate our resources devoted to this battle and how to avoid losing it. In the target language version of this political value, the translator uses the word (مكافحة) (Mukhāfaḥt) (combat) which is more common in the context of resisting destructive phenomena, such as fighting illegal drugs or people-trafficking. However, the intensity of this metaphor has been decreased in the target language through using the word (مكافحة) (Mukhāfaḥt). The meaning of this word does not indicate the same sense of combatting, as one of the associative meanings of the word ‘combat’ triggers the sense of a battle whereas this translation implies ‘all resources being deployed to defeat the enemy’ (poverty in this case).

Obama 2

Here in the United States, I have announced a plan to put Americans back to work and jump-start our economy, at the same time as I am committed to substantially reducing our deficits over time. (Obama 2011)	لقد أعلنتُ هنا في الولايات المتحدة خطة لوضع الأمريكيين مجددًا على طريق العمل، وإعطاء زخم لاقتصادنا، بينما التزم في الوقت نفسه بخفض جوانب العجز لدينا إلى حد كبير في المستقبل.	Here in the United States, I have announced a plan to put Americans back on the road to action, to give momentum to our economy, while at the same time committed to reducing our deficits significantly in the future.
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Bringing people back to work is a decent political and social value. This political act can be categorised under the ‘caring for people’ value suggested by Degani (2015). Obama (2011) promises here that he will reinvigorate economy as well. He expresses this metaphorically using the word ‘jump-start’. This linguistic metaphor is in fact an embodiment of the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS AN ENGINE. Perceiving ‘economy’ as an engine can enrich our understanding of the target (economy) using our knowledge of the source (engine knowledge). This conceptualisation may activate meanings that usually associate with engines, such as how an engine works, how to take care of engines and how to fix a faulty engine.

The translator opted for different metaphor in the target language text. The phrase used is to (إعطاء زخم) (ī‘ṭā u zakham) (to give momentum). The meaning of this Arabic phrase is to give a push to someone or something. Although the mapping of the conceptual metaphor in the target language is slightly different, this shift does not have any effect on the value expressed in the source language text.

Obama 3

<p>We must work with Yemen’s neighbours and our partners around the world to seek a path that allows for a peaceful transition of power from President Saleh, and a movement to free and fair elections as soon as possible. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>لذلك يجب علينا أن نعمل مع جيران اليمن وشركائنا في جميع أنحاء العالم، من أجل التوصل إلى المسار الذي يسمح بالانتقال السلمي للسلطة من الرئيس صالح، وإجراء انتخابات حرة ونزيهة في أقرب وقت ممكن.</p>	<p>Therefore, we have to work with Yemen’s neighbours and our partners in the world to reach the path that enables peaceful transfer of power from President Saleh and to conduct free and transparent elections as soon as possible.</p>
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This example raises the ‘care for people’ moral value. It is precisely about bringing peace to the Yemeni people. In an attempt to end the conflict in Yemen, Obama (2011) urges President Saleh to abandon power peacefully. This can bring peace and end fighting in Yemeni streets. Obama uses the ‘journey’ metaphor (the lexical item ‘path’ is a manifestation of the ‘journey’ conceptual domain) to express his political will. A possible motivation for this metaphor is that politicians conceptualise political processes as journeys that can lead to different destinations, depending on the path a politician selects.

Obama 4

<p>Future generations will look back and wonder why we refused to act - why we failed to pass on an environment that was worthy of our inheritance. (Obama 2009)</p>	<p>وستنظر الأجيال المقبلة إلى الوراء وتتساءل لماذا لم نتخذ إجراء - ولماذا أخفقنا في أن نترك لها بيئة تستحق أن تكون إرثنا لها.</p>	<p>Future generations will look back and wonder why we have not taken an action - and why we failed to leave them an environment that was worthy of our inheritance</p>
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Obama (2009) conceptualises the environment as a legacy that should be handed intact to future generations. But before we determine or verbalise the conceptual metaphor that motivated the linguistic one used by Obama, let us analyse its propositions. To conceptualise the environment preservation in terms of ‘inheritance’ domain can instantiate several mappings: we are the owners of the bequest; we should work hard to keep it undamaged; future generations are our heirs. The novel understanding that the environment is not only ours, but a property that we will deliver to our children, can encourage people to think differently about how to act towards it. Therefore, the source or motive for understanding the environment in this way is a reflection of the conceptual metaphor ENVIRONMENT IS A BEQUEST. It is in this sense politicians use metaphors not only for persuasion purposes, but to raise awareness of different themes such as preserving the environment. The literal translation technique has been used to conduct similar mappings in Arabic. But what makes a direct translation a

viable possibility here? It is a matter of fact that inheritance in Western culture is not identical with that in Arabian societies. In Arabic culture, various religious, social and traditional factors control this process. However, in this example, the metaphor transferred into Arabic and worked successfully. The answer, in my view, lies in the fact that the partial nature of the mappings between the concepts facilitates the translator's task.

Obama 5

<p>No country can realise its potential if half its population cannot reach theirs. This week, the United States signed a new declaration on women's participation. Next year, we should each announce the steps we are taking to break down the economic and political barriers that stand in the way of women and girls. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>وما من بلد يمكنه أن يحقق إمكاناته إذا تعذر على نصف سكانه تحقيق إمكاناتهم. ففي هذا الأسبوع، وقعت الولايات المتحدة إعلاناً جديداً بشأن مشاركة المرأة. وفي السنة المقبلة، ينبغي لكل واحد منا أن يعلن عن الخطوات التي نتخذها لكسر الحواجز الاقتصادية والسياسية التي تقف في وجه النساء والفتيات.</p>	<p>No country can achieve its potential if half of its population is unable to fulfil their potentials. This week, the United States signed a new declaration on women's participation. Next year, each of us should announce the steps we are taking to break down the economic and political barriers that stand in the way of women and girls.</p>
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President Obama (2011) uses the source domain of 'building' ('break' and 'barriers' are instantiations of this domain) to invoke the value of 'cooperation'. The conceptual

basis of the ‘building’ metaphor in this extract can be as follows: economic and political factors are usually the principal barriers that prevent women and girls from playing an effective role in their societies. This lack of participation deprives the society of much potential. Therefore, President Obama asked the member states to announce the steps to be taken to remove these barriers. The ‘building’ source domain has been used to invoke the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS ARE BARRIERS.

The outcome of examining the care values in Obama’s speeches indicates that care/nurturance is a prevalent political value for him. Similar to the previous example, the literal translation procedure was predominantly used to transfer the metaphorical expression into Arabic.

8.3.2 Cooperation Value

Degani (2015:140) suggests cooperation is a sub-value of a larger value concept. These values can be organised under the umbrella term ‘We’. The term ‘We’ invokes several values (cooperation, unity, empowering people, etc.) that share the feature that “American people should consider themselves as part of a social community where their action is not motivated by individualistic needs and personalism.” The Nurturant Parent values are built on the assumption that people in a community should not only think of their own individual vested interests, but act in such a way that all people can reap gains from individual actions. Consequently, the whole community will develop. Below are examples of the ‘cooperation’ value, which is a sub-value of the ‘We’ category.

Obama 6

<p>I therefore believe that at this moment we all face a choice. We can choose to press forward with a better model of cooperation and integration, or we can</p>	<p>ولذلك فإنني أعتقد أننا جميعا لدينا في هذه اللحظة خيار. بوسعنا أن نختار المضي قدما وفق نموذج أفضل من التعاون والتكامل، أو يمكننا التراجع إلى عالم منقسم انقسام اشديدا، وفي نهاية المطاف</p>	<p>So I think we all have a choice at this moment. We can choose to move forward according to a better model of cooperation and</p>
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<p>retreat into a world sharply divided, and ultimately in conflict, along age-old lines of nation, tribe, race or religion. I want to suggest today that we must go forward and not backward. (Obama 2016)</p>	<p>إلى النزاع، على الأسس القديمة للأمة أو القبيلة أو العرق أو الدين وأود أن أقول اليوم إننا يجب أن نمضي إلى الأمام وليس إلى الوراء.</p>	<p>complementarity, or we can retreat to a world that is deeply divided, and ultimately into conflict, based on the ancient foundations of a nation, tribe, race or religion. I would like to say today that we must move forward, not backward.</p>
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Addressing the UN member states, Obama (2016) stresses the need to maintain the progress that has been achieved after the Cold War. He suggests that the world has only limited choices: whether to increase the amount of cooperation or to return to the old divides that threatened world peace. The ‘cooperation’ value here has been expressed metaphorically. Obama conceptualises the idea of increasing cooperation by moving forward. Conversely, he thinks that less cooperation is retreating or moving backwards.

One of major contributions of studying metaphor using cognitive linguistic principles is the interpretations given for the link triggered between abstract domains (‘political cooperation’ in our example) and the concept of ‘motion’. Ahrens and Huang (2002) summarised this contribution by saying that the main point of the Cognitive Linguistic paradigm is to use our bodily-based concrete experiences in encoding and interpreting non-bodily abstract phenomena. The motivation of this metaphor is based on our experience with movement. We (the ego) measure our progress by the distance we travel. The greater the distances crossed the more progress we achieve. If we imagine a scale of this journey, it will contain a point of departure, a trajectory and arrival point. Because of the universality of such metaphors, no major shift occurred in the target language version.

Obama 7

<p>We are all stakeholders in this international system, and it calls upon all of us to invest in the success of institutions to which we belong (Obama 2016).</p>	<p>ونحن جميعا أصحاب مصلحة في هذا النظام الدولي، وهو يتطلب منا جميعا أن نستثمر في نجاح المؤسسات التي ننتمي إليها.</p>	<p>We are all beneficiaries from this international system, which requires from us to invest more in the success of the institutions we belong to.</p>
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In this instance, Obama (2016) utilises the source domain of ‘investment’ to convey the idea that cooperation between nations is rewarding. Kövecses (2010:68) acknowledges that the POLITICS IS BUSINESS conceptual metaphor is among the array of metaphors that structure American political thought.

The basic meaning of ‘stakeholder’ is referring to people who indulge in an economic activity. Yet the contextual meaning in this example does not refer to this basic meaning. Not only does the lexical term ‘stakeholders’ denote the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS BUSINESS, but the use of the verb ‘to invest’ is an additional trace of this metaphor within the same sentence.

Using ‘investment’ and ‘business’ source domains can entail two inferences. First, the outcome of political activities cannot always result in a loser and a winner; they could yield a win-win situation for all parties involved. Secondly, when Democrats conceive of political activities in terms of ‘cooperation’ or ‘investment’ rather than rivalry or contention, this supports the hypothesis suggested by Lakoff (1996/2002) that Democrats, as Nurturant Parents, prefer to establish peaceful and kindly relations with other nations rather than resorting to force to maintain Americans’ economic interests.

In the target language text, the ‘business’ side of the metaphor was slightly diluted. Instead of using ‘stakeholders’, the translator opted for ‘beneficiaries’ which is a more general equivalent for the source language metaphorical term.

<p>Next year, we should all be prepared to announce the concrete steps that we have taken to counter extremist ideologies in our own countries - by getting intolerance out of schools, stopping radicalization before it spreads and promoting institutions and programmes that build new bridges of understanding. (Obama 2014)</p>	<p>وينبغي لنا جميعا أن نكون مستعدين في السنة المقبلة للإعلان عن الخطوات الملموسة التي اتخذناها لمواجهة الأيديولوجيات المتطرفة في بلداننا بالذات - بإخراج التعصب من المدارس، ووقف التطرف قبل أن ينتشر، وتعزيز المؤسسات والبرامج التي تبني جسورا جديدة من التفاهم.</p>	<p>We ought to be all ready in the coming year to announce the concrete steps we have taken to confront extremist ideologies in our own countries - by removing intolerance from schools, stopping extremism before it spreads, and strengthening institutions and programmes that build new bridges of understanding.</p>
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President Obama (2014) here advocates for more work to fight extremism. He suggests the next year after his speech will be a decisive time to announce the practical steps in the pledge to fight terrorism. He also believes that three steps that should be taken to fight extremism. World leaders should stop intolerance inside schools, freeze radicalisation and enhance institutions and programmes to give room for more communication within societies. The last procedure in his proposal has been expressed metaphorically. Obama asks for ‘bridges of understanding’. However, we know bridges as structures built to facilitate the movement of people or vehicles from one side of an obstacle to another. The source cognitive domain of ‘building’ (a ‘bridge’ is a sort of building, in essence) is used in this example to communicate the virtue of a political value of communication and cooperation between institutions and organisations. As the example suggests, the function of the ‘building’ metaphor is to present a positive outlook for political communication. However, this metaphor also raises a significant point that ‘building the bridges’ requires patience, cooperation,

resilience and hard work. Similarly, cooperation and effective communication in fighting terrorism needs hard work and considerable effort.

The translation of the metaphor into Arabic does not impose any difficulty for the translator, as the concept of (بناءً الجسور) (bināu al-jusuwr) (building bridges) is commonly used as a metaphor for ‘cooperation’ in Arabic as well.

8.3.3 Protection Value

The major duty of politicians is to protect their people from different sorts of imminent evils. This may explain the significant number of examples under this category. The evils discussed in the United Nations are different from those that American presidents discuss in domestic speeches. In this part of the analysis, the focus will be mainly on three of these evils (in this case they will be the target domains). They are: climate change, nuclear weapons and terrorism. We will see below what type of source domains are used to talk metaphorically about these evils.

Obama 9

<p>To lift the spectre of mass destruction, we must come together to pursue the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons. Over the past two years, we have begun to walk down that path. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>وبغية إزالة شبح الدمار الشامل، يجب أن نتآزر لتحقيق السلام والأمن في عالم خال من الأسلحة النووية فعلى مدى العامين الماضيين بدأنا السير في هذا الطريق.</p>	<p>In order to remove the spectre of mass destruction, we must join hands to achieve peace and security in a world free of nuclear weapons. For the past two years we have begun to go down this path.</p>
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Obama 10

<p>And so we have begun to move in the right direction.</p>	<p>وهكذا بدأنا بالتحرك في الاتجاه الصحيح. وتلتزم الولايات</p>	<p>And so we started moving in the right</p>
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<p>And the United States is committed to meeting our obligations. But even as we meet our obligations, we have strengthened the treaties and institutions that help stop the spread of those weapons. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>المتحدة بالوفاء بتعهداتنا . ولكن حتى مع الوفاء بتعهداتنا، نقوم بتعزيز المعاهدات والمؤسسات التي تساعد على وقف انتشار تلك الأسلحة.</p>	<p>direction. The United States is committed to fulfilling its obligations. But even as our promises are fulfilled, we are strengthening treaties and institutions that help stop the spread of these weapons.</p>
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Obama (2011) in these two examples calls for collective work to protect the world from a nuclear disaster. This political call is a moral value. It is an indication of the care Obama feels for the lives of people. Obama mentions that the USA has already started this effort. The effort of nuclear disarmament has been described metaphorically. The source domain used to denote this value is ‘journey’. The speaker talks about starting this effort at a previous point in time and suggests they are walking this way to reach their target. The ‘walking a path’ linguistic metaphor is a result of an underlying conceptual metaphor ABANDONING NUCLEAR PROGRAMMES IS A JOURNEY. Using the phrase ‘this path’ indicates that the speaker is confident of the steps taken in this regard.

Literal translation technique is used to translate this metaphor into Arabic. My interpretation is that the efficiency of the literal translation can be attributed to the fact that the degree of metaphor schematicity is very high. There are no rich associations that may form a translation difficulty. The metaphor components are ‘the departure point’, ‘the trajectory’ and ‘the destination point’. The literal translation of this structure will lead to an equivalent metaphor in the target language.

Obama 11

<p>True peace depends on creating the opportunity that makes life worth</p>	<p>فالسلم الحقيقي يعتمد على تهيئة الفرصة التي تجعل الحياة جديرة بأن تُعاش. وفي سبيل القيام</p>	<p>The true peace depends on preparing the opportunity that makes</p>
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<p>living. And to do that, we must confront the common enemies of humanity: nuclear weapons and poverty, ignorance and disease. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>بذلك، يجب علينا أن نواجه الأعداء المشتركين للبشرية: الأسلحة النووية والفقير، والجهل والمرض</p>	<p>life worth living. In order to do that, we have to face the mutual enemies of the humanity: nuclear weapons, poverty, ignorance and illness.</p>
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Obama 12

<p>As we combat the spread of deadly weapons, we are also confronting the spectre of climate change. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>وبينما نكافح انتشار الأسلحة الفتاكة نقوم أيضا بمواجهة شبح تغير المناخ.</p>	<p>While we combat the spread of the deadly weapons we also confront the spectre of the climate change as well.</p>
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The two examples above, Obama 11 and Obama 12, are instances of the ‘protection’ value in the sense that they seek to raise awareness of the threats of nuclear weapons. The nuclear weapons issue is one of the sensitive topics that should be approached with care in the UN. It is one of the reasons for the continuous tension between different parties in our world. Sharifian and Jamarani (2013:339) argue that escalating tension between the West and Iran may lead to ‘Jihad’, ‘clash of civilisations’ or ‘World War III’.

In example Obama 11, Obama literally uses the word ‘enemy’, while this meaning is embodied in the second example by use of the word ‘combat’; people usually do not fight or combat with their friends. These examples are manifestations of a more underlying conceptual metaphor NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE ENEMIES. Using this metaphor, Obama seeks to gain support for his views and intentions about nuclear weapons from all member states of the UN. An additional inference can be made that the member states should decide which camp they support. Any such decisions will

have consequences, whether that is to attract economic and diplomatic support or, at worst, to be classified as a terrorist-sympathetic state.

In the target language, and similar to the previous examples, the literal translation procedure is used to transfer the metaphors from English into Arabic. I think this sort of metaphor is not one of those, as suggested by Pisarska (1989:86), “lexicalized metaphors which have lost their unique, poetic character and have become part of the established semantic stock of the language”. The signs of inventiveness in metaphor cannot be eradicated by time or frequency of usage. It is the asymmetrical ways through which our brains process abstract concepts that make them more apprehensible using more tangible or concrete cognitive domains.

8.3.4 We: non-confrontational diplomacy

Obama 13

<p>As part of our effort on non-proliferation, I offered the Islamic Republic of Iran an extended hand last year and underscored that it has both rights and responsibilities as a member of the international community. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>وكجزء من الجهود التي نبذلها لمنع انتشار الأسلحة النووية، عرضت في العام الماضي يدا ممدودة على جمهورية إيران الإسلامية، وشددت على أن لها حقوقا وعليها مسؤوليات، بصفتها عضوا في المجتمع الدولي.</p>	<p>As a part of the efforts we exceed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, I offered the Islamic Republic of Iran an extended hand and I stressed that it has rights and responsibilities as a member in the international community.</p>
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In an attempt to express the good intentions of America, Obama expresses his intention to offer an extended hand to Iranians. An ‘extended hand’ in this example is used to stand for initiating peace talks between conflicted parties. Cognitively speaking, ‘hand’ stands for ‘peace’ here. One of the interesting studies conducted about using ‘hand’ metaphorically is the one conducted by Maalej (2014). In this study, Maalej surveyed the use of ‘hand’ as a source domain in Tunisian Arabic. One of the source

domains that ‘hand’ can convey metaphorically is ‘power and authority’. In Arabic, people usually use ‘hand’ to collocate with ‘assault’ to denote the cruel and arbitrary use of authority. Therefore, Obama’s extended hand does not only stand for the willingness to make peace, but also gives the hint that he has the ability to do that boldly. This could also indicate that there has been a shift in translation from NP to SF. In Arabic (يده ممدودة) (yaduh mamduwdh) (his hand is extended) performs the identical function of ‘extended hand’ in English.

Obama 14

<p>The United States and the international community seek a resolution to our differences with Iran, and the door remains open to diplomacy should Iran choose to walk through it. (Obama 2010)</p>	<p>إن الولايات المتحدة والمجتمع الدولي يسعيان إلى إيجاد حل لخلافاتنا مع إيران، وإن الباب مازال مفتوحاً أمام الدبلوماسية إذا اختارت إيران دخوله.</p>	<p>the United States and international community seek to find a solution for our disputes with Iran, and the door is still open for the diplomacy if Iran decided to enter it.</p>
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In this example Obama (2010) invoked the ‘protection’ value. His call for halting the nuclear race and resorting to diplomacy to resolve disagreements seeks to protect people from the consequences of this risky race. Two cognitive patterns for the metaphorical phrase ‘door is still open’ can be inferred here. The first is that the linguistic metaphor is an exploitation of the more concrete domain of ‘building’. Moreover, the image schema of ‘in-out’ can contribute in understanding this metaphor as well. The ‘door still open’ indicates the possibility of doing something. In this context the room is still available for peaceful negotiations between Iran and America.

The ‘in-out’ image schema here refers to the fact that there are those inside the building who are in control of this avenue; in a sense, they can keep the doors open for others to enter or they can close them). In other words, this entailment confirms that it is the USA who decides when to keep on negotiating and when to halt. In the target language,

the equivalent Arabic (ما زال الباب مفتوحا) (māzāla al-bābu maftuwhn) (door is still open) is common in similar situations.

8.3.5 We: Support of immigration

Immigration is one of the target domains that receives considerable attention from metaphor scholars. Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018:1) argue that “The concept of migration is complex by its nature and is consequently metaphorised in its different genres of use.” However, metaphor can be double-edged sword when it comes to immigration. Politicians may use metaphors when talking about immigration as a constructive phenomenon that contributes to building societies, or, conversely, metaphors may contribute to negative myths about immigrants. There are many examples for the latter case. Calling the Calais camp a ‘jungle’ may stress its threat to the civilised world or may dehumanise immigrants and spread fear of them in host societies. Charteris-Black (2005:23) explains how Norman Tebbit argued that Britain would be swamped with immigrants, aiming to associate immigrants with destructive phenomena such as floods. In this section, I will examine how President Obama uses metaphors to talk about supporting or protecting immigrants as a political moral value.

Obama 15

<p>And together, now, we have to open our hearts and do more to help refugees who are desperate for a home. (Obama 2016)</p>	<p>علينا أن نفتح قلوبنا وأن نفعل المزيد لمساعدة اللاجئين الذين هم في أمس الحاجة إلى وطن.</p>	<p>We have to open our hearts and do more to help refugees who are desperate for a home.</p>
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In this example Obama (2016) embodies the highest degrees of sympathy with immigrants. He asks the world leaders to open their hearts to immigrants. The question that arises here is: why does the speaker use ‘hearts’ rather than ‘borders’? What Obama suggests here is a genuine welcome for those people who travelled distances, leaving behind their valuable possessions, seeking safety and decent lives.

On closer cognitive inspection of this phrase, one can argue that his metaphor is a linguistic trace of two image schematic metaphors. The first is the ‘central-periphery’ image schema and the second is the ‘container’ image schema. To open our hearts to immigrants is to enable them to reach the most important part of our body. It is similar to the experience of opening our doors to receive friends or relatives. Usually, we do not do that for people we dislike. Our hearts are containers in the sense that they are bounded areas and may contain items, like feelings for instance. Therefore, Obama pleads to open these containers and find space for immigrants. The ‘container’ metaphor in this instance has not raised negative sentiments as Charteris-Black found out in his study conducted about how immigrants were described in Britain during the 2005 election campaign.

The TLM is identical to the source language one. In Arabic, people commonly use the same metaphor as a manifestation for welcoming people. There is a commonly used metaphorical saying in Arabic that places are not too narrow to host people, but wide enough only if our hearts are spacious to welcome them.

Obama 16

<p>Around the world, refugees flow across borders in flight from brutal conflict. (Obama 2016)</p>	<p>في جميع أنحاء العالم، يتدفق اللاجئين عبر الحدود فرارا من صراعات وحشية.</p>	<p>All over the world, immigrants flow through borders escaping brutal conflicts.</p>
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Obama (2016) in this part of the speech tries to raise the awareness of the problems our world is witnessing. Among these issues is immigration. The metaphorical focus in this instance is the word ‘flow’. I assume that Obama opts for this word to indicate the large numbers of immigrants who try to reach the North, especially because of the civil war in Syria. However, this mapping has negative implications for the way immigrants are depicted to the public. Charteris-Black (2006) assumes that ‘immigration flow’ is in fact a manifestation of the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS NATURAL DISASTER. My interpretation of the ‘flow’

metaphor is slightly different from that provided by Charteris-Black (ibid). Nevertheless, there is no explicit evidence confirming that Obama uses ‘flow’ to depict immigrants negatively. The flow of water can be a good thing; for example, the flow of water after a long drought in desert areas. Mooney and Evans (2015:55) argue that “metaphors are not always obvious”. The element of good faith in Obama’s intention still exists, yet, in analysing such instances, academia could alert political agents to the implications of the metaphors they use. The Arabic counterpart of the ‘flow’ metaphor is not hugely different from that in English. The word (تدفق) (tadafq) (flow) refers to the movement of liquids. It can also be used metaphorically to indicate the collective movement of groups, as in “Given the global flow of population to cities, the leaders will develop updated standards for sustainable development in urban environments.” (taken from English web 2015, enTenTen15). The translator opts for the word (يتدفق) (yatadafq) as it carries the meaning of ‘strong movement’. Table 8.3 summarises the analysis of the values expressed by Democrats and Republicans.

Table 8-3 Summary of translation of political values into Arabic

No.	Political value	Source domain	Translation shift	Translation strategy
Bush 1	Freedom and democracy	Growth image schema	Shift	Deletion
Bush 2	Freedom and democracy	Journey	No shift	Literal translation
Bush 3	Authority value	Idiom 'carrot and stick'	No shift	Literal translation

Bush 4	Authority value	Parental authority	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 1	Care and nurturant values	Combat	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 2	Care and nurturant values	Engines	Shift	Shift from rich image into schematic metaphor
Obama 3	Care and nurturant values	Journey	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 4	Care and nurturant values	Inheritance	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 5	Care and nurturant values	Building	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 6	Cooperation value	Journey	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 7	Cooperation value	Business	Shift	Less intense metaphor
Obama 8	Cooperation value	Building	No shift	Literal translation

Obama 9	Protection value	Journey	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 10	Protection value	Journey	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 11	Protection value	Combat	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 12	Protection value	Combat	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 13	Non-confrontational diplomacy	Body part	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 14	Non-confrontational diplomacy	Building	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 15	Support of immigration	Central-Periphery Container image schemata	No shift	Literal translation
Obama 16	Support of immigration	Natural phenomena	No shift	Literal translation

The table summarises the political values used by Presidents G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the speeches delivered in the UNGA sessions. The table presents the source domains used to express these values metaphorically, and it explains whether these values have been expressed using different metaphors in the target language. Additionally, the table provides the translation techniques used in transferring these values into Arabic.

It is clear that Bush and Obama have expressed some of their political values metaphorically. However, it is worth pointing out that the number of metaphors used to express these values is small compared with the size of the data. This is consistent with Degani's (2015:200) outcome that "Indeed, a general tendency has been observed for moral values to be communicated using literal language. This indicates that the language Obama uses to promote nurturant values and to downplay Strict Father values is not intrinsically metaphorical."

The source domains chosen for these metaphors are various. The fundamental trend in the analysis indicates is that the majority of the source domains used in the source language metaphorical political values are maintained in the target language (apart from three instances: 4, 9 and 14). This has been done through literal translation strategy.

8.4 Nurturant George W. Bush and Strict Father Obama

The data shows an interesting trend, and that is, in some cases, Bush and Obama exchange the cognitive roles ascribed to them by Lakoff's Moral Politics Theory. Not entirely surprisingly, perhaps, it seems that Lakoff's assumption of Republicans as SF and Democrats as NP is not exclusive. The following section will be devoted to the analysis of the examples where each of the two conceptualisers embraces the cognitive family model more readily associated with the other. The analysis will be carried out on the inherent values that have the highest priority in each model (sympathy and nurturance in NP, and strength and punishment in SF). These values are derived from Lakoff (1996/2002) and Degani (2015). The analysis will focus on the metaphors used by Bush that are more closely attached to the NP model, and on the innate SF values used by Obama. I will examine examples where the values expressed in metaphorical language, or as logical non-metaphorical entailments, mirror the SF or NP models.

8.4.1 G.W. Bush as NP

The below examples show how Bush embraces some of the NP values. This in fact conforms to the assumptions made by Lakoff (1996/2002) that speakers could use both metaphorical models of morality to reason about politics. Lakoff (1996/2002) defines this phenomenon as biconceptualism (see section 2.10.3).

8.4.1.1 Nurturance and Empathy values

The two values of nurturance and empathy are interrelated. The essence of nurturance and empathy values is represented by the act of helping people in need unconditionally. However, to be a nurturant you should be empathetic in the first place. Empathy refers to being able to appreciate others and connect to them according to their own value system (Degani, 2015:54).

Bush 5

I can promise, too, that America will join the world in helping the people of Afghanistan rebuild their country. (Bush 2001)	وأستطيع أن أعد، أيضا، بأن أمريكا ستتنضم إلى بقية دول العالم في مساعدة شعب أفغانستان في إعادة بناء بلده.	I can promise, too, that America will join the other countries in helping the Afghani people in rebuilding their country.
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Bush 6

In our struggle against hateful groups that exploit poverty and despair, we must offer an alternative of opportunity and hope. (Bush 2001)	وفي كفاحنا ضد الجماعات الحاقدة التي تستغل الفقر واليأس، يجب أن نطرح بديلا من الفرص والأمل.	In our struggle against the hateful groups that exploit poverty and despair, we should present an alternative of opportunity and hope.
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Bush 7

<p>The United States is joining with the world to supply aid where it reaches people and lifts up lives, to extend trade and the prosperity it brings, and to bring medical care where it is desperately needed. (Bush 2002)</p>	<p>وهاهي الولايات المتحدة تنضم إلى العالم من أجل تقديم العون حيثما يصل إلى الناس وينهض بمستويات معيشتهم، ومن أجل توسيع نطاق التبادل التجاري وما يصاحبه من رخاء، ومن أجل تقديم الرعاية الطبية حيثما تشتد الحاجة إليها.</p>	<p>The United States is joining the world to provide aid where it reaches the people and lifting up their life standards, and to extend trade and the prosperity it brings and to provide the health care when it is desperately needed.</p>
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Bush 8

<p>If we fail to act in the face of danger, the people of Iraq will continue to live in brutal submission. The regime will have new power to bully, dominate and conquer its neighbours, condemning the Middle East to more years of bloodshed and fear. (Bush 2002)</p>	<p>فإذا ما تقاعسنا عن اتخاذ إجراء لمواجهة الخطر، سيظل شعب العراق يعيش حالة من الإذعان القاسي. وسيكتسب النظام قدرة جديدة على ترهيب جيرانه والسيطرة عليهم وغزوهم، معرضاً بذلك الشرق الأوسط لسنوات أخرى من سفك الدماء والخوف.</p>	<p>If we fail to take action to face the danger, the Iraqi people will continue to live in a state of brutal submission. The regime will gain new power to threaten and dominate neighbours and conquer them.</p>
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The examples above reflect the political values of nurturance and empathy. These two values are typical of the NP model. Although the nurturance value is also available in the SF model (Lakoff, 1996/2002), there it is of conditional nature where it is only provided to enhance the strength value (Degani, 2015). Embracing the NP model, G.W. Bush expresses his sympathy with Muslims around the world, Afghani people, poor and vulnerable people, and the Iraqi nation. According to the NP model, such categories of people are helpless and they are in need of care. Contrary to what has been suggested by Lakoff, the care in these cases is not conditional but is motivated by sympathetic grounds. These values in fact represent the opposite of the SF model which President G.W. Bush belongs to. Therefore, we may infer that the entailments used by him in his speeches in the UN do not reflect only SF values. In fact, these entailments suggest that Bush is politically a biconceptual speaker when he reasons about political issues in the UN. In this case, he does not express nurturance and empathy metaphorically and, as can be seen from the table, no considerable change occurred in the translations of the TL versions.

8.4.1.2 Protection and cross-cultural values.

The government should provide the necessary protection from different kinds of dangers for children. Sources of danger could be within the society, such as crime, drugs, and homelessness; or the danger could be external, such as terrorist attacks, military invasions or nuclear weapons. The cross-cultural value refers to the ability to peacefully coexist and accept people from various cultural backgrounds. Differences in the NP model are “celebrated rather than looked upon with suspicion” (Degani, 2015:57).

Bush 9

<p>The civilized world is now responding. We act to defend ourselves and to deliver our children from a future of fear.</p>	<p>إن العالم المتحضر يقوم الآن بالرد. وإننا نعمل على الدفاع عن أنفسنا ولتجنيب أطفالنا من مستقبل يسود فيه الخوف. إننا نفضل كرامة الحياة على ثقافة الموت ونفضل التغيير المشروع والاختلاف المتحضر على</p>	<p>The civilised world is responding now. We are working to defend ourselves and to save our children from a future where fear is prevalent. We prefer the dignity of life to</p>
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<p>We choose the dignity of life over a culture of death. We choose lawful change and civil disagreement over coercion, subversion and chaos. Those commitments - hope and order, law and life - unite people across cultures and continents. (Bush 2001)</p>	<p>القهر والتخريب والفوضى. وتلك الالتزامات - الأمل، والنظام، والقانون والحياة - توحد الشعوب عبر الثقافات والقارات.</p>	<p>a culture of death. We prefer the legitimate change and civilised disagreement over coercion, subversion and chaos. Those commitments - hope, and order, law and life - unite people across cultures and continents.</p>
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Bush 10

<p>The war against terror must not serve as an excuse to persecute ethnic and religious minorities in any country. Innocent people must be allowed to live their own lives, by their own customs, under their own religion. And every nation must have avenues for the peaceful expression</p>	<p>الحرب ضد الإرهاب يجب ألا تستخدم ذريعة لاضطهاد الأقليات العرقية والدينية في أي بلد. ويجب أن يسمح للأبرياء بأن يعيشوا حياتهم، وفقا لعاداتهم، وتحت مظلة ديانتهم. ويجب أن تتوفر في كل دولة سبل التعبير السلمي عن الرأي وعن الاختلاف في الرأي فعند ما تغلق هذه السبل، يتزايد إغراء التعبير عن ذلك بالعنف.</p>	<p>The war against terror should not be used as a pretext to persecute ethnic and religious minorities in any country. The innocent people should be allowed to live their lives, on their own customs, under their religious umbrella. Every country should provide means of peaceful expression of opinions and difference in point of views as when</p>
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<p>of opinion and dissent. When these avenues are closed, the temptation to speak through violence grows. (Bush 2001)</p>		<p>these means are prohibited the temptation to express violence will increase.</p>
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Bush 11

<p>The Russian children did nothing to deserve such awful suffering and fright and death. The people of Madrid and Jerusalem and Istanbul and Baghdad have done nothing to deserve sudden and random murder. Those acts violate the standards of justice in all cultures and the principles of all religions. (Bush 2004)</p>	<p>إن الأطفال الروس لم يفعلوا شيئا لينالوا هذه المعاناة الهائلة والخوف والموت. فالناس في مدريد والقدس وإسطنبول وبغداد لم يفعلوا شيئا لينالوا القتل المفاجئ والعشوائي إن هذه الأفعال تنتهك معايير العدالة في كل الثقافات ومبادئ جميع الأديان.</p>	<p>The Russian children did nothing to deserve this awful suffering, fear and death. People in Madrid, Jerusalem, Istanbul and Baghdad have not done anything wrong to deserve sudden and random murder. These acts violate the standard of justice in all cultures and the principles of all religions.</p>
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In his explanation of the SF model, Lakoff argues that cross-culturalism is perceived as an immoral issue. Multiculturalism conflicts with the metaphors of moral boundaries and moral wholeness. These metaphors call for the society's members to

be united in the way they perceive morality. Cross-culturalism in the SF view is “is considered the evil of all evils” (Degani, 2015:53). Contrary to what has been suggested by Lakoff about multiculturalism, we notice in the examples above the sympathetic view of President Bush towards people with different cultural backgrounds. In example (5), he mentions that the actions taken to face terrorism are not for the benefit of Americans only, but for all people around the world. Example (6) explains Bush’s sympathetic view towards Muslim minorities around the world. He states that fighting terrorists should not be taken as an excuse to oppress Muslim people. In examples (7) and (8) he expresses his good feelings towards Russian children and the victims of terrorism around the world. Therefore, the claim that Republicans (as SF advocates) are not enthusiastic about multiculturalism is being challenged here.

Since Lakoff argues that the NATION IS FAMILY metaphor can be applicable on the international or foreign policy level, hypothetically Republicans should oppose or resist the concept of multiculturalism on the world stage. However, the examples above show Bush’s positive attitude towards different people from various cultural backgrounds. The examples suggest that he is tolerant and open towards different minorities around the globe.

8.4.1.3 Equality and fair distribution values

In the moral reasoning theory, Lakoff (1996/2002) asserts that MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION is a cornerstone metaphor in the NP model. In this model, children should be equally nurtured and parents should share the responsibilities of bringing up their children. To cultivate this sense of equality, the family members should feel joy and happiness for any successes, and grief and disappointment for any misfortune. Mapping that into international relations and foreign policy, G.W. Bush (authority) asks the UN member states to share global wealth with poorer nations and less fortunate peoples.

Bush 12

<p>the mission of the United Nations requires liberating people from poverty and despair. Article 23 of the Universal Declaration states that everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment and to just and favourable conditions of work. In the twenty-first century, this requires ensuring that people in poor countries have the same opportunity to benefit from the global economy that citizens of wealthy countries have. (Bush 2007)</p>	<p>فإن مهمة الأمم المتحدة تقتضي تحرير الأشخاص من الفقر واليأس. فالمادة 23 من الإعلان العالمي تنص على أن لكل شخص الحق في العمل، وله الحق في حرية اختيار العمل وفي ظروف عمل عادلة ومرضية. وفي القرن الحادي والعشرين، فإن هذا الأمر يتطلب ضمان أن يتمتع السكان في البلدان الفقيرة بنفس فرصة الاستفادة من الاقتصاد العالمي التي يتمتع بها مواطنو البلدان الغنية.</p>	<p>the mission of the United Nations requires liberating people from poverty and despair. The article 23 of the Universal Declaration states that everyone has the right to work and the right to freely choose the type of work in fair and good work environments. In the 21st century this requires that people in poor countries enjoy equal chances from the global economy that citizens in the wealthy world have.</p>
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Bush 13

<p>America will lead towards that vision, in which all are created equal and free to</p>	<p>وستتطلع أمريكا بالقيادة لتحقيق تلك الرؤية، التي تفيد بأن الجميع ولدوا متساوين وأحرارا في السعي وراء تحقيق أحلامهم.</p>	<p>America will take the lead to achieve this vision, in which all born equal and</p>
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pursue their dreams. (Bush 2007)		free to pursue their dreams.
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Bush 14

Overcoming hopelessness requires addressing its causes: poverty, disease and ignorance. Challenging these conditions is in the interest of every nation in this hall, and democracies are particularly well positioned to carry out that work because we have experience responding to the needs of our own people. (Bush 2008)	والتغلب على اليأس يتطلب معالجة أسبابه: الفقر والمرض والجهل. إن التصدي لهذه الأسباب يصبُّ في مصلحة كل أمة ممثلة في هذه القاعة، والديمقراطيات، بصفة خاصة، في مركز جيد يؤهلها لتنفيذ ذلك العمل لأن لدينا تجربة في الاستجابة لاحتياجات شعبنا.	Overcoming hopelessness requires addressing its causes: poverty, disease and ignorance. Facing these conditions is in the interest of every nation in this hall, and democracies, specifically, are in good position to carry out that work because we have experience responding to the needs of our own people.
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In the examples above, G.W. Bush calls for world leaders to encourage the value of equality between peoples. He also asks the member states to promote the equal distribution of wealth in the world. In example (10), he calls on the world leaders to work to spread the equality value between the citizens in rich and poorer countries. In example (11), he confirms that all people are born equal and they have the right to be given the chance to chase their dreams. In example (12), he argues that poverty and disease lead to critical societal problems, and they should be eradicated. However, such rhetoric contradicts the main principle of SF values; rather, it is consistent with

NP values. The SF model encourages the value of competition that leads to self-reliance and makes people work hard to achieve success. It is at the base of the SF model that rich people get more of the wealth as they are the class who make society prosper. Sharing or giving money to poor people undermines the self-discipline value (Lakoff,2016:41). The values of equality and fair distribution have been expressed in literal language. They are transferred into Arabic using literal translation technique.

8.4.2 Obama as SF

Degani (2015) argues that there is a group of values that define the SF model. These values are strength (including punishment), self-interest and nurturance (the nurturant value is available in both SF and NP models). The two most endorsed values of the Republicans are strength and punishment. In the following section, we will investigate the values pertinent to SF that have been used by Obama, who one would expect to be a NP advocate according to the Moral Politics Theory. Obama utilises SF principles along with the WORLD COMMUNITY IS FAMILY metaphor (section 2.11) to reason about some foreign political policies.

8.4.2.1 Strength Value

At the top of the list of SF values comes the strength value (Moses and Gonzales, 2015). Republicans believe that being strong is the best way to be successful in life. Morally strong people can resist desires that lead to deviations from proper behaviour. Fathers, as the highest authority in the hierarchy of the model, have the power and the right to impose rules and correct any misbehaviour by their children. Hence the “exercise of authority is itself moral” (Wolters, 2012 :15). Mapping this conceptual view on the foreign policy level, Lakoff (2013) postulates that America could be a parental authority and other countries are children. On that basis, America has the right to exercise its authority to correct any wrongdoings by disobedient or misbehaving children. However, the data shows that Obama (who hypothetically endorses the NP model) has repeatedly mentioned that America is a strong nation, and it will use its strength as a means to implement its foreign policies.

Obama 17

<p>All of this must support efforts to strengthen the NPT. Those nations that refuse to live up to their obligations must face consequences. (Obama 2009)</p>	<p>وكل هذا يجب أن يدعم الجهود الرامية إلى تعزيز معاهدة عدم انتشار الأسلحة النووية. والدول التي ترفض أن ترقى إلى مستوى التزاماتها يجب أن تواجه العواقب.</p>	<p>All of this must support efforts to strengthen the NPT. Countries that refuse to live up to their obligations must face the consequences.</p>
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Obama 18

<p>...the hope that real change is possible and the hope that America will be a leader in bringing about such change. (Obama 2009)</p>	<p>...الأمل في أن التغيير الحقيقي ممكن، والأمل في أن تكون أمريكا رائدة في إحداث هذا التغيير.</p>	<p>...the hope that the real change is possible, and the hope that America will be the leader of this change.</p>
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Obama 19

<p>After all, it is easy to walk up to this podium and point fingers and stoke divisions. Nothing is easier than blaming others for our troubles and absolving ourselves of responsibility for our choices and our actions. Anybody can do that. Responsibility and leadership in the twenty-</p>	<p>وفي نهاية المطاف، من السهل اعتلاء هذه المنصة وتوجيه أصابع الاتهام وتأجيج الانقسام. فلا شيء أسهل من إلقاء اللوم على الآخرين وتحميلهم مسؤولية مشاكلنا وتبرئة أنفسنا من المسؤولية عن خياراتنا وأعمالنا. أي شخص يمكنه فعل ذلك. لكن المسؤولية والقيادة في القرن الحادي والعشرين تتطلبان أكثر من ذلك.</p>	<p>Ultimately, it is easy to use this podium to point fingers and fan divisions. Nothing is easier than blaming others and hold them accountable for our problems and to absolve ourselves of responsibility for our choices and actions. Anyone can do that. But responsibility and</p>
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first century demand more. (Obama 2009)		leadership in the twenty-first century require more.
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Obama 20

We will permit no safe haven for Al-Qaida to launch attacks from Afghanistan or any other nation. We will stand by our friends on the front lines, as we and many nations will do in pledging support for the Pakistani people tomorrow. (Obama 2009)	ولن نسمح بأي ملاذ آمن للقاعدة لشن هجمات من أفغانستان أو أي دولة أخرى. وسنقف إلى جانب أصدقائنا على الخطوط الأمامية، كما سنفعل وسيفعل الكثير من الدول غدا في التعهد بدعم الشعب الباكستاني.	We will not allow any safe haven for Al-Qaida to launch attacks from Afghanistan or any other country. We will stand with our friends on the front lines, as we and many nations will do in pledging to support the Pakistani people tomorrow.
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Obama 21

But for the sake of Syria - and the peace and security of the world - we must speak with one voice. There is no excuse for inaction. Now is the time for the Security Council to sanction the Syrian regime and to stand	ولكن - لصالح سوريا، والسلام والأمن الدوليين - يجب أن نتكلم بصوت واحد. ولا يوجد أي مبرر للتقاعس عن العمل. والآن هو الوقت المناسب لمجلس الأمن الدولي لفرض الجزاءات على النظام السوري، والوقوف مع الشعب السوري.	But - in the interest of Syria, and international peace and security - we must speak with one voice. There is no justification for inaction. Now is the time for the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on the
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with the Syrian people. (Obama 2011)		Syrian regime and stand with the Syrian people.
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Obama 22

But even as we meet our obligations, we have strengthened the treaties and institutions that help stop the spread of those weapons. And to do so, we must continue to hold accountable those nations that flout them. (Obama 2011)	ولكن حتى مع الوفاء بتعهداتنا، نقوم بتعزيز المعاهدات والمؤسسات التي تساعد على وقف انتشار تلك الأسلحة. وبغية القيام بذلك، يجب أن نستمر في مساءلة الدول التي تستخف بها.	But even as our promises are fulfilled, we are strengthening the treaties and institutions that help stop the spread of those weapons. To do this, we must continue to hold accountable the countries that underestimate them.
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Obama 23

America will never retreat from the world. We will bring to justice those who harm our citizens and our friends, and we will stand with our allies. (Obama 2012)	أمريكا لن تتراجع عن دورها في العالم على الإطلاق. سنجلب الذين يؤذون مواطنينا وأصدقاءنا إلى العدالة، وسنقف مع حلفائنا.	America will never retreat from its role in the world. We will bring those who harm our citizens and friends to justice, and we will stand with our allies.
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<p>I lead the strongest military that the world has ever known, and I will never hesitate to protect my country or our allies, unilaterally and by force where necessary. (Obama 2015)</p>	<p>إنني أتولى قيادة أقوى مؤسسة عسكرية عرفها العالم، ولن أتردد في حماية بلدي أو حلفائنا بصورة انفرادية باستخدام القوة كلما اقتضت الضرورة ذلك.</p>	<p>I take command of the most powerful military institution the world has known, and I will not hesitate to protect my country or our allies unilaterally by using force whenever necessary.</p>
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As attested by the NP model, the main obligation of the authority figure is to nurture their children, working hard for their safety, communicating with them in an honest and respectful manner. Parents expect their children to behave and treat people in a similar manner to how they were raised. In terms of foreign policy, diplomacy and peaceful and open dialogue with other countries is the main political approach. Resorting to physical force is a less favourable option in the NP model (Lakoff, 2013). However, the logical entailments above indicate that the speaker uses a different conceptual model. The logical entailments emphasise the strength value. This sort of language fits the SF model. Obama as the authority figure expresses in explicit manner that his country has the most powerful military force in the world and he is going to use this force to achieve and protect the interests of his country (Obama 25). He boldly states that countries which do not respect the obligations of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty will be penalised (Obama 17 and Obama 22). As a superpower, Obama insists that America will lead the change in the world (Obama 18); whereas, in example (Obama 19), he rejects the idea that his country is solely responsible for the problems our world is witnessing, calling world leaders to be more responsible in solving global issues. In example (Obama 20), Obama threatens that America will hit Al-Qaida severely. As moral authority, Obama says America will perform its duties in the world and calls the world to take the necessary action in Syria (Obama 21, 6, 8). This tone of strength cannot be achieved unless the speaker is aware that he possesses the necessary strength to transform his words into concrete actions.

In terms of translation, the adopted strategy is literal translation. This can be attributed to the fact the value has been mirrored through logical entailments rather than metaphorical expressions.

8.4.2.2 Punishment value

The punishment metaphor comes from an understanding of international relations using family dynamics. SF principles and the metaphor WORLD COMMUNITY IS FAMILY suggest that some countries are ‘heads of the family’ while other countries are envisaged as children whose behaviour should be controlled. The father as an authority knows what is right and wrong, and one of his duties is to punish his children when required. On that basis, if a father does not exercise his right of strength, he will show weakness and this may result in children thinking they can do whatever they want as they can evade punishment. The punishment value can take different forms: a military one by waging wars or making military interventions, or through imposing economic sanctions or financial settlements (Charteris-Black, 2011:271).

Obama 25

<p>I offered the Islamic Republic of Iran an extended hand last year and underscored that it has both rights and responsibilities as a member of the international community. I also said - in this hall - that Iran must be held accountable if it failed to meet those responsibilities. And</p>	<p>عرضتُ في العام الماضي يدا ممدودة على جمهورية إيران الإسلامية، وشددت على أن لها حقوقا وعليها مسؤوليات، بصفتها عضوا في المجتمع الدولي. وقلت أيضا، في هذه القاعة، إن إيران يجب أن تحاسب إذا فشلت في الوفاء بتلك المسؤوليات. وهذا هو ما فعلناه.</p>	<p>Last year I offered an extended hand to the Islamic Republic of Iran, and stressed that it has rights and responsibilities, as a member of the international community. I also said, in this hall, that Iran should be held accountable if it fails to fulfil these responsibilities. And this is what we did.</p>
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that is what we have done. (Obama 2010)		
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Obama 26

America and our allies will support the people of Ukraine as they develop their democracy and economy. We will reinforce our NATO allies and uphold our commitment to collective self-defence. We will impose a cost on Russia for its aggression, and we will counter falsehoods with the truth. (Obama 2014)	وستدعم أمريكا وحلفاؤها شعب أوكرانيا في ما يقوم به لإرساء الديمقراطية وتطوير الاقتصاد. وسوف ندعم حلفاءنا في الناتو، ونؤكد التزامنا بالدفاع الجماعي عن النفس. وسنجعل روسيا تدفع ثمن عدوانها، وسنقاوم الأكاذيب بالحقائق.	America and its allies will support the people of Ukraine in their efforts to democratise and develop the economy. We will support our NATO allies and reaffirm our commitment to collective self-defence. We will make Russia pay the price for its aggression, and we will resist lies with facts.
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Obama 27

there will be moments when the international community will need to acknowledge that	وستكون هناك لحظات يحتاج المجتمع الدولي فيها إلى التسليم بأنه ربما يلزم استخدام القوة	And there will be moments when the international community needs to acknowledge that multilateral
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the multilateral use of military force may be required to prevent the very worst from occurring. (Obama 2013)	العسكرية المتعددة الأطراف لمنع حدوث ما هو أسوأ بكثير.	military force may be needed to be used to prevent something much worse.
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Obama 28

there is no room to accommodate an apocalyptic cult like the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and the United States makes no apologies for using our military, as part of a broad coalition, to go after them. (Obama 2015)	لا يوجد مجال لاستيعاب جماعة كارثية مثل تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية في العراق والشام، ولن تبدي الولايات المتحدة أي اعتذار عن استخدام جيشنا، باعتباره جزءاً من تحالف عريض، لمطاردة الجماعة.	there is no room to accommodate a disastrous group like the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, and the United States will not make any apologies for using our army, as part of a broader coalition to hunt the group.
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Obama 29

Already, the United States has imposed strong sanctions on Syria's leaders. We supported a transfer of power that would be responsive to the	لقد فرضت الولايات المتحدة بالفعل، جزاءات قوية على القادة السوريين. وأيدنا عملية انتقال للسلطة، بطريقة تستجيب لمطالب الشعب السوري. وقد	The United States has already imposed strong sanctions on Syrian leaders. We supported the transfer of power, in a manner that responds to the demands of the Syrian
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<p>Syrian people. And many of our allies have joined in this effort. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>انضم إلينا في هذا الجهد العديد من حلفائنا.</p>	<p>people. Many of our allies have joined us in this effort.</p>
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Obama 30

<p>Today, as a new tower is rising at Ground Zero, it symbolizes New York's renewal, even as Al-Qaida is under more pressure than ever before. Its leadership has been degraded. Osama bin Laden, a man who murdered thousands of people from dozens of countries, will never endanger the peace of the world again. (Obama 2011)</p>	<p>أما اليوم، ومع ارتفاع برج جديد في مسرح الكارثة، فإنه يرمز إلى تجدد نيويورك، في وقت تترزح القاعدة فيه تحت وطأة الضغوط أكثر من أي وقت مضى. فقد تعرضت قيادتها لضربة قاصمة. ولن يشكل أسامة بن لادن، الرجل الذي قتل آلاف البشر من عشرات البلدان، خطرًا على السلام في العالم مرة أخرى أبداً.</p>	<p>Today, as a new tower rises in the scene of the disaster, it symbolises the renewal of New York, at a time when Al-Qaida is under more pressure than ever before. Its leadership had a severe blow. Osama bin Laden, the man who has killed thousands of people from dozens of countries, will never pose a threat to peace in the world.</p>
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Obama 31

<p>We have banned those who abuse human rights from travelling to our</p>	<p>وقد منعنا الذين ينتهكون حقوق الإنسان من السفر إلى بلدنا، وعاقبنا أولئك الذين يدوسون</p>	<p>Those who violate human rights have been prevented from travelling to our</p>
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country and we have sanctioned those who trample on human rights abroad. And we will always serve as a voice for those who have been silenced. (Obama 2011)	على حقوق الإنسان في الخارج. وسوف نكون دائما صوتًا للذين أجبروا على الصمت.	country, and we have punished those who trample on human rights abroad. We will always be the voice of those who are forced to be silenced.
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Obama 32

The attacks on the American civilians in Benghazi were attacks on America. We are grateful for the assistance we received from the Libyan Government and from the Libyan people. There should be no doubt that we will be relentless in tracking down the killers and bringing them to justice. (Obama 2012)	كانت الهجمات على المدنيين الأمريكيين في بنغازي هجمات على أمريكا ونحن نكّن الامتنان للمساعدة التي تلقيناها من الحكومة الليبية ومن الشعب الليبي. لا ينبغي أن يكون هناك أدنى شك في أننا لن نألو جهدًا في تعقب القتلة وتقديمهم للعدالة.	The attacks on American civilians in Benghazi were attacks on America and we are grateful for the help we received from the Libyan government and the Libyan people. There should be no doubt that we will spare no effort in tracking down the killers and bringing them to justice.
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Obama 33

When I stated my willingness to order a limited strike against	وعندما أعربت عن استعدادي لإصدار أمر بشن ضربة محدودة على نظام الأسد ردا على	When I expressed my readiness to issue an order to launch a limited strike
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<p>the Al-Assad regime in response to its brazen use of chemical weapons, I did not do so lightly. (Obama 2013)</p>	<p>استخدامه السافر للأسلحة الكيميائية، فإنني لم أفعل ذلك باستخفاف.</p>	<p>against the Assad regime in response to his flagrant use of chemical weapons, I did not do so lightly.</p>
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Obama 34

<p>When Iran agrees to accept constraints on its nuclear programme, that enhances global security and enhances Iran's ability to work with other nations. On the other hand, when North Korea tests a bomb, that endangers all of us. And any country that breaks this basic bargain must face consequences. (Obama 2016)</p>	<p>وحيثما توافق إيران على قبول القيود المفروضة على برنامجها النووي، فإن ذلك يؤدي إلى تعزيز الأمن العالمي والنهوض بقدرة إيران على العمل مع الدول الأخرى. ومن ناحية أخرى، حينما تجري كوريا الشمالية اختبارات لقنبلة، فإنها تعرضنا جميعا للخطر. وعلى أي بلد ينقض هذه الصفقة الأساسية أن يواجه العواقب.</p>	<p>When Iran agrees on the strict constraints on its nuclear programme, this will enhance global security and improve Iran's ability to work with other countries. On the other hand, when North Korea tests a bomb, it puts us all at risk. And any country that breaks this basic deal has to face the consequences.</p>
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Obama 35

<p>...then we will lift our sanctions and welcome Russia's role in addressing common challenges. (Obama 2014)</p>	<p>...فسنرفع ما فرضناه عليها من جزاءات وسنرحب بدور روسيا في مواجهة التحديات المشتركة.</p>	<p>...we will lift our sanctions and welcome Russia's role in addressing common challenges.</p>
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This group of examples manifested the punishment value in Obama's speeches. In example (Obama 27), he stresses the fact that using military power is an unavoidable option in some cases. Hence, he expresses it clearly that the punishment concept is essential in the Democrats' foreign strategic policies. In example (Obama 25) he stresses the fact that Iran deserved punishment as it has not shown the necessary commitment towards abandoning nuclear weapons production. He threatens to punish Russia in response to its actions in Ukraine (Obama 26). Using the SF and WORLD COMMUNITY IS FAMILY metaphors, this could be conceptualised as 'America is authority' and perceives Iran's behaviour (production of nuclear weapons) as a child's bad behaviour that deserves punishment. In example (Obama 35), Obama says Russia should change its behaviour so sanctions could be lifted; lifting sanctions is conceptualised as a reward in this case. This can be analogically linked to the perception of punishment and reward in the SF model, where obedience to the authority's instructions (abandoning the nuclear weapons programme) results in a reward (lifting the sanctions) (Lakoff and Wehling, 2016). This is similar to example (Obama 34) when Obama mentions the rewards that Iranians will reap if they cooperate and make constraints on their nuclear programme; whereas North Korea will face severe consequences if it decides to test a nuclear bomb. In fact, this scenario also triggers the punishment and reward metaphors that Lakoff raises (1996/2002) in his Family metaphors model. Examples (4, 6 and 8) illustrate Obama's views on dealing with terrorist groups. There is no choice but to use military force against them. In examples (Obama 29 and 33) Obama expresses his position on the Syrian war. He says that America exerted physical punishment, represented by air strikes, and economic sanctions. Lakoff (2013) believes that Obama's policy towards the Syrian war is a manifestation of the SF principles. Al-Assad has been conceptualised as a child who misbehaves, so the authority should intervene to deter him from doing wrong to

himself and others. Similar to the entailments in the strength group, the translators use the literal translation technique to render these logical entailments into Arabic.

8.5 Discussion of the results

To examine them more thoroughly, and to compare the ways the speakers use morality metaphors, the data have been transferred into Table 8.4. This table illustrates the numbers of expressions that reflect the SF and NP political values as suggested by Lakoff (1996/2002) and Degani (2015). A survey of the examples extracted from the research corpus shows the following figures:

Table 8-4 Statistical survey of morality metaphors

Description	G.W. Bush	Barack Obama	Description	G.W. Bush	Barack Obama
SF metaphorical entailments	19	6	NP metaphorical entailments	7	56
SF non-metaphorical entailments	197	49	NP non-metaphorical entailments	49	126
Total SF entailments	216	55	Total NP entailments	56	182
Total number of all entailments	509				

There are three prominent results that appear in the table. Firstly, the number of instances where G.W. Bush used SF values and Barack Obama used the NP model metaphorically is relatively small compared with the total number of all entailments. Secondly, the number of times each speaker has applied the opposite model (Bush as NP and Obama as SF) is approximately the same (55 examples for Bush and 56 for

Obama). Thirdly, the political values for both SF and NP models were predominantly articulated through literal logical entailments rather than metaphorical language. To study the results in more detail and to make the variations more visible, the results were put into pie charts. The pie charts specify the proportions (metaphorical or using logical literal entailments) in which each speaker expresses his own political values.

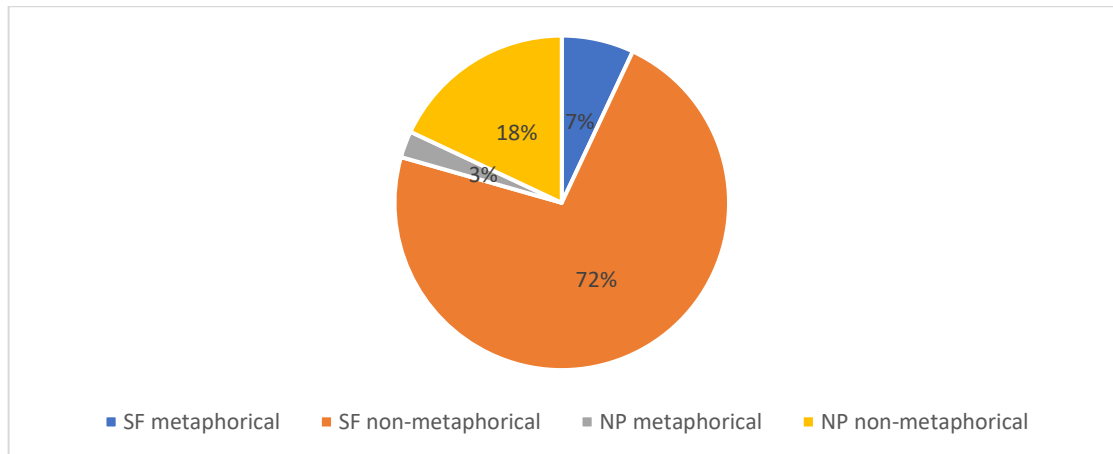


Figure 8:1 G W. Bush's use of morality metaphors

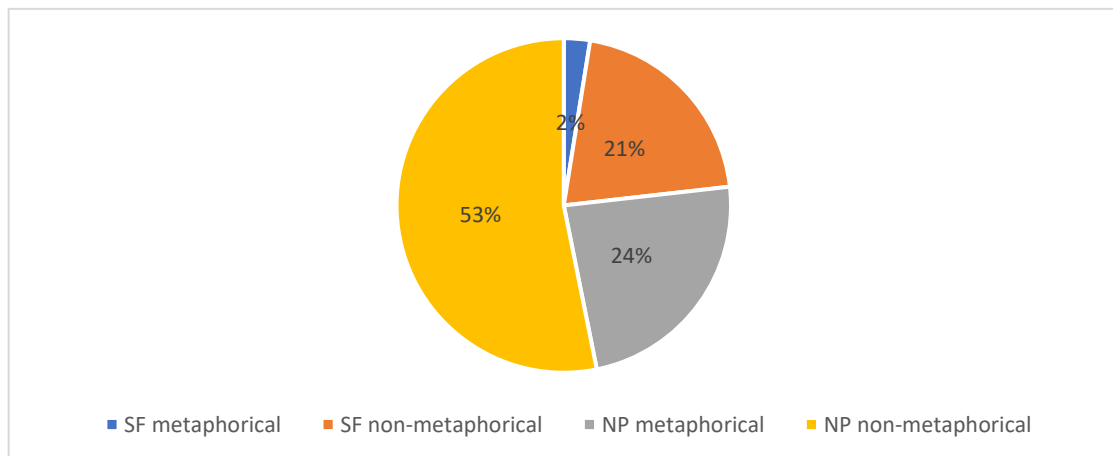


Figure 8:2 Barack Obama's use of morality metaphors

Figures (8:1) and (8:2) explain what sort of language (metaphorical entailments or non-metaphorical logical literal entailments) G.W. Bush and Barack Obama use to frame their political views. Overall, the largest category in the two pie charts is the use of non-metaphorical entailments by both speakers, whether SF for Republicans or NP for Democrats. However, the use of non-metaphorical entailments was about 20%

higher in the case of Bush than his counterpart. It is noticeable also that more than the half of the examples of moral values in Obama's speeches were NP non-metaphorical ones. Strikingly, using metaphorical language was the less common option for both speakers: less than a quarter in both presidents' examples. However, the analysis shows that Obama leans more to NP metaphorical alternatives (24%) than Bush does with SF metaphorical expressions (7%). Analysis indicates that both speakers use both models, rather than only those assigned to them in Lakoff's MPT; but to a lesser extent than their use of the metaphorical or literal entailments ascribed to them originally in the theory. This outcome conforms to Cienki's (2005a, 2005b), Moses and Gonzales' (2015) and Musolf's (2016) outcomes that American politicians do not adhere to one model in their political reasoning. Bush and Obama used the non-metaphorical entailments to a corresponding extent. 18% of the examples in Bush speeches are NP non-metaphorical entailments, whereas 21% of Obama's examples are SF non-metaphorical logical entailments. The two smallest categories in the data employ metaphorical language when switching to the opposite conceptual model for each speaker. In only 3% of all examples did Bush use NP metaphorical expressions, compared with 2% of Obama's SF metaphorical examples.

These results also conform to Cienki's (2005a) and Degani's (2015) argument that logical entailments of the SF and NP models play a considerable role in shaping political opinions for American politicians. The lack of metaphorical entailments and the omnipresence of non-metaphorical ones can be attributed to many factors. One possibility is that the UN General Assembly is not the most suitable platform for American presidents to deploy the NATION IS FAMILY conceptual metaphorical pattern (including SF and NP models) to reason about political issues. However, this assumption could only be verified through analysis of all the speeches of American presidents from the establishment of the UN organisation until the present time. Another possibility is that American presidents deliberately eschew metaphorical language on this platform (UN General Assembly speeches) fearing that such language use may hinder their message from coming across as efficiently as they wish. Such assumptions indicate that politicians' understanding of metaphor is still based on the Classical rhetorical school understanding that metaphor is an ornamental device, rather than on the cognitive view that metaphor is a communicative mechanism. Furthermore, it could be speculated that on such a multinational and multicultural

platform as the UNGA, politicians try to avoid utilising metaphors that may lead to political misunderstanding as a result of inaccurate translation.

Literal translation is the omnipresent technique used to transfer the political values from the SL into the TL. This can be attributed to the fact that the logical entailments in the SL do not imply several complex mappings or projections when expressing political values.

8.6 Conclusion

Within the massive area of linguistic investigation in the field of research into political language and cognition, this chapter has explored specific aspects of language use in the context of UN General Assembly meetings. It has provided a linguistic and cognitive application of Lakoff's (1996/2002) Theory of Moral Politics. The data comprised of the speeches made by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama during their presidencies from 2001 to 2016. In this part of the analysis, I employed Degani's model (2015) to identify the metaphorical political moral values in these speeches. The aim was to determine what source domains were used to represent the moral values metaphorically. The analysis also set out to investigate whether translators have used different metaphors to convey political values into new linguistic and cultural environments.

The major outcomes of the analysis of examples in this chapter are:

1. Both George W. Bush and Barack Obama use metaphorical expressions and non-metaphorical logical entailments to express their moral political values.
2. Bush and Obama do not strictly adhere to the SF or NP model, however the data shows that they are biconceptuals when they reason about various political issues in the UNGA. The analysis of the data shows that about 25% of the examples from each speaker do not belong to the model set assigned to him in Lakoff's Moral Politics Theory.
3. Literal translation was the main technique used by the UN translators to render these metaphorical expressions into Arabic language.

The examination of the data shows that the metaphors used to embed political values are, to a great extent, shared between English and Arabic. Hence, the literal translation technique can function effectively in rendering these metaphors.

One of the aspects that the analysis could not provide an answer to is the level of metaphoricity for conservatives and liberals. Future studies may adopt different methods to discover whether the result reached here can be generalised for all American presidential rhetoric. This can be achieved through adopting a larger corpus; for instance, by compiling all the speeches by all American presidents in the UNGA and their translations, based on availability. A collaborative project may be conducted by including multiple languages. Researchers may investigate the metaphorical values in the six official languages of the UN.

9. Chapter Nine: Conclusions, recommendations and future directions of research

9.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to provide a summary of the answers to the research questions (section 9.2), the major findings of the study (section 9.3), the limitations of the study (section 9.4), and how this research can be extended in the future (section 9.5).

In spite of the clear interdisciplinary nature of the thesis, its centre of gravity undoubtedly lies within the TS field; although it also draws considerably on Cognitive Linguistics. The study was designed to investigate the possibilities of using the progress achieved in studying metaphor by cognitive linguists to provide interpretations for the translation strategies that translators decide on to transfer political metaphor from English into Arabic.

To answer the proposed research questions, I adopted three theoretical frameworks: the Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT), the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Degani's model of political values annotation. These models have been used in the following ways:

1. To use CBT to analyse some metaphorical expressions and their translation.
2. To use CMT to explain the way conceptualisers (G.W. Bush and Barack Obama) create metaphorical expressions in the SL and in what way translators render these metaphors into Arabic.
3. To use Degani's model to investigate whether Bush and Obama embed their political values metaphorically. This aim also seeks to investigate how translators translate these metaphorical values into Arabic.

The discussion of the theoretical frameworks of metaphor, metaphor and politics, and the translation of metaphor was distributed on Chapters Two, Three and Four. Chapter Two discusses the fundamental shift of metaphor from a linguistic device into a mechanism of thought. The chapter also highlights the definition of political discourse, its types, and the difference between political metaphor and metaphor in political texts. Chapter Two also presents the issue of metaphor and political morality as perceived

by Lakoff (1996/2002). Chapter Three sheds light on the developed version of conceptual theory of metaphor, namely, Conceptual Blending Theory. The chapter explains the main views of the theory and the possibility of using it to analyse how metaphors are translated from one language into another. This chapter can be considered as an attempt to reflect on the progression happening in the study of metaphor using a Cognitive Linguistic lens. Chapter Four is a survey of the literature about metaphor translation. It sheds light on the difference between studying metaphor using linguistic and cognitive views. In this chapter I also spelled out the role culture plays in establishing metaphorical expressions and in what way it can assist or hinder metaphor transfer between cultures. Chapter Five provides interpretations of the methodological selections in this study. The second part of the thesis, in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, represents the empirical side of the study. Chapter Six has been allocated to analyse the translation of conceptual blends from English into Arabic. Chapter Seven analyses the metaphorical expressions used to talk about various target domains and their translations into Arabic. Chapter Eight is mainly about the examination of Lakoff's (1996/2002) Morality Reasoning Theory. In this chapter, Degani's model (2015) for the analysis of political value is used to examine the SF, NP and biconceptual metaphors in the research corpus. The following section will present answers to the questions set for the current study.

9.2 Revisiting the research questions

To achieve the aims set for this research, a group of research questions were formulated. In this section I will remind the reader of these questions and present their answers, as follows.

1. What new insights can CBT provide as an analytical framework for metaphor translation?

Based on the exploratory work conducted on the theory in Chapter Three, and the empirical analysis of the data, we may conclude that CBT can be used as an efficient analytical model for the translation of metaphorical conceptual blends. This can be attributed to the fact that CBT has presented a more detailed account of the mechanisms through which speakers create metaphorical conceptual blends. These mechanisms can be utilised in exploring how translators translate the conceptual

blends in the TL. The input spaces, the emergent structure, and the new blends enable analysts to access avenues that were not available using CMT.

The analysis of the research data suggests that CL theories can be of major help in explaining the ways in which metaphors have been established in the Source Language and how translators transfer these metaphors from English into Arabic. This can be attributed to two main reasons. First, the cognitive view of metaphor transcends the Classical view that metaphor is a matter of language. Linguistic metaphor is only a manifestation of a deeper conceptual pattern. Therefore, translators will not struggle to find the exact equivalents of these linguistic metaphors, but they may refer to the conceptual patterns where the metaphor comes from.

The development presented by the cognitive view of metaphor can provide novel insights to the study of metaphor translation. Based on the analysis of metaphor translation in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, the following are the ways in which metaphor study in TS can benefit from the advancements of the cognitive view of researching metaphor:

- A. CBT analytical tools can be of great help in identifying the cognitive entities involved in creating the novel metaphorical expressions.
 - B. The cognitive processes suggested by Fauconnier and Turner (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002) (elaboration, completion and composition) contribute to discovering the way in which the speakers compose the metaphorical blend. Such grasping of the cognitive processes will enable translators to determine suitable ways to transfer them into the TL.
 - C. Classifying metaphorical expressions based on the target domains can help identify the most common and frequent source domains used by politicians to create metaphors. This could be a reference point for translators (and trainee translators) to anticipate what kind of metaphors politicians use to talk about various target domains.
2. What are the metaphorical choices opted for by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA? What source domains are used to establish conceptual

metaphors in these speeches? What are the translation approaches used to translate these metaphors into Arabic?

We can say that the speakers (Bush and Obama) deploy various source domains to explicate their target domains metaphorically. The source domains used to establish metaphorical expressions are: 'prison' and 'journey' for poverty; 'birth' and 'pregnancy' for peace; and 'business' and 'tides' for the war target domain. For the 'economy' target domain, the speakers use 'disease', 'medical treatment' and 'natural disasters' source domains. Three source domains used to talk about nuclear power are 'religion', 'bargains' and 'journey'. The speakers map structural elements from 'disease' (specifically 'cancer'), 'plant growth' and core image schema source domains to the terrorism target domain. An Iraq target domain has been expressed metaphorically only one time using structural elements from the 'shackles' source domain. Some metaphorical expressions are embedded with rich metaphors, whereas others are more schematic in nature. The most frequent domain in the data is the 'journey' source domain. There is only one case when the speakers use exact source domains (disease and medical treatment) to talk about the economy target domain.

The mappings of the seven target domains analysed (poverty, peace, war, economy, nuclear power, terrorism and Iraq) have not indicated any consistent tendency for selecting a particular source domain for each target domain. The prevailing technique translators used to translate metaphorical political values is literal translation. For the metaphorical conceptual blends, the mental spaces used to establish the blends are image schemas and life experiences.

Translators resort to several translation procedures to convert metaphorical expressions into Arabic. It has been observed from the data analysis that translators in some cases intensify the metaphorical expression in the target language by shifting the metaphor from being image schema based into richer image (2004/14, 2010/15). Translators tend in other cases to make the SLM more abstract in the target language. Elaboration was also an alternative adopted by translators (2014/4). Translators also change the metaphorical mental spaces or domains for cultural or ideological reasons (2010/1, 2011/29). Literal translation procedure was the most frequently used option in rendering metaphors into Arabic.

It has been a common perception in TS literature that literal translation is less effective in transferring the nuanced associations of figurative language in general. This opinion was especially linked to the translation of metaphors. This is understandable if we look at metaphors as words that are used out of their literal meaning. Hence, their literal translation will not communicate their intentions. However, based on the analysis conducted on the data of this research, it seems that this sort of judgment needs to be reconsidered.

Unlike the cases where literal translation was ineffective (Baker, 2011:73), in this research I found that several metaphorical expressions have been rendered literally without any distortion of their meanings. Therefore, we can infer that literal translation can be an option for translating conceptual metaphors; specifically of the kind that result from a conventional sort of mapping.

3. To what extent are political metaphorical moral values reflected in the corpus of speeches given by G.W. Bush and Barack Obama? What are the translation approaches used to reflect these values in the Arabic version?

The analysis of the data indicates that both speakers (Bush and Obama) have used metaphorical expressions when talking about various political issues. However, the speakers also resorted to literal logical entailments to communicate their political values on the UN platform. In fact, qualitative analysis of the data shows that only 36% of the total number of examples were metaphorical instances. This confirms the outcome of several studies that literal logical entailment is an indispensable part of American politicians' logic (Cienki, 2004; Cienki, 2005a; Cienki, 2005b; Degani, 2015).

Translators used literal translation procedure as the main strategy to transfer these metaphorical values into Arabic. The investigation of the research corpus indicates that there is a considerable similarity in the metaphors used to express the political values in English and Arabic.

4. To what extent do G.W. Bush and Barack Obama each embrace the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models in the UNGA speeches?

The quantitative analysis of the data in Chapter Eight indicates Bush and Obama do not stick to one specific model (SF or NP) in their reasoning about political issues on the UN platform. Both speakers use SF, NP and biconceptual examples in their speeches.

5. In which ways does culture appear to affect the translators' selection of translational choices?

Safarnejad et al. (2014:107) argue that the difficulty of rendering metaphors is not in the linguistic issues but in “identifying correspondences between their conceptual systems corresponding to their different cultural models.” This prevalent opinion has been overturned in this study. Unlike the previous impression that culture could be a translation resistant in metaphor translation, the data presented in this research reveals that culture is a significant resource for translational alternatives. Translators can deploy their cultural knowledge to create target language metaphors that help in communicating abstract political concepts. As Al-Harabsheh (2013:111) argues “Arabic and English have different cultural backgrounds i.e., different languages, societies, religions and norms. To overcome this obstacle, the translator should be aware of these differences in order to have an acceptable or good translation”. It is similar to what Baker (2007) calls “acculturate” strategy in her narrative theory.

9.3 Major findings

This section provides a brief on the salient findings of the study. First, the study has devised a methodology to analyse the translation of political metaphors from English into Arabic. The analysis of the examples in Chapter Seven shows that CBT can provide vital insights about the translation of metaphors from English into Arabic. Second, culture can be of great help when translating metaphors between English and Arabic. This is contrary to the claim that cultural elements in metaphors can be translation resistant. Third, G.W. Bush and Barack Obama do not stick to either Strict Father or Nurturant Parent models in the speeches delivered in the UNGA. However, the metaphors change in response to the political issues they are talking about. The type of metaphors used by Bush and Obama in the UNGA is mostly of conventional nature. Therefore, translators managed to translate them using literal translation. The selection of literal translation strategy could be in response to UN requirements where

clarity is the highest priority. Another possible justification for the prevalence of literal translation strategy is the reliance of The United Nations Translation Services on computer-assisted translation tools to support their work.

9.4 Research limitations

Although the results obtained from the analysis of the research data are encouraging, these results could be enhanced if the research methods used in this study were applied to a larger sample size. In this research, I examined only two case studies of conservative and liberal political parties. However, the results could have been more comprehensive if additional speeches from other presidents had been included.

9.5 Future research directions

Considering the research limitations in 9.4, the current research could be expanded in several ways. Future research can be conducted using different translations of the source texts I used in this study. This may enable translation analysts to identify further variables that may affect the translational options of metaphors. It could also inform about whether there are any institutional requirements behind metaphor selections.

I assume further research can be conducted to investigate whether the literal translation procedure is the main technique used in transferring metaphors across the United Nations speeches genre.

Researchers can also expand the size of data, using speeches by different American presidents and adopting corpus annotation tools to analyse their data.

Future research can also use different language pairs for instance Chinese-English, Spanish-Russian or Russian-English languages. A collaborative work between metaphor translation researchers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds can be conducted using the same data. This could yield more comprehensive results and a clearer picture for the issue of metaphor translation.

Conducting a field study by visiting the United Nations Headquarters and conducting interviews with translators and the people in charge of the UN Translation Unit could

disclose many significant insights about the translation approaches adopted in this institution.

Regarding using Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) as an analytical model, I believe that using CBT can provide important answers for metaphor translation questions; however, more studies need to embrace this theoretical framework with large data as the basis for their analysis.

9.6 Final word

As Gibbs (2012:353) argues, “no single linguistic, conceptual, or cultural fact shapes metaphor performance, and each of these factors should be studied collectively in terms of the interactive effects on the structure and use of metaphoric language and thought.” This thesis is a part of the effort Gibbs calls for to find interpretations of the transfer of cognitive and linguistic phenomena as metaphor between different languages and cultures. It is an attempt to combine the insights of three different disciplines (Cognitive Linguistics, Translation Studies) to investigate the issue of metaphor translation. The researcher hopes that the methodology applied and the findings reached will pave the way for further research on metaphor translation.

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Appendix 1

Links to the speeches delivered by Presidents G.W. Bush and Barack Obama in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The speeches are available in the six official languages of the United Nations.

Year	Speech symbol	Links
2001	A/63/PV.5	https://undocs.org/en/A/63/PV.5
2002	A/57/PV.2	https://undocs.org/en/A/57/PV.2
2003	A/58/PV.7	https://undocs.org/en/A/58/PV.7
2004	A/59/PV.3	https://undocs.org/en/A/59/PV.3
2006	A/61/PV.10	https://undocs.org/en/A/61/PV.10
2007	A/62/PV.4	https://undocs.org/A/62/PV.4
2008	A/63/PV.5	https://undocs.org/en/A/63/PV.5
2009	A/64/PV.3	https://undocs.org/en/A/64/PV.3
2010	A/65/PV.11	https://undocs.org/en/A/65/PV.11
2011	A/66/PV.11	https://undocs.org/en/A/66/PV.11
2012	A/67/PV.6	https://undocs.org/en/A/67/PV.6
2013	A/68/PV.5	https://undocs.org/en/A/68/PV.5
2014	A/69/PV.6	https://undocs.org/en/A/69/PV.6

2015	A/70/PV.13	https://undocs.org/en/A/70/PV.13
2016	A/71/PV.8	https://undocs.org/en/A/71/PV.8

Appendix 2

Complete set of metaphor-related words identified in the speeches given by George W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UNGA (2001-2016)

The tables below aim to show all the words that are used metaphorically in the research corpus. The tables are organised according to the year in which the speeches were delivered. Examples of metaphorical language use are highlighted in bold.

G.W. Bush 2001

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	The suffering of 11 September was inflicted on people of many faiths and many nations.	لقد مست ضراء ١١ أيلول/سبتمبر أناسا ينتمون إلى العديد من العقائد والعديد من الأمم.
2	Last week, the sheikh of Al-Azhar University, the world's oldest Islamic institution of higher learning, declared that terrorism is a disease and that Islam prohibits killing innocent civilians.	وفي الأسبوع الماضي أعلن شيخ الأزهر، أقدم مؤسسة للتعليم العالي في العالم الإسلامي، أن الإرهاب مرض وأن الإسلام يحرم قتل المدنيين الأبرياء.
3	However long it takes, their hour of justice will come	ومهما استغرق الأمر، فإن ساعة محاكمتهم آتية.
4	Every nation has a stake in this cause.	كل دولة لها مصلحة في هذه القضية
5	History will record our response	وسيسجل التاريخ ردنا،
6	The terrorists are increasingly isolated by their own hatred and extremism. They cannot hide behind Islam.	وتزداد عزلة الإرهابيين بسبب حقدهم وتطرفهم. ولا يمكنهم التستر وراء الإسلام.
7	Some Governments still turn a blind eye to the terrorists, hoping the threat will pass them by.	وبعض الحكومات لا تزال تغض الطرف عن الإرهابيين، آملة أن يتجاوزها الخطر.
8	And some Governments, while pledging to uphold the principles of the United Nations, have cast their lot with the terrorists.	وبينما تتعهد بعض الحكومات بالتمسك بمبادئ الأمم المتحدة، نجدها وحدت مصيرها مع مصير الإرهابيين.
9	And they will find that their welcomed guests are parasites that will weaken them and eventually consume them.	وستكتشف أن ضيوفها الذين رحبت بهم طفيليون سيضعفونها ثم يلتهمونها في نهاية المطاف.
10	For every regime that sponsors terror there is a price to be paid , and it will be paid.	وهناك ثمن يجب أن يدفعه كل نظام يرعى الإرهاب، وسيدفع ذلك الثمن.

11	Together they promote terror abroad and impose a reign of terror on the Afghan people.	وهم معا ينشرون الإرهاب في الخارج ويفرضون نظاما إرهابيا على الشعب الأفغاني.
12	And my country grieves for all the suffering the Taliban have brought upon Afghanistan, including the terrible burden of war .	وإن بلادي لتأسف لكل المعاناة التي ألحقتها طالبان بشعب أفغانستان، بما في ذلك عبء الحرب الفظيع.
13	But the time for sympathy has now passed. The time for action has now arrived .	ولكن وقت التعزية والمواساة انتهى الآن. لقد دقت ساعة العمل.
14	In this world, there are good causes and bad causes, and we may disagree on where that line is drawn .	وفي هذا العالم، هناك قضايا نبيلة وقضايا سيئة. وقد نختلف على الخط الفاصل بينها.
15	To inflame ethnic hatred is to advance the cause of terror.	إن إذكاء لهيب الكراهية العرقية إنما يعني تعزيز قضية الإرهاب.
16	Innocent people must be allowed to live their own lives, by their own customs, under their own religion .	ويجب أن يسمح للأبرياء بأن يعيشوا حياتهم وفقا لعاداتهم، وتحت مظلة ديانتهم.
17	For some nations, they will require great courage. Yet the cost of inaction is far greater.	وبالنسبة لبعض الدول، ستتطلب شجاعة كبيرة. لكن ثمن التخاذل باهظ.
18	There is a current in history , and it runs towards freedom.	هناك تيار في التاريخ، وهو ينطلق صوب الحرية.
19	We are confident, too, that history has an author , who fills time and eternity with his purpose.	ونحن على ثقة أيضا بأن التاريخ له صانع، يملأ الزمن والأبدية بمقاصده.
20	This is the teaching of many faiths. And in that assurance, we gain strength for a long journey .	هذه هي تعاليم العديد من الأديان. ومن هذا التأكيد نستمد القوة في مسيرتنا الطويلة.
21	So let us go forward - confident, determined and unafraid.	ولذا فننتقدم - وكلنا ثقة وعزم واستيسال.

G.W. Bush 2002

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	The innocent lives taken	الأرواح البريئة التي ازهقت
2	Today we turn to the urgent duty of protecting other lives, without illusion and without fear.	واليوم ننتقل وبدون وجل وخوف إلى واجب عاجل يتمثل في حماية أرواح أخرى.
3	The United Nations was born in the hope that survived a world war	لقد ولدت الأمم المتحدة وهي تحلم بأمل لم تقض عليه حرب عالمية
4	A world moving towards justice	عالم يتحرك قدماً نحو العدالة
5	The peace of the world must never again be destroyed by the will and wickedness of any man	على أنه لا يجوز البتة تدمير سلام العالم على أيدي أي إنسان شرير محب للأذى
6	Broken treaties	نكث المعاهدات

7	And to a system of security defended by all	لنظام أمن يدافع عن حياضه الجميع
8	and lifts up lives	وينهض بمستويات معيشتهم
9	As a symbol of our commitment to human dignity, the United Nations will return to the UNESCO	وتعبيراً عن التزامنا عن الكرامة الإنسانية، ستعود الولايات المتحدة لليونسكو
10	Palestinians deserve a government that serves their interests and listens to their voices	فالفلسطينيون شأنهم شأن سائر الشعوب الأخرى، جديرين بأن تكون لهم حكومة ترعى مصالحهم وتصغي لما يقولون.
11	outlaw groups and regimes	الجماعات والنظم الخارجة عن القانون
12	In cells and camps, terrorists are plotting further destruction and are building new bases for their war against civilizations	فالإرهابيون في الخلايا والمخيمات عاكفون على تدبير المزيد من الدمار وإقامة قواعد جديدة يشنون منها حربهم على الحضارة
13	Terrorists will find shortcuts to their mad ambitions	أن يجد الإرهابيون طريقاً مختصراً يوصلهم إلى اطماعهم الجنونية
14	To kill on massive scale	من القتل على نطاق واسع
15	The kind of aggressive threat the United Nations was born to confront	ذلك الخطر العدواني الذي ولدت الأمم المتحدة لمواجهته على
16	Had Saddam Hussein been appeased instead of stopped, he would have endangered the peace and stability of the world	ولو جرى استرضاء صدام حسين بدلاً من إيقافه لعرض سلام العالم واستقراره للخطر
17	And all of these horrors are concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state	ويتولى إخفاء كل هذه الفظائع عن أعين العالم جهاز للحكم شمولي
18	leaving little appetite for these weapons	مما لا يدع مجالاً للشك في استمرار شهيته لهذه الأسلحة
19	Saddam Hussein has subverted that programme, working around the sanctions to buy missile technology and military materials	وقام صدام حسين بإفساد ذلك البرنامج، بالالتفاف حول الجزاءات لشراء تكنولوجيا القذائف والمواد العسكرية
20	behind the cloak of secrecy	خلف ستار السرية
21	We have been more than patient. We have tried sanctions. We have tried the carrot of oil-for-food and the stick of coalition military strikes.	ولقد صبرنا أكثر من اللازم وحاولنا الجزاءات. وحاولنا جزرة النفط مقابل الغذاء وعصا الضربات العسكرية من التحالف.
22	All the world now faces a test	ويواجه العالم كله اختباراً
23	It could open the prospect of the United Nations helping to build a government that represents all Iraqis. A government based on respect for human rights	وقد يمكن الأمم المتحدة من إنشاء حكومة تمثل كل العراقيين. حكومة تقوم على احترام حقوق الإنسان
24	The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. They have suffered too long in silent captivity . Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and great strategic goal.	أن الولايات المتحدة ليس لديها مشكلة مع الشعب العراقي، ذلك الشعب الذي عانى أكثر من اللازم قيد الأسر الصامتة والحرية للشعب العراقي قضية إخلافية عظيمة وهدف استراتيجي عظيم

25	If the Iraqi regime defies us again, the world must move deliberately and decisively to hold Iraq to account	ولا بد من أن يتحرك العالم على نحو مدروس وحاسم لمحاسبة العراق في حالة قيام النظام العراقي مرة أخرى بتحديثنا
26	Events can turn in one of the two ways	ويمكن أن تتخذ الأمور أحد مسارين
27	The region will remain unstable , with little hope of freedom, and isolated from the progress of our times.	وستبقى المنطقة مزعزعة الاستقرار، لا أمل لها في الحرية، وفي عزلة عن التقدم في عصرنا
28	With every step the Iraqi regime takes towards gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons	مع كل خطوة يخطوها ذلك النظام صوب الحصول على أشد الأسلحة الرهيبة فتكاً ونشرها
29	If we meet our responsibilities, if we overcome this danger, we can arrive at a very different future.	أما إذا اضطلعنا بمسؤولياتنا، وتغلبنا على هذا الخطر، ففي وسعنا الوصول إلى مستقبل مختلف تماماً عن ذلك
30	The people of Iraq can shake off their captivity	فسوف يتسنى لأهل العراق ان ينفضوا عنهم ربق اسرهم

G.W. Bush 2003

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	Those who deliberately take the lives of men, women and children without mercy or shame	والذين يتعمدون اصطيد أرواح الرجال والنساء والأطفال من دون شعور بالرحمة أو إحساس بالخزي
2	All Governments that support terror are complicit in a war against civilisations	أن أي حكومات تدعم الإرهاب إنما هي شريكة في حرب ضد الحضارة
3	Because to look the other way gives terrorists the chance to regroup, recruit and prepare.	لان غض الطرف عنه يعطي الإرهابيين فرصة إعادة تجميع قواهم وحشد قوى جديدة والتأهب لأعمال جديدة
4	Will earn the favourable judgment of history.	إنما تستحق ان يكتب اسمها بأحرف ناصعة في سجل التاريخ
5	The Taliban was a sponsor and servant to terrorism. When confronted that regime chose defiance and that regime is no more.	فحركة طالبان كانت راعية للإرهاب وخناعة له وحين جوبه هذا النظام اختار التحدي وانتهى الى العدم
6	They are building a nation fully joined in the war against terror.	انه عاكف على بناء دولة انضمت بكامل قواها الى الحرب التي نشنها على الارهاب
7	The regime of Saddam Hussein cultivates ties to terror while it built weapons of mass destruction.	أما نظام صدام حسين فكان يغذي علاقاته بالإرهاب في نفس الوقت الذي كان يعمل فيه على بناء أسلحة الدمار الشامل
8	The security council was right to be alarmed	لقد كان مجلس الامن محقاً في شعوره بالفرع
9	Like every nation that set out on the path of democracy.	شأنه في ذلك شأن أي امة أخرى تنطلق على طريق الديمقراطية
10	Across the world, nations are more secure because an ally of terror has fallen.	أما على مستوى العالم، فتشعر الدول بمزيد من الامن لسقوط حد حلفاء الإرهاب

11	...let us move forward	فنتطلق إلى الامام
12	First, we must stand with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq as they build free and stable countries.	ولنقف اولاً إلى جانب شعبي أفغانستان والعراق في المعركة التي يخوضانها من أجل بناء مجتمع حر ومستقر في بلدهما
13	The old regime built up armies and weapons while allowing the nation's infrastructure to crumble	وكان النظام القديم يبني جيوشاً ويصنع الأسلحة بينما يدع البنية الأساسية للبلد تنهار
14	Yet every young democracy needs the help of friends	ومع ذلك فان كل ديمقراطية فتية تحتاج الى مساعدة الأصدقاء
15	All nations of good should step forward and provide that support	وينبغي لكل الدول ان تتقدم وتتوفر لها ذلك الدعم
16	Millions will see that freedom, equality and material progress are possible at the heart of the Middle East.	وسيرى الملايين أن الحرية والمساواة والتقدم المادي ممكن في قلب الشرق الأوسط.
17	Leaders in the region will face the clearest evidence that free institutions and open societies are the only path to long-term national success and dignity	وسيوافه قادة المنطقة بأوضح الأدلة على ان المؤسسات الحرة والمجتمعات المنفتحة هي السبيل الوحيد للنجاح الوطني والكرامة الوطنية
18	Iraq as a dictatorship had great power to destabilize the Middle East. Iraq as a democracy will have great power to inspire the Middle East.	أن العراق كدكتاتورية كانت لديه قدرة كبيرة على زعزعة استقرار الشرق الأوسط والعراق كديمقراطية ستكون لديه قوة كبيرة على إلهام الشرق الأوسط
19	The Palestinian cause is betrayed by leaders who cling to power by feeding old hatreds and destroying the good work of others.	فالقضية الفلسطينية يخونها قادة يتمسكون بالسلطة من خلال إذكاء الأحقاد القديمة وتدمير العمل الطيب الذي يقوم به الآخرون
20	They will gain that state by embracing new leaders committed to reform, to fighting terror and to building peace.	وسيحصل على هذه الدولة من خلال قبوله قادة جدد يلتزمون بالإصلاح ويحاربون الإرهاب ويبنون السلام.
21	Outlaw regimes that possess nuclear, chemical and biological weapons...	ان الأنظمة الخارجة عن القانون التي تمتلك الأسلحة النووية والكيميائية والبيولوجية.....
22	Nations of the world must have wisdom and the will to stop grave threats before they arrive.	يجب على دول العالم ان تتحلّى بالحكمة وان تمتلك الإرادة لوقف التهديدات الخطيرة قبل ان تصل
23	Every nation on every continent should generously add their resources to the fight against disease and desperate hunger	يجب على كل بلد في كل قارة ان يساهم من موارده بسخاء لمكافحة المرض والجوع واليائس
24	This commerce in the human life generates billions of dollars each year,	وهذه التجارة في الحياة الإنسانية تدر بلايين الدولارات في كل سنة
25	and both point the way to peace , the peace that comes when all are free.	وتشير أيضاً إلى طريق السلام -السلام الذي يتحقق حينما يصبح الجميع احرارا

No.	Source language metaphor	Target language expression
1	For decades, the circle of liberty, security and development has been expanding in our world.	لعقود ما انفكت دائرة الحرية والأمن والتنمية تتسع في عالمنا.
2	Now we have the historic chance to widen the circle even further , to fight radicalism and terror with justice and dignity and to achieve a true peace, founded on human freedom.	والآن لدينا الفرصة التاريخية لتوسيع الدائرة حتى أكثر، أي أن نكافح الراديكالية والإرهاب بالعدالة والكرامة. وعلينا أن نعمل على إقامة السلام الحقيقي الذي يرتكز على حرية الإنسان.
3	That dignity is dishonoured by oppression, corruption, tyranny, bigotry, terrorism and all violence against the innocent.	وإن تلك الكرامة يلوثها الظلم والفساد والطغيان والتعصب والإرهاب وجميع أشكال العنف التي تمارس ضد الأبرياء.
4	Both our founding documents affirm that this bright line between justice and injustice - between right and wrong - is the same in every age, every culture and every nation.	والوثائق التأسيسية تؤكد أن ذلك الخط الصارخ بين العدالة والإجحاف وبين الصواب والخطأ صالح في كل عصر وفي كل ثقافة وفي كل أمة.
5	Our great purpose is to build a better world beyond the war on terror.	إن مقصدنا الكبير يتمثل في بناء عالم أفضل يتجاوز الحرب على الإرهاب.
6	and our unprecedented commitment will bring new hope to those who have walked too long in the shadow of death .	والتزامنا الراسخ سوف يولد أملاً جديداً لدى من ساروا لفترة طويلة جداً في ظلال الموت.
7	The United States and many other nations have acted to lift the crushing burden of debt that limits the growth of developing economies and holds millions of people in poverty .	فإنه يتعين على الولايات المتحدة والعديد من الدول أن تعمل على تخفيف عبء الديون الكاسح الذي يحد من نمو اقتصادات البلدان النامية ويجعل ملايين البشر رهينة الفقر.
8	The world must have more effective means to stabilise regions in turmoil and to halt religious violence and ethnic cleansing. We must create permanent capabilities to respond to future crises.	يجب أن يتوفر لدى العالم المزيد من الوسائل الفعالة لكفالة استقرار المناطق التي تعصف بها الاضطرابات، ووقف العنف المرتكز على التعصب الديني والتطهير العرقي. وعلينا الإتيان بقدرات دائمة جديدة للاستجابة للأزمات التي تنشأ في المستقبل.
9	Democratic institutions have taken root in modern societies and in traditional societies.	وضربت المؤسسات الديمقراطية بجذورها في المجتمعات الحديثة وفي المجتمعات التقليدية على حد سواء.
10	Over time and across the Earth, freedom will find a way .	إذ أن الحرية ستجد طريقها عبر الزمن وفي كل مناحي الأرض.
11	Freedom is finding a way in Iraq and Afghanistan and we must continue to show our commitment to democracies in those nations.	فالحرية تجد طريقها الآن في العراق وفي أفغانستان، ويتعين علينا مواصلة الالتزام بالديمقراطية في هاذين البلدين.
12	The liberty that many have won at a cost must be secured.	والحرية التي استطاع الكثيرون أن يكسبوها بعد أن دفعوا ثمنها يجب أن تؤمن.

13	As members of the United Nations, we all have a stake in the success of the world's newest democracies.	ونحن بصفتنا أعضاء في الأمم المتحدة، لدينا مصلحة في المحافظة على النجاح الذي حققناه في أحدث الديمقراطيات في العالم
14	Today, the Iraqi and Afghan peoples are on the path to democracy and freedom.	واليوم يشق الشعبان الأفغاني والعراقي طريقهما إلى الحرية والديمقراطية.
15	They know that a free Iraq in the heart of the Middle East will be a decisive blow against their ambitions for that region.	ويعرفون أن وجود عراق ديمقراطي في قلب الشرق الأوسط سيكون ضربة حاسمة ضد مطامحهم في تلك المنطقة.
16	as the Iraqi Interim Government moves towards national elections , officials from the United Nations are helping Iraqis build the infrastructure of democracy.	وإذ تمضي الحكومة العراقية المؤقتة نحو الانتخابات الوطنية، يقوم مسؤولون من الأمم المتحدة بمساعدة العراقيين على بناء الهياكل الديمقراطية.
17	those difficulties will not shake our conviction that the future of Afghanistan and Iraq is a future of liberty.	تلك الصعاب لن تهز اقتناعنا بأن مستقبل أفغانستان والعراق مستقبل للحرية.
18	The advance of freedom always carries a cost , paid by the bravest among us.	إن العمل على تحقيق الحرية دائما له كلفة، يدفعها أشجعنا.
19	Even after the setbacks and frustrations of recent months, good will and hard effort can achieve the promise of the road map to peace.	وحتى بعد النكسات والإحباطات التي حدثت في الشهور الأخيرة، فإن حسن النية والجهد الشاق يمكن أن يحقق ما بشرت به خريطة الطريق إلى السلام.
20	We do not accept the notion that democracy is a Western value. To the contrary, democracy simply means good government rooted in responsibility, transparency and accountability.	إننا لا نقبل بأن فكرة الديمقراطية قيمة غربية. بل على العكس من ذلك، إن الديمقراطية تعني ببساطة الحكم الصالح المترسخ الجذور في المسؤولية والشفافية والمساءلة
21	Because I believe that the advance of liberty is the path to both a safer and better world, today I propose establishing a democracy fund within the United Nations.	ولأنني أؤمن بأن الارتقاء بالحرية هو الطريق إلى عالم أفضل وأكثر أمنا، اقترح اليوم إنشاء صندوق للديمقراطية في إطار الأمم المتحدة.
22	The fund would help countries lay the foundations of democracy by instituting the rule of law, independent courts, a free press, political parties and trade unions.	ومن شأن هذا الصندوق أن يساعد البلدان على وضع أسس الديمقراطية بإقامة حكم القانون، والمحاكم المستقلة، والصحافة الحرة، والأحزاب السياسية ونقابات العمل.

(George W. Bush does not deliver a speech in 2005)

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	Five years ago, I stood at this rostrum and called on the community of nations to defend civilization and build a more hopeful future.	وقبل سنوات خمس، وقفت على هذا المنبر داعياً أسرة الأمم إلى الدفاع عن الحضارة وبناء مستقبل أكثر أملاً.
2	Sixty years after a terrible war, Europe is now whole, free and at peace, and Asia has seen freedom progress and hundreds of millions of people lifted out of desperate poverty .	فبعد ستين سنة من حرب مروعة، أصبحت أوروبا الآن متكاملة وحررة وتنعم بالسلام، وشهدت آسيا زحف الحرية وانتشال مئات الملايين من البشر من براثن الفقر المدقع.
3	As liberty flourishes , nations grow in tolerance, and hope, and peace. And we are seeing the bright future begin to take root in the broader Middle East .	ومع تفتح زهور الحرية، تزداد الأمم تسامحاً وأملاً وسلاماً. ونحن نرى ذلك المستقبل المشرق وقد بدأ يضرب بجذوره في الشرق الأوسط الأوسع.
4	These are important steps, and the governments should continue to move forward with other reforms that show that they trust their people. Every nation that travels the road to freedom moves at a different pace , and the democracies they build will reflect their own cultures and traditions.	هذه خطوات هامة، وينبغي على الحكومات أن تواصل المضي قدماً في الإصلاحات التي توضح أنها تثق في شعوبها. وكل بلد ينطلق على الطريق إلى الحرية يسير بسرعة مختلفة، والديمقراطيات التي تبنيتها ستعكس ثقافتها وتقاليدها.
5	Some have argued that the democratic changes we are seeing in the Middle East are destabilising the region . This argument rests on a false assumption: that the Middle East was stable to begin with. The reality is that the stability we thought we saw in the Middle East was a mirage .	وقد دفع البعض بحجة أن التغييرات الديمقراطية التي نشهدها في الشرق الأوسط إنما تزعزع استقرار المنطقة. هذه الحجة تستند إلى فرضية زائفة: أن الشرق الأوسط كان مستقراً قبل ذلك. الواقع هو أن الاستقرار الذي اعتقدنا أننا شاهدناه في الشرق الأوسط كان سرايباً.
6	For decades, millions of men and women in the region have been trapped in oppression and hopelessness. And these conditions left a generation disillusioned and made this region a breeding ground for extremism .	فطيلة عقود ما فتئ ملايين الرجال والنساء في المنطقة يجدون أنفسهم في شرك فخاخ القمع والقنوط. وقد تركت تلك الظروف جيلاً كاملاً يشعر باليأس والإحباط وحولت المنطقة إلى مباءة للتطرف.
7	Imagine what it is like to be a young person living in a country that is not moving toward reform .	تصور كيف يفكر شخص شاب يعيش في بلد لا يتحرك صوب الإصلاح.
8	while your peers in other parts of the world are casting their ballots for the first time, you are powerless to change the course of your government .	وبينما ترى أقرانك في الأجزاء الأخرى من العالم يدلون بأصواتهم في الانتخابات لأول مرة، فإنك ترى نفسك عاجزاً عن تغيير مسار حكومتك.

9	You have stood firm in the face of horrendous acts of terror and sectarian violence, and we will not abandon you in your struggle to build a free nation.	لقد وقفتم صامدين بوجه أعمال الإرهاب الشنيعة والعنف الطائفي، وإننا لن نتخلى عنكم في نضالكم من أجل بناء أمة حرة
10	Working together, we will help your democracy succeed, so that it can become a beacon of hope for millions in the Muslim world.	وبالعمل معا سنساعد في نجاح ديمقراطيتكم، حتى تصبح نبراس أمل للملايين في العالم الإسلامي.
11	We respect your courage and your determination to live in peace and freedom.	إننا نحترم شجاعتكم وتصميمكم على العيش في كنف السلام والحرية.
12	The greatest obstacle to this future is that your rulers have chosen to deny you liberty and to use your nation's resources to fund terrorism, and fuel extremism , and pursue nuclear weapons.	إن العقبة الأعظم في طريق هذا المستقبل هي أن حكامكم اختاروا أن يحرموكم من الحرية وأن يستخدموا موارد أمتكم في تمويل الإرهاب وتغذية التطرف والسعي إلى حيازة الأسلحة النووية.
13	To the people of Syria: your land is home to a great people with a proud tradition of learning and commerce. Today your rulers have allowed your country to become a crossroad for terrorism.	ولشعب سوريا أقول: أرضكم موطن شعب عظيم ذي تقاليد في التعليم والتجارة. لكن حكامكم اليوم سمحوا لبلدكم بأن يصبح ملتقى طرق للإرهاب.
14	In your midst , Hamas and Hezbollah are working to destabilise the region, and your government is turning your country into a tool of Iran.	وبين ظهرانيكم تعمل حماس وحزب الله على زعزعة استقرار المنطقة، وحكومتم تجعل من بلدكم أداة طيعة بيد إيران.
15	The world must step forward to provide additional humanitarian aid, and we must strengthen the African Union force that has done good work but is not strong enough to protect you.	ويجب على العالم أن يتقدم ويوفر المعونة الإنسانية الإضافية ويجب أن يعزز قوة الاتحاد الأفريقي التي اضطلعت بعملها بصورة جيدة ولكنها لا تتمتع بالقوة الكافية لحمايتكم.
16	Israeli citizens have endured brutal acts of terrorism and constant fear of attack since the birth of their nation.	أما المواطنون الإسرائيليون، فقد تعرضوا لأعمال إرهاب وحشية وخوف غير منقطع من الهجمات منذ ولادة أمتهم.
17	Yet extremists in the region are stirring up hatred and trying to prevent these moderate voices from prevailing.	مع ذلك فإن المتطرفين في المنطقة يبثون الحقد ويجهدون في سبيل منع تلك الأصوات المعتدلة من أن تفلح.
18	Recently, a courageous group of Arab and Muslim intellectuals wrote me a letter. In it, they said this: " The shore of reform is the only one on which any lights appear, even though the journey demands courage, patience and perseverance. "	مؤخرا كتبت مجموعة شجاعة من المتقنين العرب والمسلمين رسالة وجهوها إلي. لقد قالوا فيها: "إن شاطئ الإصلاح هو الشاطئ الوحيد الذي يمكن تلمس الأضواء فيه، حتى وإن كانت الرحلة تتطلب شجاعة وصبرا ومثابرة."

19	The United Nations was created to make that journey possible .	لقد أسست الأمم المتحدة لتيسير تلك الرحلة.
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G.W. Bush 2007

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	The Declaration opens by recognising the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom and justice and peace in the world .	ويستهل هذا الإعلان بالاعتراف بالكرامة المتأصلة وبال حقوق المتساوية الثابتة لجميع أعضاء الأسرة البشرية كأساس للحرية والعدل والسلام في العالم.
2	All civilised nations must work together to stop them by sharing intelligence about their networks and choking off their finances and bringing to justice their operatives.	كل الأمم المتحضرة أن تعمل معا لوقفهم وذلك من خلال تبادل المعلومات الاستخباراتية عن شبكاتهم وتجفيف مصادر تمويلهم وتقديم نسطانهم إلى العدالة.
3	In the long run, the best way to defeat extremists is to defeat their dark ideology with a more hopeful vision - the vision of liberty that founded this body.	وعلى المدى البعيد، أفضل طريقة لهزيمة المتطرفين هي هزيمة أيديولوجيتهم الظلامية من خلال رؤية أكثر تفاؤلا - رؤية الحرية التي قامت عليها هذه الهيئة.
4	The United States salutes the nations that have recently taken strides towards liberty , including Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Mauritania, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Morocco.	تحيي الولايات المتحدة الدول التي اتخذت مؤخرا خطوات نحو الحرية، ومنها أوكرانيا وجورجيا وقيرغيزستان وموريتانيا وسيراليون وليبيريا والمغرب .
5	The Palestinian territories have moderate leaders - mainstream leaders - who are working to build free institutions that fight terror, enforce the law and respond to the needs of their people.	في الأراضي الفلسطينية يوجد قادة معتدلون - وهم قادة من عامة الشعب - يعملون لبناء مؤسسات حرة تحارب الإرهاب وتطبق القانون وتستجيب لاحتياجات شعوبها.
6	The international community must support these leaders so that we can advance the vision of two democratic states - Israel and Palestine - living side by side in peace and security .	ويجب على المجتمع الدولي أن يدعم هذه القيادات حتى نستطيع إعطاء دفعة للرؤية المتمثلة في إقامة دولتين ديمقراطيتين، إسرائيل وفلسطين، تعيشان جنبا إلى جنب في سلام وأمن.
7	In Cuba, the long rule of a cruel dictator is nearing its end .	في كوبا، الحكم الطويل لدكتاتور وحشي يقترب من نهايته .
8	I appreciate France's leadership in helping to stabilise Sudan's neighbours.	واني أفدّر قيادة فرنسا في المساعدة على تحقيق الاستقرار لجيران السودان .
9	This would help build up local agriculture and break the cycle of famine in the developing world, and I	ومن شأن ذلك أن يساعد على بناء قطاع زراعي محلي وكسر حلقة المجاعة في العالم النامي، وأحث كونغرس الولايات المتحدة على تأييد هذه المبادرة.

	urge our United States Congress to support this initiative.	
10	Many in this hall are bringing the spirit of generosity to fighting HIV/AIDS and malaria.	يغدق الكثيرون في هذه القاعة بسخاء على مكافحة فيروس نقص المناعة البشرية/الإيدز والملاريا .
11	The United States decided to take these efforts a step further by launching the \$15 billion Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.	ولقد قررت الولايات المتحدة أخذ هذه الجهود خطوة أبعد من خلال إطلاق خطة طارئة للإغاثة من الإيدز بكلفة ١٥ بليون دولار.
12	So earlier this year, I proposed to double our initial commitment to \$30 billion. By coming together, the world can turn the tide against HIV/AIDS , once and for all.	ولقد اقترحت في وقت سابق من هذا العام مضاعفة التزامنا المبدئي - إلى ٣٠ بليون دولار. يستطيع العالم من خلال التكاتف عكس اتجاه التيار ضد الفيروس والإيدز بشكل نهائي .
13	Thirdly, the mission of the United Nations requires liberating people from the chains of illiteracy and ignorance .	ثالثًا، إن مهمة الأمم المتحدة تقتضي تحرير الأشخاص من براثن الأمية والجهل .
14	Better education unleashes the talent and potential of citizens and adds to the prosperity of all of us.	والتعليم الأفضل يطلق مواهب المواطنين وإمكاناتهم ويضيف إلى ازدهارنا جميعًا.
15	With this aid, we are reaching out to developing nations in partnership, not paternalism .	وبهذه المعونة، نمد يدنا إلى الدول النامية في شراكة، وليس في رعاية أبوية .
16	In the long run, the best way to lift people out of poverty is through trade and investment.	وفي الأجل الطويل، فإن أفضل سبيل لانتشال الأشخاص من الفقر هي من خلال التجارة والاستثمار.
17	Open markets ignite growth , encourage investment, increase transparency, strengthen the rule of law and help countries help themselves.	فالسواق المفتوحة تلهب النمو وتشجع الاستثمار وتزيد الشفافية وتعزز سيادة القانون وتساعد البلدان على مساعدة أنفسهم.
18	With the commitment and courage of those in this hall, we can build a world where people are free to speak, assemble and worship as they wish - a world where children in every nation grow up healthy, get a decent education and look to the future with hope - a world where opportunity crosses every border.	وفي وسعنا، بالتزام الموجودين في هذه القاعة وبشجاعتهم، أن نبني عالمًا حيث الأشخاص أحرار في التعبير والاجتماع والعبادة كما يرغبون - عالم يترعرع فيه الأطفال في جميع الدول بصورة صحية ويحصلون على التعليم اللائق وينظرون إلى المستقبل بأمل - عالم تعبر فيه الفرصة جميع الحدود.

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	Sixty-three years ago, representatives from around the world gathered in San Francisco to complete the founding of the Charter of the United Nations.	قبل ٦٣ سنة، اجتمع ممثلون من جميع أنحاء العالم في سان فرانسيسكو لاستكمال تأسيس ميثاق الأمم المتحدة.
2	They met in the shadow of a devastating war , with grave new dangers on the horizon.	لقد اجتمعوا في ظل حرب مدمرة، بينما كانت تلوح في الأفق نذر أخطار جسيمة جديدة.
3	That noble pledge has endured trying hours in United Nations history, and it still guides our work today.	وقد صمد ذلك التعهد السامي في وجه أوقات حالكة في تاريخ الأمم المتحدة، ولا يزال عملنا يستنير به اليوم.
4	They imperil the values of justice and human rights that gave birth to the United Nations - values that have fuelled an unprecedented expansion of freedom across the world.	ويعرضون للخطر قيم العدالة وحقوق الإنسان التي انبثقت منها الأمم المتحدة، قيم عززت توسيع نطاق الحرية على نحو غير مسبوق في جميع أرجاء العالم.
5	As sovereign states, we have an obligation to govern responsibly and solve problems before they spill across borders .	وباعتبارنا دولا ذات سيادة، من واجبنا أن نحكم بصورة مسؤولة وأن نحل المشاكل قبل أن تتجاوز الحدود.
6	Instead of treating all forms of government as equally tolerable, we must actively challenge the conditions of tyranny and despair that allow terror and extremists to thrive .	وبدلاً من معاملة جميع أشكال الحكم باعتبارها مقبولة بنفس الدرجة، يجب أن نتحدى بفعالية ظروف الاستبداد واليأس التي تسمح بازدياد الإرهاب و تزايد عدد المتطرفين.
7	By acting together to meet the fundamental challenge of our time, we can lead towards a world that is more secure, more prosperous and more hopeful.	وبعملنا معا على مواجهة التحدي الأساسي لعصرنا، يمكننا أن نقود المسيرة صوب عالم يتسم بقدر أكبر من الأمن والازدهار والأمل.
8	In the decades ahead, the United Nations and other multilateral organisations must continually confront terror. That mission requires clarity of vision .	وفي العقود القادمة، يجب على الأمم المتحدة وغيرها من المنظمات المتعددة الأطراف أن تتصدى للإرهاب باستمرار. وتتطلب هذه المهمة وضوحاً في الرؤية.
9	Few nations, regimes like Syria and Iran, continue to sponsor terror , yet their numbers are growing fewer and they are growing more isolated from the world.	وهناك قلة من الدول والأنظمة، مثل سورية وإيران، لا تزال ترعى الإرهاب، ولكن أعدادها تتناقص وتزداد عزلتها عن سائر دول العالم.
10	As the twenty-first century unfolds, some may be tempted to assume that the threat has receded . That would be comforting. It would be wrong. The terrorists believe time is on their side,	ومع بداية القرن الحادي والعشرين، قد يميل البعض إلى افتراض أن التهديد قد تراجع. ذلك أمر قد يبعث على الارتياح، لكنه خطأ. ويعتقد الإرهابيون أن الوقت في صالحهم، ولذلك جعلوا من فرض حالة الترقب

	so they have made waiting out civilised nations part of their strategy.	والانتظار على دول متحضرة جزءا من استراتيجيتهم.
11	At its core , the struggle against extremists is a battle of ideas.	فالكفاح ضد المتطرفين، في جوهره، هو معركة أفكار.
12	For all these reasons, the nations of this body must challenge tyranny as vigorously as we challenge terror. Some question whether people in certain parts of the world actually desire freedom. This self-serving condescension has been disproved before our eyes. From the voting booths of Afghanistan, Iraq and Liberia to the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, the Rose Revolution in Georgia, the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon and the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan	ولهذه الأسباب جميعا، يجب على دول هذه الهيئة أن تتحدى الطغيان بنفس الهمة التي نتصدى فيها للإرهاب. ويشكك البعض فيما إذا كان الناس في أجزاء معينة من العالم يرغبون فعلا في الحرية. وقد دحضت أمام أعيننا هذه المقولة التي تساق لخدمة المصالح الذاتية. فلقد رأينا الناس يتخذون دائما القرار الشجاع مطالبين بحرياتهم، من صناديق الاقتراع في أفغانستان والعراق وليبيريا إلى الثورة البرتغالية في أوكرانيا والثورة الوردية في جورجيا وثورة الأرز في لبنان وثورة الزنبقة في قيرغيزستان
13	We must continue to help the Afghan people defend their young democracy so that the Taliban does not return to power and Afghanistan is never again a safe haven for terror.	ويجب علينا أن نواصل مساعدة الشعب الأفغاني في الدفاع عن ديمقراطيته الفتية حتى لا تعود حركة طالبان إلى السلطة ولا تصبح أفغانستان مرة أخرى ملاذا آمنا للإرهاب.
14	We must stand united in our support of the people of Georgia.	ويجب أن نقف وقفة رجل واحد في دعمنا لشعب جورجيا.
15	One of the most powerful engines of development and prosperity are trade and investment, which create new opportunities for entrepreneurs, help people rise out of poverty and reinforce such fundamental values as transparency and the rule of law.	وأحد أقوى العوامل المحركة للتنمية والازدهار يتمثل في التجارة والاستثمار، مما يخلق فرصا جديدة لأصحاب المشاريع ويساعد الناس على التخلص من الفقر ويعزز القيم الأساسية مثل الشفافية وسيادة القانون.
16	The most effective step of all would be an agreement that tears down trade barriers at the global level. The recent impasse in the Doha round is disappointing, but that does not have to be the final word.	وتمثل الخطوة الأكثر فعالية اتفاقا من شأنه إزالة الحواجز التجارية على الصعيد العالمي. والمأزق الأخير في جولة الدوحة يبعث على خيبة الأمل، ولكن هذا ليس نهاية المطاف.
17	Beyond Doha, our nations must renew our commitment to open economies and stand firm against economic isolationism. These objectives are being tested by turbulence in the global financial markets.	وبعد الدوحة، ينبغي لدولنا أن تجدد التزامنا بالاقتصادات المفتوحة وتقف بحزم ضد الانطواء الاقتصادي. وتتعرض هذه الأهداف للاختبار من الاضطرابات التي تعصف بالأسواق المالية العالمية.
18	The Federal Reserve has injected urgently needed liquidity into the system.	لقد ضخ المصرف الاحتياطي الاتحادي في النظام المالي السيولة الضرورية والعاجلة.

19	Last week, I announced decisive action by the Federal Government to address the root cause of much of the instability in our financial markets by purchasing illiquid assets that are weighing down balance sheets and restricting the flow of credit .	وأعلنت، الحكومة الاتحادية في الأسبوع الماضي عن إجراءات حاسمة لمعالجة الأسباب الجذرية للكثير من عدم الاستقرار في أسواقنا المالية وذلك بشراء الأصول غير السائلة التي تثقل كاهل الميزانيات وتحد من التدفقات الائتمانية.
20	The extremists find their most fertile recruiting grounds in societies trapped in chaos and despair - places where people see no prospect of a better life.	ويجد المتطرفون أخصب مراتعهم للتجنيد في المجتمعات العالقة في شرك في الفوضى واليأس - تلك الأماكن التي لا يرى الناس فيها أملا في حياة أفضل.
21	In the shadows of hopelessness, radicalism thrives . Eventually, that radicalism can boil over into violence, cross borders and take innocent lives across the world.	وفي ظل اليأس، تقوى شوكة التطرف. وفي نهاية المطاف، يمكن للتطرف أن يتحول إلى عنف يمتد عبر الحدود ويحصد أرواح الأبرياء في جميع أنحاء العالم.
22	Together we can confront and defeat the evil of terrorism .	إننا نستطيع معا مواجهة آفة الإرهاب وهزيمتها.
23	Together we can secure the Almighty's gift of liberty and justice to millions who have not known it .	ومعا نستطيع تأمين هبة الحرية والعدالة التي وهبها الله لملايين البشر الذين لم يذوقوا طعمها.
24	Together we can build a world that is freer, safer and better for the generations who follow.	ومعا نستطيع أن نبني عالما حرا وآمنا وأفضل للأجيال القادمة.

Barack Obama 2009

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	I have been in office for just nine months, though some days it seems a lot longer.	لم يمض عليّ في الحكم سوى تسعة أشهر، مع أنها تبدو أطول كثيرا في بعض الأيام.
2	I took office at a time when many around the world had come to view America with scepticism and distrust.	لقد توليت الحكم في وقت أصبح الكثيرون في أرجاء العالم ينظرون إلى أمريكا بتشكك وارتياب.
3	The religious convictions that we hold in our hearts can forge new bonds among people, or they can tear us apart . The technology we harness can light the path to peace, or forever darken it.	والمعتقدات الدينية التي نكنها في قلوبنا قادرة على تشكيل روابط جديدة بين الناس، أو على التفريق بيننا وتشثيت شملنا. والتكنولوجيا التي نسخرها يمكن أن تنير السبيل إلى السلام، أو تطفئ بالظلام إلى الأبد.
4	Because the time has come for the world to move in a new direction , we must embrace a new era of engagement based on mutual interests and mutual respect, and our work must begin now.	ولأن الأوان قد آن لكي ينطلق العالم في اتجاه جديد ، يجب علينا أن نتبنى عهدا جديدا من المشاركة القائمة على المصالح المتبادلة والاحترام المتبادل، وينبغي لعلنا أن يبدأ الآن.

5	We have set a clear and focused goal to work with all members of this body to disrupt, dismantle and defeat Al-Qaida and its extremist allies - a network that has killed thousands of people of many faiths and nations and has plotted to blow up this very building.	وقد وضعنا هدفا واضحا ومركزا للعمل مع كل أعضاء هذه الهيئة لتعطيل وتفكيك ودحر القاعدة وحلفائها المتطرفين - وهي شبكة قتلت آلاف الأشخاص من أديان ودول عديدة وتآمرت لنسف هذا المبنى بالذات.
6	Upon taking office, I appointed a special envoy for Middle East peace, and America has worked steadily and aggressively to advance the cause of two states - Israel and Palestine - in which peace and security take root and the rights of both Israelis and Palestinians are respected.	وقد عيّنت، بمجرد أن توليت منصبي، مبعوثا خاصا للسلام في الشرق الأوسط، و عملت أمريكا بجهد وفعالية من أجل إحراز التقدم بشأن قضية وجود الدولتين - إسرائيل وفلسطين - اللتين يستتب فيهما السلام والأمن وتُحترم فيهما حقوق الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين على السواء.
7	To overcome an economic crisis that touches every corner of the world, we worked with the Group of 20 nations to forge a coordinated international response of over \$2 trillion in stimulus to bring the global economy back from the brink.	وللتغلب على أزمة اقتصادية تمس كل ركن من أركان العالم، عملنا مع مجموعة الدول العشرين على صياغة استجابة دولية منسقة تنطوي على حوافز تبلغ قيمتها أكثر من تريليوني دولار لإنقاذ الاقتصاد العالمي من حافة الهاوية.
8	We mobilised resources that help prevent the crisis from spreading further to developing countries, and we joined with others to launch a \$20 billion global food security initiative that will lend a hand to those who need it most and help them build their own capacity.	وحشدنا الموارد التي ساعدت على الحيلولة دون استمرار انتشار الأزمة إلى البلدان النامية. وتضافرنا مع الآخرين من أجل إطلاق مبادرة عالمية للأمن الغذائي بقيمة ٢٠ بليون دولار، من شأنها مد يد العون للذين تمس إليها حاجتهم ومساعدتهم على بناء قدراتهم.
9	Some of our actions have yielded progress; some have laid the groundwork for progress in the future.	وقد حققت بعض إجراءاتنا التقدم، ووضعت بعضها الأساس لإحراز التقدم في المستقبل.
10	Consider the course that we are on if we fail to confront the status quo: extremist pockets of the world, protracted conflicts that grind on and on, genocide, mass atrocities, more nations with nuclear weapons, melting ice caps and ravaged populations, persistent poverty and pandemic disease.	فلتصوروا الطريق الذي سنكون عليه لو أننا فشلنا في التصدي للوضع الراهن: المتطرفون ينشرون الإرهاب في جيوب العالم، الصراعات التي طال أمدها مستمرة في طحنها، والإبادة الجماعية، والفظائع الواسعة النطاق، والمزيد من الدول الحائزة للأسلحة النووية، وذوبان الأغشية الجليدية ومعاناة السكان من الوبيلات، والفقر المزمن والأمراض الوبائية.
11	I say this not to sow fear , but to state a fact. The magnitude of our challenges has yet to be met by the measure of our actions.	وأقول هذا لا لزرع الخوف، ولكن لإثبات الحقيقة. ولم ترتق أعمالنا بعد إلى مستوى حجم التحديات التي نواجهها.

12	The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation. It cannot be a peace of large nations or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.	لا يمكن أن يُبنى هيكل السلام العالمي بعمل رجل واحد أو حزب واحد أو دولة واحدة. ولا يمكن أن يكون سلام الدول الكبيرة أو الدول الصغيرة. لا بد أن يكون سلاماً قائماً على الجهد التعاوني للعالم بأسره.
13	Yet, we also know that this body is made up of sovereign states and that, sadly but not surprisingly, this body has often become a forum for sowing discord instead of forging common ground , a venue for playing politics and exploiting grievances rather than solving problems.	نعلم أن هذه الهيئة تتألف من دول ذات سيادة، لكن مما يبعث على الأسف بدون الاستغراب أنها أصبحت في كثير من الأحيان منبراً لبذر الشقاق بدلاً من إيجاد أساس مشترك ، ومكاناً لممارسة اللعبة السياسية واستغلال المظالم بدلاً من حل المشاكل.
14	In an era when our destiny is shared, power is no longer a zero-sum game .	وفي عصر نعيش فيه مصيرنا المشترك، لم تعد القوة لعبة محصلتها صفر .
15	No world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will succeed.	ولن ينجح أي نظام عالمي يُعطي شأن دولة ما أو مجموعة من الناس على أخرى.
16	No balance of power among nations will hold. The traditional divisions between nations of the South and the North make no sense in an interconnected world, nor do alignments of nations rooted in the cleavages of a long-gone cold war.	ولن يصمد أي توازن للقوة بين الدول. والتقسيم التقليدي للعالم إلى بلدان الشمال وبلدان الجنوب لا معنى له في عالم مترابط، وكذلك لا معنى لتحالفات الدول التي تعود جذورها إلى انقسامات الحرب الباردة التي انتهت منذ فترة طويلة.
17	The time has come to realise that the old habits and the old arguments are irrelevant to the challenges faced by our peoples.	لقد آن الأوان لأن ندرك أن العادات القديمة والحجج البالية لا تمت بأي صلة للتحديات التي تواجهها شعوبنا.
18	They (old habits and old arguments) build up walls between us and the future that our peoples seek, and the time has come for those walls to come down.	وتلك العادات والحجج تبني جدراناً تحول بيننا وبين المستقبل الذي ترنو إليه شعوبنا وقد حان الوقت لهدم تلك الجدران.
19	Together we must build new coalitions that bridge old divides - coalitions of different faiths and creeds, of North and South, East, West, black, white and brown.	ويجب أن نبني معاً تحالفات جديدة لسد الفجوات القديمة - تحالفات تضم مختلف الأديان والمذاهب والشمال والجنوب والشرق والغرب والأسود والأبيض والبني.
20	or we can be a generation that chooses to see the shoreline beyond the rough waters ahead, that comes together to serve the common interests of human beings, and finally gives meaning to the promise imbedded in the name given to this institution - the United Nations.	أو يمكننا أن نكون الجيل الذي يختار الوصول إلى بر الأمان بعد عبور المياه الهائجة وتتوحد كلمته لخدمة المصلحة المشتركة للبشر، وفي نهاية المطاف إعطاء معنى للوعد المتأصل في الإسم الذي تحمله هذه المنظمة - الأمم المتحدة.

21	But all nations have responsibilities as well. That is the bargain that makes this work . That must be the guiding principle of international cooperation.	ولكن يقع على عاتق جميع الدول مسؤوليات أيضا. وتلك هي الصفقة التي تجعل هذا الأمر يكفل بالنجاح. ويجب أن يكون ذلك هو المبدأ التوجيهي الذي يسترشد به التعاون الدولي.
22	Today, let me put forward four pillars that I believe are fundamental to the future that we want for our children:	اليوم، أود أن أطرح أربعة ركائز أعتقد أنها أساسية للمستقبل الذي نريده لأولادنا
23	But today the threat of proliferation is growing in scope and complexity. If we fail to act, we will invite nuclear arms races in every region and the prospect of wars and acts of terror on a scale that we can hardly imagine.	ولكن اليوم يزداد خطر الانتشار نطاقا وتعقيدا. وإذا فشلنا في اتخاذ إجراء، سنفتح الباب لسباقات التسليح النووي في كل المنطقة واحتمالات نشوب الحروب وأعمال الإرهاب على نطاق يفوق خيالنا.
24	A fragile consensus stands in the way of this frightening outcome, and that is the basic bargain that shapes the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). America intends to keep our end of the bargain .	ويحول دون هذه النتيجة المخيفة توافق آراء هش، وتلك هي الصفقة الأساسية التي تشكل معاهدة عدم انتشار الأسلحة النووية. وتعترم أمريكا الالتزام بما تعهدت به.
25	In their actions to date, the Governments of North Korea and Iran threaten to take us down this dangerous slope .	وحكومتا كوريا الشمالية وإيران بتصرفاتهما حتى الآن تعرضاننا لخطر الانزلاق في هذا المنحدر الخطير.
26	I am committed to diplomacy that opens a path to greater prosperity and more secure peace for both nations if they live up to their obligations.	أنا ملتزم بالدبلوماسية التي تمهد الطريق لحياة أكثر ازدهارا وسلاما وأكثر أمنا لكنتا الدولتين إذا ارتقيتا إلى مستوى التزاماتهما.
27	The United Nations was born of the belief that the people of the world can live their lives, raise their families and resolve their differences peacefully.	ولدت الأمم المتحدة من رحم الاعتقاد بأن شعوب العالم يمكن أن تعيش حياتها وتنشئ أسرها وتحل خلافاتها بالوسائل السلمية.
28	The violent extremists who promote conflict by distorting faith have discredited and isolated themselves.	والمتطرفون العنيفون الذين يروجون للصراع بتشويه العقيدة فقدوا مصداقيتهم وعزلوا أنفسهم
29	Our efforts to promote peace , however, cannot be limited to defeating violent extremists, for the most powerful weapon in our arsenal is the hope of human beings	ومع ذلك فإن جهودنا لتعزيز السلام، لا يمكن أن تقتصر على مجرد دحر المتطرفين الذين يمارسون العنف، لأن أقوى سلاح في ترسانتنا هو الأمل لدى بني البشر
30	the confidence that conflicts can end and a new day can begin .	الثقة في أن الصراعات يمكن أن تنتهي وأنه يمكن أن يبرغ فجر يوم جديد.
31	As a result of these efforts on both sides, the economy in the West Bank has begun to grow .	ونتيجة لتلك الجهود من الجانبين، فإن الاقتصاد في الضفة الغربية بدأ في النمو.

32	We must remember that the greatest price of this conflict is not paid by us. It is not paid by politicians. It is paid by the Israeli girl in Sderot who closes her eyes in fear that a rocket will take her life in the middle of the night.	ويجب أن نتذكر أن أفدح ثمن لهذا الصراع لم نتكبدته نحن. ولم يتكبدته الساسسة، وإنما تتكبدته الفتاة الإسرائيلية من سيدروت التي تغلق عينيها خوفاً من أن يقضي على حياتها صاروخ في جوف الليل.
33	It is paid by the Palestinian boy in Gaza who has no clean water and no country to call his own.	ويتكبدته الصبي الفلسطيني في غزة الذي لا مياه نقية لديه، ولا بلد يمكنه أن يصفه بأنه وطنه .
34	The danger posed by climate change cannot be denied. Our responsibility to meet it must not be deferred. If we continue down our current course , every member of this Assembly will see irreversible changes within its borders.	إن الخطر الذي يشكله تغير المناخ لا يمكن إنكاره. ويتحتم علينا ألا نرجئ مسؤوليتنا عن مواجهته. وإذا ما واصلنا السير في المسار الذي نسلكه حالياً، فسوف يرى كل عضو من أعضاء هذه الجمعية تغيرات لا رجعة فيها داخل حدوده.
35	Future generations will look back and wonder why we refused to act - why we failed to pass on an environment that was worthy of our inheritance .	وستنظر الأجيال المقبلة إلى الوراء وتتساءل لماذا لم نتخذ إجراء - ولماذا أخفقنا في أن نترك لها بيئة تستحق أن تكون إرثنا لها.
36	And that is why the days when America dragged its feet on this issue are over.	وهذا هو السبب في أن الأيام التي كانت أمريكا تتقاعس فيها بشأن هذه المسألة قد وُلت.
37	We will move forward with investments to transform our energy economy, while providing incentives to make clean energy the profitable kind of energy.	إننا سنمضي قدماً بالاستثمارات لتحويل اقتصاد الطاقة لدينا، مع توفير الحوافز اللازمة لجعل الطاقة النظيفة نوعاً من الطاقة المرعبة.
38	And any effort that fails both to help the poorest nations to adapt to the problems that climate change has already wrought and to help them travel a path of clean development simply will not work.	وأي جهد لا يقوم بمساعدة أكثر الدول فقراً على التكيف مع المشاكل التي حدثت بالفعل بسبب تغير المناخ وعلى السير على درب التنمية النظيفة، فإنه ببساطة لن ينجح.
39	It is hard to change something as fundamental as how we use energy. I know that. It is even harder to do so in the midst of a global recession .	ومن الصعب تغيير أمر أساسي مثل الكيفية التي نستخدم بها الطاقة. وأنا أعلم ذلك. ومن الأصعب أن تفعل ذلك في خضم ركود عالمي.
40	Certainly, it will be tempting to sit back and wait for others to move first. But we cannot make this journey unless we all move forward together.	وبالتأكيد، سيكون من المغري أن نتقاعس ومنتظر من الآخرين أن يتخذوا الخطوة الأولى. غير أنه لا يمكننا أن نخرط في هذه المسيرة إلا إذا تحركنا جميعاً إلى الأمام معاً.
41	The world is still recovering from the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.	إن العالم ما يزال يتعافى من أسوأ أزمة اقتصادية يشهدها منذ الكساد الكبير.
42	In America, we see the engine of growth beginning to churn, and yet many still struggle to find a job or pay their bills.	ونحن في أمريكا نرى أن محرك النمو قد بدأ يعمل، ومع ذلك لا يزال الكثير من الناس يكافحون من أجل العثور على وظيفة أو من أجل دفع الفواتير المستحقة عليهم

43	In Pittsburgh, we will work with the world's largest economies to chart a course for growth that is balanced and sustained.	وسوف نعمل في بتسبيرغ مع أكبر الاقتصادات في العالم لرسم مسار لتحقيق نمو متوازن ومستدام.
44	And that means setting new rules of the road and strengthening regulation for all financial centres, so that we put an end to the greed and the excess and the abuse that led us into this disaster and prevent a crisis like this from ever happening again.	ويعني ذلك وضع قواعد سير جديدة وتعزيز اللوائح لجميع المراكز المالية، حتى يتسنى لنا وضع حد للجشع والتجاوزات والانتهاكات التي أوصلتنا إلى هذه الكارثة، ومنع حدوث أزمة مثل هذه مرة أخرى.
45	We have set aside \$63 billion to carry forward the fight against HIV/AIDS, to end deaths from tuberculosis and malaria, to eradicate polio and to strengthen public health systems.	وقد أفردنا مبلغ ٦٣ بليون دولار لشحن حملة الكفاح ضد فيروس نقص المناعة البشرية /متلازمة نقص المناعة المكتسب (الإيدز) ولوضع حد للوفيات الناجمة عن السل والملاريا واستئصال شائفة شلل الأطفال وتعزيز نظام الصحة العامة.
46	We will support the Millennium Development Goals and approach next year's summit with a global plan to make them a reality. And we will set our sights on the eradication of extreme poverty in our time.	وسوف ندعم الأهداف الإنمائية للألفية ونهج مؤتمر القمة المزمع عقده في العام المقبل مع خطة عالمية لترجمتها إلى واقع ملموس. وسوف ينصب تركيزنا على استئصال الفقر المدقع في عصرنا.
47	And developing nations must root out the corruption that is an obstacle to progress, for opportunity cannot thrive where individuals are oppressed and businesses have to pay bribes.	ولا بد للدول النامية من أن تجتث جذور الفساد الذي يمثل عقبة أمام التقدم لأنه لا يمكن توفير الفرصة، بينما يجري كبح الأفراد ويتعين على أرباب الأعمال التجارية دفع الرشاوي.
48	The people of the world want change. They will not long tolerate those who are on the wrong side of history .	إن شعوب العالم تنشد التغيير. ولن تتحمل كثيراً من هم على الجانب الخطأ من التاريخ.
49	I will never forget that I would not be here today without the steady pursuit of a more perfect union in my country. That guides my belief that no matter how dark the day may seem , transformative change can be forged by those who choose to side with justice.	كان لي أن أكون هنا اليوم لولا أن هناك سعياً دؤوباً إلى اتحاد أكثر كمالاً في بلادي. وهذا يوجه إيماني بأنه مهما بدا اليوم مظلماً، بوسع من اختار الوقوف إلى جانب العدالة أن يحققوا تغييراً جوهرياً.
50	Democracy cannot be imposed on any nation from the outside. Each society must search for its own path , and no path is perfect. Each country will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its people and in its past traditions.	لا يمكن فرض الديمقراطية على أي أمة من الخارج. وعلى كل مجتمع أن يسعى إلى اتباع نهجه الخاص به، وما من نهج كامل. وسوف يتبع كل بلد نهجاً متأصلاً في ثقافة شعبه وفي تقاليد ه السابقة.

51	The United Nations was built by men and women like Roosevelt from every corner of the world - from Africa and Asia, from Europe to the Americas. These architects of international cooperation had an idealism that was anything but naive.	لقد أسس الأمم المتحدة رجال ونساء أمثال روزفلت، ينتمون إلى كل بقعة من بقاع العالم - تمتد من أفريقيا إلى آسيا، ومن أوروبا إلى الأمريكتين. فقد تحلى مهندسو التعاون الدولي هؤلاء بمثالية تشمل كل شيء ما عدا كونها ساذجة.
52	It was rooted in the hard-earned lessons of war , rooted in the wisdom that nations could advance their interests by acting together instead of splitting apart.	فقد كانت تضرب جذورها في دروس الحرب القاسية المتجسدة في الحكمة القائلة بأن الأمم يمكنها أن تدفع قدمًا بمصالحها بعملها يدا بيد، وليس بالتشردم.
53	We have reached a pivotal moment. The United States stands ready to begin a new chapter of international cooperation,	لقد وصلنا لحظة هامة جدا. إن الولايات المتحدة على أهبة الاستعداد للبدء بفصل جديد في التعاون الدولي،
54	And so, with confidence in our cause and with a commitment to our values, we call on all nations to join us in building the future that our people so richly deserve.	ومن هنا، وارتكازا على الثقة التي نضعها في قضيتنا وبالتزامنا بقيمنا، نهيب بجميع الدول أن تنضم إلينا في بناء مستقبل تستحقه شعوبنا بشدة.

Barack Obama 2010

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	We meet within an institution built from the rubble of war , designed to unite the world in pursuit of peace.	نجتمع في إطار مؤسسة بُنيت على أنقاض الحرب وصُممت لتوحيد العالم في السعي إلى السلام.
2	Today, we honour those from the United Nations family who lost their lives in the earthquake and commit ourselves to stand with the people of Haiti until they can stand on their own two feet.	واليوم، فإننا نحیی ذكری أبناء أسرة الأمم المتحدة الذين فقدوا أرواحهم في الزلزال، ونتعهد بالوقوف مع شعب هايتي إلى أن يتمكن من الوقوف على قدميه.
3	And we meet within a city that for centuries has welcomed people from across the globe, demonstrating that individuals of every colour, faith and station can come together to pursue opportunity, build a community and live with the blessing of human liberty.	ونجتمع في مدينة ظلت طيلة قرون تستقبل الناس بالترحاب من مختلف أنحاء العالم، مقدمة الدليل على أن الأفراد من كل لون ومعتقد ومرتبة يمكن أن يلتقوا في سعيهم وراء الفرص وبناء المجتمعات الأهلية والتمتع بنعمة الحرية الإنسانية.
4	Two years ago this month, a financial crisis on Wall Street devastated American families on Main Street.	وفي مثل هذا الشهر قبل سنتين حطمت الأزمة المالية في شارع الشركات المالية وول ستريت حياة العائلات الأمريكية في الشوارع العامة لمدننا.

5	The global economy suffered an enormous blow during the financial crisis, crippling markets	وعانى الاقتصاد العالمي خلال الأزمة المالية من ضربة هائلة أصابت الأسواق بالشلل وأدت إلى تأجيل أحلام الملايين في جميع القارات.
6	Underneath these challenges to our security and prosperity lie deeper fears: that ancient hatreds and religious divides are once again ascendant ; that a world which has grown more interconnected has somehow slipped beyond our control.	وتحت هذه التحديات لأمننا وازدهارنا تكمن مخاوف أعمق: بأن الأحقاد القديمة والتفرقة الدينية بدأت تتصاعد مرة أخرى؛ وبأن هذا العالم، الذي أصبح أكثر ترابطاً، قد انزلق بطريقة ما إلى خارج حدود سيطرتنا.
7	So America has joined with nations around the world to spur growth and the renewed demand that could restart job creation.	وهكذا انضمت أمريكا إلى الدول من مختلف أنحاء العالم لتحفيز النمو وتجديد الطلب الذي يمكنه أن يحرك من جديد خلق فرص العمل.
8	And we made the Group of 20 the focal point for international coordination, because in a world where prosperity is more diffuse, we must broaden our circle of cooperation to include emerging economies - economies from every corner of the globe.	وجعلنا من مجموعة الدول العشرين النقطة المركزية للتنسيق الدولي، لأننا، في العالم الذي يكون فيه الازدهار أكثر انتشاراً، يجب علينا أن نوسع دائرة تعاوننا لتشمل الاقتصادات الجديدة على الساحة الدولية وسائر الاقتصادات من كل أركان العالم.
9	The global economy has been pulled back from the brink of a depression and is growing once more.	لقد تم انتشال الاقتصاد العالمي من حافة السقوط في كساد شديد ، وعاد إلى النمو مرة أخرى.
10	But we cannot - and will not- rest until these seeds of progress grow into a broader prosperity , not only for all Americans but for peoples around the world.	إننا لا نستطيع ولن يهدأ لنا بال إلى أن تنمو بذور التقدم هذه وتصبح رخاء أوسع لا لجميع الأمريكيين فحسب، وإنما لجميع الشعوب في أنحاء العالم كافة.
11	In Afghanistan, the United States and our allies are pursuing a strategy to break the Taliban's momentum and build the capacity of Afghanistan's Government and security forces so that a transition to Afghan responsibility can begin next July.	وفي أفغانستان تسعى الولايات المتحدة وحلفاؤنا إلى انتهاج استراتيجية لكسر زخم حركة الطالبان، وبناء قدرات حكومة أفغانستان وقوات الأمن الأفغانية ، حتى يتسنى البدء بعملية نقل المسؤولية إلى الأفغان في شهر تموز / يولييه المقبل.
12	And from South Asia to the Horn of Africa, we are moving towards a more targeted approach - one that strengthens our partners and dismantles terrorist networks without deploying large American armies.	ومن جنوب آسيا إلى القرن الأفريقي نسير باتجاه تبني نهج ذي هدف محدد بدرجة أكبر - نهج يقوي شركاءنا ويفكك الشبكات الإرهابية، من دون نشر جيوش أمريكية ضخمة.
13	Now let me be clear once more: the United States and the international community seek a resolution to our differences with Iran, and the door remains open to diplomacy should Iran choose to walk through it.	والآن، اسمحوا لي أن أتكلم بوضوح مرة أخرى: إن الولايات المتحدة والمجتمع الدولي يسعيان إلى إيجاد حل لخلافاتنا مع إيران، وإن الباب ما زال مفتوحاً أمام الدبلوماسية إذا اختارت إيران دخوله.

14	As we combat the spread of deadly weapons, we are also confronting the spectre of climate change .	وبينما نكافح انتشار الأسلحة الفتاكة نقوم أيضا بمواجهة شبح تغير المناخ .
15	unleashing the power of clean energy to serve as an engine of growth and development.	ونطلق العنان في الوقت ذاته لقوة الطاقة النظيفة لتكون بمثابة المحرك الذي يدفع عجلات النمو والتنمية والتطوير.
16	We have travelled a winding road over the last twelve months, with few peaks and many valleys.	وقد اجتزنا طريقًا شديد الوعورة خلال الـ ١٢ شهرًا الماضية، تخلله القليل من الذرى والكثير من الوديان.
17	Some say that the gaps between the parties are too big; the potential for talks to break down is too great; and that after decades of failure peace is simply not possible.	ويقول البعض إن الفجوات بين الأطراف واسعة جدًا وأن احتمال انهيار المحادثات كبير جدًا، وأنه بعد عقود من الفشل، فإن السلام ليس ممكنًا.
18	I refuse to accept that future. We all have a choice to make. Each of us must choose the path of peace .	وأنا أرفض قبول ذلك المستقبل. فلدينا جميعًا فرصة الاختيار. ولا بد لكل منا أن يختار طريق السلام.
19	But the road that they have to travel is exceedingly difficult , which is why I call upon Israelis and Palestinians - and the world - to rally behind the goal that these leaders now share.	غير أن الطريق الذي يتعين أن يسلكه صعب للغاية، ولهذا السبب، أدعو الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين - والعالم - إلى موازرة الهدف الذي يتشاطرته هؤلاء الزعماء الآن.
20	We know that there will be tests along the way , and that one test is fast approaching.	إننا ندرك أن هناك اختبارات صعبة على طول الطريق، وها هو أحدها يقترب بسرعة.
21	Now is the time to build the trust - and provide the time - for substantial progress to be made.	حان الوقت الآن لبناء الثقة - وإتاحة الوقت اللازم - لإحراز تقدم جوهري.
22	Those who long to see an independent Palestine must also stop trying to tear down Israel .	وعلى من يتطلعون إلى رؤية فلسطين مستقلة أيضًا أن يكفوا عن السعي إلى تمزيق إسرائيل.
23	This time we should draw upon the teachings of tolerance that lie at the heart of the three great religions that see Jerusalem's soil as sacred.	هذه المرة، ينبغي لنا أن نستمد التعاليم من التسامح الكامن في صميم الأديان العظيمة الثلاثة التي ترى أن تراب القدس مقدس.
24	In times of economic unease, there can also be an anxiety about human rights. Today, as in past times of economic downturn , some put human rights aside for the promise of short-term stability or the false notion that economic growth can come at the expense of freedom.	وفي أوقات الضيق الاقتصادي، يحدث أن يكون هناك قلق حيال حقوق الإنسان. واليوم، كما في أوقات الهبوط الاقتصادي في الماضي، يضع البعض حقوق الإنسان جانبا تيمنا بوعدها الاستقرار القصير الأمد أو بالفكرة الخاطئة بأن النمو الاقتصادي يمكن أن يأتي على حساب الحرية.
25	We see leaders abolishing term limits, we see crackdowns on civil society, we see corruption smothering entrepreneurship and good governance , we see democratic reforms deferred indefinitely.	إننا نشاهد قادة يلغون تحديد فترات الولاية، ونشاهد حملات قمع للمجتمع المدني، ونشاهد الفساد وهو يخنق الأعمال الحرة والحكم الرشيد، ونشاهد الإصلاحات الديمقراطية وهي تؤجل إلى أجل غير مسمى.

26	As I said last year, each country will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its own people.	وكما ذكرت في العام الماضي، فإن كل بلد سيتخذ مسارا متجذرا في ثقافة شعبه.
27	Yet experience shows us that history is on the side of liberty; that the strongest foundation lies in open economies, open societies, and open governments.	ولكن التجربة بينت لنا أن التاريخ يقف إلى جانب الحرية، وأن أقوى الأسس تكمن في الاقتصادات المفتوحة والمجتمعات المفتوحة والحكومات المفتوحة.
28	To put it simply, democracy, more than any other form of government, delivers for our citizens. And I believe that truth will only grow stronger in a world where the borders between nations are blurred.	وببساطة، إن الديمقراطية، أكثر من أي شكل من أشكال الحكم الأخرى، تخدم مواطنينا. إنني أؤمن أن هذه الحقيقة ستزداد قوة في عالم الحدود بين الدول فيه أخذة في التلاشي.
29	America is working to shape a world that fosters this openness. For the rot of a closed or corrupt economy must never eclipse the energy and innovation of human beings.	وتعمل أمريكا من أجل بناء عالم يعزز هذا الانفتاح. لأن عفن الاقتصاد المغلق أو الفاسد يجب ألا يحجب طاقة وابتكار البشر.
30	America will partner with nations that offer their people a path out of poverty. And together, we must unleash growth that powers by individuals and merging markets in all parts of the globe.	وستكون أمريكا شريكة للدول التي تقدم لشعوبها مسارا للخروج من الفقر ومعا، يجب أن نطلق النمو الذي يستمد قوته من الأفراد ومن إدماج الأسواق في كل أرجاء العالم.
31	There is no soil where this cannot take root , just as every democracy reflects the uniqueness of a nation. Later this fall, I will travel to Asia.	ولا توجد تربة لا يمكن للديمقراطية أن تضرب جذورها فيها، كما أن كل ديمقراطية تعكس الطابع الفريد لكل دولة.
32	The world that America seeks is not one we can build on our own. For human rights to reach those who suffer the boot of oppression, we need your voices to speak out.	إن العالم الذي تنشده أمريكا ليس هو ذلك العالم الذي بوسعنا أن نبنيه لوحدها. ولكي تصل حقوق الإنسان للذين يعانون من سياط القمع، فإننا بحاجة إلى أصواتكم الجهورية.
33	Because part of the price of our own freedom is standing up for the freedom of others.	لأننا ندفع جزءا من ثمن حريتنا دفاعا عن حرية الآخرين.
34	a world where the promise of development reaches into the prisons of poverty and disease	عالم يصل فيه الوعد بالتنمية إلى سجون الفقر والمرض
35	a future where the children of Israel and Palestine can build the peace that was not possible for their parents	مستقبل يمكن فيه لأطفال إسرائيل وفلسطين أن يبنيوا السلام الذي كان ممكنا لأبائهم؛
36	a future where the cloud of recession gives way to the light of renewal , and the dream of opportunity is available to all.	مستقبل تنقشع فيه غيوم الركود الاقتصادي أمام ضوء التجدد، ويمكن فيه للجميع أن يحلم بسنوح الفرصة.

37	And though we will be met by dark forces that will test our resolve, Americans have always had cause to believe that we can choose a better history; that we need only to look outside the walls around us.	على الرغم من أننا سنواجه قوى مظلمة تختبر تصميمنا، فأمریکا لديها دائماً سبب يحملها على الاعتقاد بأن بوسعنا أن نختار تاريخاً أفضل وأن ما علينا إلا أن ننظر خارج الجدران المحيطة بنا .
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Barack Obama 2011

No	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1.	I would like to talk to the General Assembly about a subject that is at the heart of the United Nations - the pursuit of peace in an imperfect world	أود أن أخاطب الجمعية العامة بشأن موضوع راسخ في صميم الأمم المتحدة، ألا وهو السعي إلى تحقيق السلام في هذا العالم غير المثالي.
2.	It was that killing that compelled the founders of this body to build an institution that was focused not just on ending one war, but on averting others;	وكان هذا القتل هو الذي أجبر مؤسسي هذه الهيئة على بناء مؤسسة لا تركز على إنهاء حرب واحدة فحسب، ولكن على تجنب حروب أخرى؛
3.	Over nearly seven decades, even as the United Nations helped avert a third world war, we still live in a world scarred by conflict and plagued by poverty.	بينما ساعدت الأمم المتحدة على تجنب نشوب حرب عالمية ثالثة، فإننا لانزال نعيش في عالم تمزقه الصراعات ويعاني من الفقر
4.	Moreover, the violent extremists who drew us into war in the first place - Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaida organisation - remained at large. Today, we have set a new direction.	وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، كان المتطرفون العنيفون الذين جرونا إلى الحرب في المقام الأول - أسامة بن لادن وتنظيم القاعدة الذي يتزعمه - لا يزالون طليقين أما اليوم، فقد حددنا اتجاهاً جديداً.
5.	while building an enduring partnership with the Afghan people.	فيما نبني شراكة دائمة مع الشعب الأفغاني.
6.	So let there be no doubt: the tide of war is receding.	ولذلك يجب ألا يكون هناك أي شك: إن موجة الحرب تتحسر.
7.	This is critical for the sovereignty of Iraq and Afghanistan, and to the strength of the United States as we build our nation at home.	وهذا الأمر بالغ الأهمية بالنسبة لسيادة العراق وأفغانستان وبالنسبة لقوة الولايات المتحدة فيما نبني دولتنا في الداخل.
8.	Moreover, we are poised to end these wars from a position of strength. Ten years ago, there was an open wound and twisted steel; a broken heart in the centre of this city.	وعلاوة على ذلك، فإننا نتأهب لإنهاء هذه الحروب من موقف القوة. فقبل عشر سنوات، كان هناك جرح مفتوح وأعمدة فولاذية ملتوية؛ وقلب منكسر في وسط هذه المدينة
9.	Yes, this has been a difficult decade. But today we stand at a	نعم، لقد كان هذا العقد صعباً. لكننا نقف اليوم عند مفترق طرق تاريخي مع وجود فرصة

	crossroads of history , with the chance to move decisively in the direction of peace . To do so we must return to the wisdom of those who created this institution.	للسير بطريقة حاسمة في اتجاه السلام . وللقيام بذلك، يجب أن نعود إلى حكمة من أنشأوا هذه المؤسسة
10.	More nations have stepped forward to maintain international peace and security.	وتتقدم المزيد من الدول للمشاركة في صون السلام والأمن الدوليين.
11.	One year ago, the hopes of the people of Tunisia were suppressed. But they chose the dignity of peaceful protest over the rule of an iron fist .	وقبل عام، قمعت آمال الشعب التونسي. ولكنهم فضلوا كرامة الاحتجاج السلمي على الحكم بقبضة من حديد.
12.	A vendor lit a spark that took his own life, but ignited a movement.	وأوقد بائع شرارة أودت بحياته، ولكنها أشعلت حركة.
13.	In the face of a crackdown, students spelled out the word freedom. The balance of fear shifted from the ruler to those whom he ruled.	وفي مواجهة الإجراءات الصارمة وحملة القمع، هتف الطلاب بكلمة الحرية ومالت كفة ميزان الرعب من الحاكم باتجاه المحكومين.
14.	Now the people of Tunisia are preparing for elections that will move them one step closer to the democracy that they deserve.	والآن يستعد الشعب التونسي لإجراء انتخابات ستقربهم خطوة من الديمقراطية التي يستحقونها.
15.	We saw in those protesters the moral force of non-violence that has lit the world from Delhi to Warsaw, from Selma to South Africa - and we knew that change had come to Egypt and to the Arab world.	ورأينا في أولئك المحتجين القوة المعنوية لنبذ العنف الذي أشعل العالم من دلهي إلى وارسو، ومن سلمى إلى جنوب أفريقيا، وكنا نعرف أن التغيير قد جاء إلى مصر والعالم العربي.
16.	But faced with bullets and bombs and a dictator who threatened to hunt them down like rats , they showed relentless bravery.	ولكنهم وعلى الرغم من مواجهة الرصاص والقنابل والديكتاتور الذي هدد بملاحقتهم مثل الفئران، أبدوا شجاعة صلبة لاهوادة فيها.
17.	Day after day, in the face of bullets and bombs, the Libyan people refused to give back that freedom.	ويوما بعد يوم، وبمواجهة الرصاص والقنابل، أبى أبناء الشعب الليبي التخلي عن تلك الحرية.
18.	The way things have been is not the way that they will be. The humiliating grip of corruption and tyranny is being pried open. Dictators are on notice.	ولن تعود الأمور إلى ماكانت عليه والقبضة المذلّة للفساد والطغيان قد فُتحت عنوة وقد أصبح الطغاة المستبدون تحت المراقبة.
19.	Technology is putting power into the hands of the people. Youth are delivering a powerful rebuke to dictatorship and rejecting the lie that some races, some peoples, some religions and some ethnicities do not desire democracy.	التكنولوجيا تضع السلطة في أيدي الشعب. ويسدد الشباب ضربة قوية ضد الديكتاتورية، ويرفضون الكذبة القائلة بأن بعض الأعراق والأديان والأقوام لا ترغب في الديمقراطية.

20.	But let us remember: Peace is hard. Peace is hard. Progress can be reversed . Prosperity comes slowly. Societies can split apart . The measure of our success must be whether people can live in sustained freedom, dignity and security.	ولكن دعونا نتذكر أن: السلام صعب المنال. السلام صعب المنال وليس بالأمر السهل. ويمكن عكس مسار تقدمه . والازدهار يأتي ببطء ويمكن للمجتمعات أن تنقسم فيما بينها . ويجب أن يكون المعيار لنجاحنا هو ما إذا كان الناس يستطيعون العيش بحرية، وكرامة، وأمن على الدوام
21.	We believe that each nation must chart its own course to fulfil the aspirations of its people.	ونرى أنه يجب على كل دولة أن تحدد مسارها الخاص بها لتحقيق تطلعات أبناء شعبها،
22.	We have banned those who abuse human rights from travelling to our country and we have sanctioned those who trample on human rights abroad. And we will always serve as a voice for those who have been silenced.	وقد منعنا الذين ينتهكون حقوق الإنسان من السفر إلى بلدنا، وعاقبنا أولئك الذين يدوسون على حقوق الإنسان في الخارج. وسوف نكون دائماً صوتاً للذين أُجبروا على الصمت.
23.	One year later, despite extensive efforts by America and others, the parties have not bridged their differences . Faced with this stalemate, I put forward a new basis for negotiations in May of this year.	وبعد عام، وعلى الرغم من الجهود المكثفة التي بذلتها أمريكا وغيرها، لم يقم الطرفان بحل خلافاتهما وفي مواجهة هذا المأزق، وضعت أساساً جديداً للمفاوضات في شهر أيار/ مايو من هذه السنة
24.	But the question is not the goal that we seek. The question is: How do we reach that goal ? And I am convinced that there is no shortcut to the end of a conflict that has endured for decades.	ولكن المسألة لا تتمثل في الهدف الذي نسعى إليه. المسألة هي: كيف يمكننا تحقيق ذلك الهدف ؟ وإني على اقتناع بأنه لا يوجد طريق مختصر لإنهاء الصراع الذي دام عقوداً.
25.	That is the lesson of Northern Ireland, where ancient antagonists bridged their differences . That is the lesson of the Sudan, where a negotiated settlement led to an independent state.	ذلك هو الدرس المستفاد من أيرلندا الشمالية، حيث عمد الأخصام القدامى إلى تسوية الخلافات بينهم وهذا هو الدرس المستفاد من السودان، حيث أدت التسوية التفاوضية إلى إقامة دولة مستقلة.
26.	And that is and will be the path to a Palestinian State - negotiations between the parties.	وهذا هو السيبل الذي يؤدي الآن والسيبل الذي سيؤدي إلى قيام دولة فلسطينية - المفاوضات بين الطرفين.
27.	That is the truth. Each side has legitimate aspirations, and that is part of what makes peace so hard. And the deadlock will be broken only when each side learns to stand in the other's shoes and each side can see the world through the other's eyes.	هذه هي الحقيقة. إن كل جانب لديه تطلعات مشروعة، وهذا جزء مما يجعل تحقيق السلام صعباً جداً. لن يجري كسر الجمود إلا عندما يضع كل جانب نفسه مكان الآخر، وعندما يمكن لكل جانب أن يرى العالم بعيني الجانب الآخر . هذا ما ينبغي أن نشجعه. وهذا ما ينبغي أن نعززه.
28.	That is the project to which America is committed. There are no shortcuts . And that is what the	هذا هو المشروع الذي تلتزم أمريكا به. لا توجد طرق مختصرة . وهذا ما ينبغي للأمم المتحدة أن تركز عليه في الأسابيع والأشهر المقبلة.

	United Nations should be focused on in the weeks and months to come.	
29.	And so we have begun to move in the right direction.	وهكذا بدأنا بالتحرك في الاتجاه الصحيح
30.	There is a future of greater opportunity for the people of those nations if their governments meet their international obligations. But if they continue down a path that is outside international law, they must be met with greater pressure and isolation.	هناك مستقبل لفرصة أكبر أمام شعبي هاتين الدولتين إذا وفّت حكومتاهما بالتزاماتهما الدولية. ولكن إذا استمررتا في السير على الطريق الخارج عن القانون الدولي، فيجب مواجهتهما بمزيد من الضغط والعزلة. هذا ما يقتضيه التزامنا بالسلام والأمن.
31.	Closed societies gave way to open markets. Innovation and entrepreneurship have transformed the way we live and the things that we do. Emerging economies from Asia to the Americas have lifted hundreds of millions of people from poverty.	فالمجتمعات المغلقة انفتحت على الأسواق المفتوحة. وعملت روح الابتكار والمشاريع على تغيير طريقة عيشنا والأمور التي نقوم بها وقد رفعت الاقتصادات الناشئة من آسيا إلى الأمريكتين مئات ملايين الناس من دائرة الفقر.
32.	And that crisis proved a fact that has become clearer with each passing year. Our fates are interconnected. In a global economy, nations will rise or fall together.	وأثبتت الأزمة الحقيقة التي أصبحت أكثر وضوحاً مع مرور كل سنة. إن مصيرنا مترابط. ففي الاقتصاد العالمي، الأمم ترتقي أو تفشل معاً.
33.	Today, we confront the challenges that have followed on the heels of that crisis. Around the world recovery is still fragile. Markets remain volatile.	إننا نواجه اليوم التحديات التي أعقبت تلك الأزمة. فالانتعاش العالمي مازال هشاً حول العالم. والأسواق لا تزال متقلبة.
34.	Here in the United States, I have announced a plan to put Americans back to work and jump-start our economy, at the same time as I am committed to substantially reducing our deficits over time.	لقد أعلنتُ هنا في الولايات المتحدة خطة لوضع الأمريكيين مجدداً على طريق العمل، وإعطاء زخمٍ لاقتصادنا، بينما التزم في الوقت نفسه بخفض جوانب العجز لدينا إلى حد كبير في المستقبل.
35.	For other countries, leaders face a different challenge as they shift their economy towards more self-reliance, boosting domestic demand while slowing inflation.	وبالنسبة إلى البلدان الأخرى يواجه القادة تحدياً مختلفاً فيما يحولون وجهة اقتصادهم نحو زيادة الاعتماد على الذات، وتعزيز الطلب المحلي مع العمل على إبطاء التضخم
36.	So we will work with emerging economies that have rebounded strongly so that rising standards of living create new markets that promote global growth. That is what our commitment to prosperity demands.	لذلك، سوف نعمل مع الاقتصادات الناشئة التي ارتدت بقوة، في سبيل أن يؤدي ارتفاع مستوى المعيشة إلى إنشاء أسواق جديدة تعزز النمو العالمي. وهذا ما يقتضيه التزامنا بتحقيق الازدهار.

37.	To combat the poverty that punishes our children, we must act on the belief that freedom from want is a basic human right.	وبغية مكافحة الفقر الذي يعاقب أطفالنا، يجب أن نعمل إيمانًا منا بأن التحرر من الفاقة حق أساسي من حقوق الإنسان.
38.	Together, we must work to transform the energy that powers our economies and support others as they move down that path . That is what our commitment to the next generation demands.	ويجب أن نعمل معًا لتحويل الطاقة التي تدعم اقتصاداتنا، وندعم الآخرين في سيرهم على ذلك الطريق . وهذا ما يقتضيه التزامنا بالجيل المقبل.
39.	To make sure our societies reach their potential, we must allow our citizens to reach theirs. No country can afford the corruption that plagues the world like a cancer .	وفي سبيل التأكد من أن تحقق مجتمعاتنا إمكاناتها، يجب علينا أن نتيح لمواطنينا تحقيق إمكاناتهم. وما من بلد يستطيع أن يتحمل الفساد الذي يجتاح العالم مثل السرطان .
40.	This week, the United States signed a new declaration on women's participation. Next year, we should each announce the steps we are taking to break down the economic and political barriers that stand in the way of women and girls.	ففي هذا الأسبوع، وقّعت الولايات المتحدة إعلانًا جديدًا بشأن مشاركة المرأة. وفي السنة المقبلة، ينبغي لكل واحد منا أن يعلن عن الخطوات التي نتخذها لكسر الحواجز الاقتصادية والسياسية التي تقف في وجه النساء والفتيات
41.	I know there is no straight line to that progress, no single path to success. We come from different cultures, and carry with us different histories.	أعلم أنه ليس هناك خط مستقيم لتحقيق هذا التقدم، وأنه ليس هناك مسار واحد للنجاح. إننا ننتمي إلى ثقافات مختلفة، ولنا تاريخ مختلف.
42.	It is the nature of our imperfect world that we are forced to learn these lessons over and over again.	إن طبيعة عالمنا الذي لا يتصف بالكمال تحملنا على تعلم هذه الدروس مرارا وتكرارًا.
43.	Now we have learned that no matter how much we love peace and hate war, we cannot avoid having war brought upon us if there are convulsions in other parts of the world.	والآن، فقد تعلمنا أنه مهما أحببنا السلام وكرهنا الحرب، لا يمكننا تجنب الحرب التي تُفرض علينا إذا كانت هناك اضطرابات عنيفة في أجزاء أخرى من العالم

Barack Obama 2012

No	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1.	As America's representative, he helped the Libyan people as they coped with violent conflict, cared for the wounded and crafted a vision for the future in which the	وبوصفه ممثلًا لأمريكا، ساعد أفراد الشعب الليبي وهم يواجهون نزاعًا عنيفًا، فاعتنى بالجرحى، وصاغ رؤية لمستقبل يتم فيه احترام حقوق جميع الليبيين.

	rights of all Libyans would be respected.	
2.	After the revolution, he supported the birth of a new democracy as Libyans held elections and built new institutions and began to move forward after decades of dictatorship.	وبعد الثورة، دعم ميلاد الديمقراطية الجديدة، فيما كان الليبيون يُجرون الانتخابات، ويبنون مؤسسات جديدة، ويبدأون بالتحرك قُدماً بعد عقود طويلة من الحكم الدكتاتوري.
3.	Like his fellow Foreign Service officers, he built bridges across oceans and cultures and was deeply invested in the international cooperation that the United Nations represents.	وتماماً كما فعل زملاؤه في السلك الدبلوماسي، بنى جسوراً عبر المحيطات والثقافات، وكان منخرطاً بعمق في نطاق التعاون الدولي الذي تمثله الأمم المتحدة.
4.	It has been less than two years since a vendor in Tunisia set himself on fire to protest the oppressive corruption in his country and sparked what became known as the Arab Spring .	لقد مرت أقل من سنتين على إضرام بائع متجول في تونس النار في نفسه احتجاجاً على الفساد الظالم في بلده، فأشعل ما أصبح يعرف باسم الربيع العربي .
5.	We were inspired by the Tunisian protests that toppled a dictator , because we recognised our own beliefs in the aspirations of the men and women who took to the streets.	لقد ألهمتنا الاحتجاجات التونسية التي أطاحت بأحد الطغاة ، لأننا أدركنا أن معتقداتنا تماثل طموحات الرجال والنساء الذين خرجوا إلى الشوارع.
6.	We supported change in Egypt, because our support for democracy ultimately put us on the side of the people .	وأيدنا التغيير في مصر، لأن دعمنا للديمقراطية وضعنا في نهاية المطاف إلى جانب الشعب .
7.	At times, the conflicts arise along the fault lines of race or tribe, and often they arise from the difficulties of reconciling tradition and faith with the diversity and interdependence of the modern world.	وفي بعض الأوقات، تنشعب النزاعات على طول خطوط التصدع العرقية أو القبلية، وكثيراً ما تنجم عن الصعوبات فيما يخص توفيق التقاليد والعقيدة مع تنوع العالم المعاصر وترابطه.
8.	More broadly, the events of the past two weeks also speak to the need for all of us to honestly address the tensions between the West and the Arab world, which is moving towards democracy .	وعلى نطاق أوسع، فإن أحداث الأسبوعين الماضيين تنبهنا إلى الحاجة إلى أن نعالج بإخلاص التوترات بين الغرب والعالم العربي المتجه صوب الديمقراطية .

9.	A politics based only on anger - one based on dividing the world between us and them not only sets back international cooperation, it ultimately undermines those who tolerate it. All of us have an interest in standing up to those forces.	إن السياسة المبنية على الحنق وحسب — تلك المبنية على تقسيم العالم بين نحن وهم لا تعطل مسيرة التعاون الدولي فقط، بل تلحق الضرر بالذين يتسامحون معها. مصطلحتنا جمعياً في مواجهة هذه القوى.
10.	America has pursued a development agenda that fuels growth and breaks dependency, and has worked with African leaders to help them feed their nations.	واعتمدت أمريكا جدول أعمال إنمائي يغذي النمو ويكسر طوق الاعتماد على الآخرين، كما عملت مع القادة الأفارقة لمساعدتهم على إطعام شعوبهم.
11.	It will not be enough to put more guards in front of an Embassy or to put out statements of regret and wait for the outrage to pass .	فلن يكون كافياً مجرد وضع المزيد من الحراس أمام سفارة، أو إصدار بيانات الأسف، وانتظار انحسار موجة الغضب.
12.	the regime of Bashar Al-Assad must come to an end, so the suffering of the Syrians people can stop and a new dawn can begin	أن نظام بشار الأسد يجب ان ينتهي لكي يتسنى وقف معاناة الشعب السوري ولكي يبزغ فجر جديد

Barack Obama 2013

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	But in the wake of millions dead and continents in rubble and with the development of nuclear weapons that could annihilate a planet, they understood that humanity could not survive the course it was on .	ولكن في أعقاب مقتل الملايين وتحول أجزاء من القارات إلى أنقاض، ومع تطوير الأسلحة النووية التي يمكن أن تمحي الكوكب عن الوجود، فقد أدركوا أنه لم يكن بوسع البشرية إن تبقى باتباعها الطريق الذي كانت تسلكه.
2	Now, five years after the global economy collapsed and thanks to coordinated efforts by the countries here today, jobs are being created, global financial systems have stabilised and people are once again being lifted out of poverty .	والآن، وبعد مرور خمس سنوات على انهيار الاقتصاد العالمي، وبفضل الجهود المنسقة التي تبذلها البلدان الممثلة هنا اليوم، يجري تهيئة فرص العمل، واستقرت النظم المالية العالمية ويجري انتشال الناس مرة أخرى من براثن الفقر.
3	Next year an international coalition will end its war in Afghanistan, having achieved its mission of dismantling the core	وسينهي التحالف الدولي العام القادم الحرب في أفغانستان، بعد أن حقق مهمته المتمثلة في تفكيك العمود الفقري لتنظيم القاعدة الذي هاجمنا في 11 أيلول/سبتمبر.

	of Al-Qaida that attacked us on 9/11.	
4	America and others have worked to bolster the moderate opposition, but extremist groups have still taken root to exploit the crisis.	وعملت أمريكا وغيرها على تعزيز المعارضة المعتدلة، ولكن الجماعات المتطرفة مع ذلك تزرع جذورها لاستغلال هذه الأزمة.
5	Al-Assad's traditional allies have propped him up, citing principles of sovereignty to shield his regime.	لكن حلفاء الأسد التقليديين ساندوه، مشيرين إلى مبادئ السيادة من أجل حماية النظام.
6	Today, the crisis in Syria and the destabilisation of the region goes to the heart of broader challenges that the international community must now confront.	واليوم، فإن الأزمة في سوريا وزعزعة الاستقرار في المنطقة تؤثران في صميم التحديات الأوسع نطاقا التي يجب على المجتمع الدولي أن يتصدى لها الآن.
7	Today, I want to outline where the United States of America stands on those issues.	اليوم، أود أن أوضح موقف الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بشأن هذه المسائل.
8	We are committed to working this political track , and as we pursue a settlement, let us remember that this is not a zero-sum endeavour .	نحن ملتزمون بالعمل على انجاح هذا المسار السياسي، وإذ نسعى إلى التوصل إلى تسوية، علينا أن نتذكر أن هذا مسعى لا يقوم على منطقتي الربح والخسارة.
9	Aid cannot keep pace with the suffering of the wounded and displaced. A peace process is stillborn .	ولا يمكن للمعونة أن تواكب معاناة الجرحى والمشردين. وولدت عملية السلام ميتة.
10	There is no great game to be won , nor does America have any interest in Syria beyond the well-being of its people, the stability of its neighbours, the elimination of chemical weapons and ensuring that it does not become a safe haven for terrorists.	فنحن لم نعد في حرب باردة. فليست هناك لعبة كبرى لكسبها، وليست لأمريكا أي مصلحة في سوريا تتعدى رفاه شعبها واستقرار جيرانها وإزالة الأسلحة الكيميائية وكفالة ألا تصبح ملاذا آمنا للإرهابيين.
11	As we move the Geneva process forward , I urge all nations represented here to step up to meet the humanitarian needs in Syria and surrounding countries.	وإذ نمضي قدما بعملية جنيف، أحث جميع الدول الممثلة هنا على تكثيف الجهود لتلبية الاحتياجات الإنسانية في سوريا والبلدان المجاورة.
12	The United States of America is prepared to use all elements of our power, including military	إن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية على استعداد لتوظيف جميع عناصر قوتنا، بما في ذلك القوة العسكرية، لتأمين مصالحنا الأساسية في المنطقة.

	force, to secure these core interests in the region.	
13	Now, to say that those are America's core interests is not to say that they are our only interests.	والآن، فأن يقال إن تلك هي مصالح أمريكا الأساسية لايعني أن هذه هي مصالحنا الوحيدة.
14	I believe that there is a growing recognition within Israel that the occupation of the West Bank is tearing at the democratic fabric of the Jewish State.	وأعتقد ان هناك اعترافا متزايدا داخل إسرائيل بأن احتلال الضفة الغربية ينهش النسيج الديمقراطي للدولة اليهودية

Barack Obama 2014

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language metaphor
1	We come together at a crossroads between war and peace, between disorder and integration, between fear and hope.	إننا نجتمع عند مفترق طرق بين الحرب والسلام، بين الفوضى والنظام، بين الخوف والأمل.
2	Around the globe, there are signposts of progress.	وفي جميع أنحاء العالم، هناك مؤشرات للتقدم.
3	The shadow of the Second World War that existed at the founding of this institution has been lifted, and the prospect of war between major Powers reduced.	فظلال الحرب العالمية الثانية التي كانت خيمت على هذه المؤسسة عند إنشائها قد زالت، وأفاق الحرب بين الدول الكبرى تقلصت.
4	Hundreds of millions of human beings have been freed from the prison of poverty , with the proportion of those living in extreme poverty cut in half.	وتحرر مئات الملايين من البشر من أسر الفقر، مع انخفاض نسبة من يعيشون في الفقر المدقع إلى النصف
5	And the world economy continues to strengthen after the worst financial crisis of our lives.	والاقتصاد العالمي يزداد قوة بعد أسوأ أزمة مالية شهدناها في حياتنا.
6	And yet there is a pervasive unease in our world - a sense that the very forces that have brought us together have created new dangers and made it difficult for any single nation to insulate itself from global forces.	ولكن، هناك شعور بالقلق ينتشر في عالمنا - شعور بأن القوى التي جمعتنا جاءت بمخاطر جديدة وجعلت من الصعب على أي دولة وحدها أن تنعزل عن القوى العالمية.
7	The brutality of terrorists in Syria and Iraq forces us to look into the heart of darkness .	ووحشية الإرهابيين في سوريا والعراق تجبرنا على إمعان النظر في قلب الظلام.

8	And we have not confronted forcefully enough the intolerance, sectarianism and hopelessness that feeds violent extremism in too many parts of the globe.	ولم نواجه بقوة كافية التعصب والطائفية واليأس الذي يغذي التطرف العنيف في أنحاء كثيرة جداً من العالم.
9	We can renew the international system that has enabled so much progress, or we can allow ourselves to be pulled back by an undertow of instability.	إننا نجتمع كأمم متحدة وأمامنا الخيار باستطاعتنا أن نجدد النظام الدولي الذي سمح بقدر كبير من التقدم، أو أن نسمح لأنفسنا بالتقهقر بفعل تيار معاكس منعدم الاستقرار.
10	We can reaffirm our collective responsibility to confront global problems, or be swamped by more and more outbreaks of instability.	يمكننا أن نعيد التأكيد على مسؤوليتنا الجماعية عن مواجهة المشاكل العالمية، أو أن يجرفنا المزيد من تفشي عدم الاستقرار.
11	And for America, the choice is clear - we choose hope over fear. We see the future not as something out of our control, but as something we can shape for the better through concerted and collective effort.	وفيما يتعلق بأمريكا، فالخيار واضح - لقد اخترنا الأمل لا الخوف. ونحن نرى المستقبل لا كشيء خارج عن سيطرتنا، بل نراه شيئاً يمكننا تشكيله للأفضل بجهود متضافرة وجماعية.
12	Today I would like to focus on two defining questions at the root of so many of our challenges.	لكن، أود التركيز اليوم على مسألتين أساسيتين كامنيتين في جذور الكثير من التحديات التي نواجهها.
13	Will the nations represented here today be able to renew the purpose of the United Nations founding, and will we come together to reject the cancer of violent extremism ?	هل ستكون الأمم الممثلة هنا اليوم قادرة على تجديد المقصد من تأسيس الأمم المتحدة، وهل ستجتمع كلمتها لرفض سرطان التطرف العنيف ؟
14	First, all of us - big nations and small - must meet our responsibility to observe and enforce international norms.	أولاً، علينا جميعاً - الأمم الكبيرة والصغيرة - أن نفي بمسؤوليتنا لاحترام المعايير الدولية وإنفاذها.
15	We will impose a cost on Russia for its aggression, and we will counter falsehoods with the truth.	وسنجعل روسيا تدفع ثمن عدوانها، وسنقاوم الأكاذيب بالحقائق.
16	And we call upon others to join us on the right side of history , for while small gains can be won at the barrel of a gun, they will ultimately be turned back if enough voices support the freedom of nations and the right of peoples to make their own decisions.	وندعو الآخرين إلى الانضمام إلينا على الجانب الصحيح من التاريخ ، حيث إنه في حين يمكنه تحقيق مكاسب صغيرة بقوة السلاح، فستراجع في نهاية المطاف إذا ما دعمت أصوات كافية حرية الأمم وحق الشعوب في اتخاذ قراراتها.
17	Moreover, a different path is available - the path of diplomacy and peace, and the ideals that this institution is designed to uphold.	وعلاوة على ذلك، فهناك مسار مختلف متاح - مسار الدبلوماسية والسلام، والمثل العليا التي تهدف هذه المؤسسة إلى دعمها.

18	If Russia takes that path - a path that for stretches of the post-Cold War period resulted in prosperity for the Russian people - then we will lift our sanctions and welcome Russia's role in addressing common challenges.	وإذا سلكت روسيا ذلك المسار - المسار الذي امتد في فترة ما بعد الحرب الباردة وأدى إلى تحقيق الازدهار للشعب الروسي - فسنرفع ما فرضناه عليها من جزاءات وسنرحب بدور روسيا في مواجهة التحديات المشتركة.
19	That is the kind of cooperation we are prepared to pursue again, if Russia changes course .	وهذا هو نوع التعاون الذي نحن على استعداد لمواصلته مرة أخرى مع روسيا، إذا غيرت منهجها .
20	Will we solve our problems together in a spirit of mutual interest and mutual respect, or will we descend into the destructive rivalries of the past?	هل سنتوصل معا إلى حل لمشاكلنا بروح الاهتمام المشترك والاحترام المتبادل، أم سننحدر إلى مستوى المنافسات المدمرة في الماضي؟
21	But we need a broader effort to stop a disease that could kill hundreds of thousands, inflict horrific suffering, destabilise economies and move rapidly across borders.	ولكننا في حاجة إلى بذل جهد أوسع نطاقا من أجل وقف مرض يمكنه أن يقتل مئات الآلاف، ويتسبب في إحداث معاناة رهيبية، و يزعزع الاقتصادات ، ويتحرك بسرعة عبر الحدود.
22	That is how the Asia-Pacific region has grown .	تلك هي الكيفية التي تعززت بها منطقة آسيا والمحيط الهادئ.
23	And that is the only way to protect the progress going forward .	وهذا هو السبيل الوحيد لحماية التقدم الذي يجري إحرازه .
24	But the science tells us that we can succeed in combatting climate change only if we are joined in that effort by every other nation, by every major Power.	ولكن العلم يقول إنه لا يمكننا أن ننجح في مكافحة تغير المناخ إلا إذا انضمت إلينا في هذا الجهد دول أخرى، وكل دولة من الدول الكبرى. تلك هي الكيفية التي يمكننا بها أن نحمي كوكبنا من أجل أطفالنا وأحفادنا.
25	In other words, on issue after issue, we cannot rely on a rule book written for a different century.	وبعبارة أخرى، فإنه في مسألة بعد أخرى لا يمكننا الاعتماد على كتاب قواعد تمت كتابته لقرن مختلف.
26	If we lift our eyes beyond our borders, if we think globally and if we act cooperatively, we can shape the course of this century as our predecessors shaped the post-World War Two age.	وإذا ما نظرنا إلى ما وراء حدودنا، وإذا فكرنا على الصعيد العالمي، وإذا ما عملنا عملا تعاونيا، فيمكننا تشكيل منهج هذا القرن كما شكل أسلافنا عصر ما بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية.
27	But as we look to the future, one issue risks starting a cycle of conflict that could derail so much progress.	ولكننا بينما نتطلع إلى المستقبل، هناك مسألة تخاطر بالبداية في جولة من النزاع الذي قد يعطل إحراز الكثير من التقدم.
28	That is the cancer of violent extremism , which has ravaged so many parts of the Muslim world.	إنه سرطان التطرف العنيف ، الذي خر بأنحاء عديدة في العالم الإسلامي.
29	And when it comes to America and Islam, there is no us and them , there is only us, because millions of	وعندما يتعلق الأمر بأمريكا والإسلام، فما من نحن وهم ، لا يوجد سوى نحن، حيث يشكل الملايين من المسلمين الأمريكيين جزءا من نسيج البلد .

	Muslim Americans are part of the fabric of our country.	
30	So we reject any suggestion of a clash of civilisations . Belief in permanent religious war is the misguided refuge of extremists who cannot build or create anything and therefore peddle only fanaticism and hate.	ولذلك فإننا نرفض أي إشارة إلى حدوث صدام بين الحضارات . فمعتقد الحرب الدينية الدائمة هو الملجأ المضلل الذي يأوى إليه المتطرفون الذين لا يمكنهم بناء أو إبداع أي شيء، وبالتالي فهم لا يروجون سوى التعصب والكراهية.
31	For while we have worked methodically to degrade Al-Qaida at its core and have supported a transition to a sovereign Afghan Government, extremist ideology has shifted to other places, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa,	فبينما نعمل منذ فترة وبشكل منهجي على الحط من القاعدة في الصميم ، وندعم عملية الانتقال إلى حكومة أفغانية ذات سيادة، تحولت الأيديولوجية المتطرفة إلى أماكن أخرى، لاسيما في الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا،
32	Mothers, sisters and daughters have been subjected to rape as a weapon of war.	الأمهات والأخوات والبنات يتعرضن للاغتصاب كسلاح للحرب .
33	So the United States of America will work with a broad coalition to dismantle that network of death.	فإن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ستعمل مع تحالف عريض لتفكيك شبكة الموت هذه.
34	For we will not succumb to threats, and we will demonstrate that the future belongs to those who build , not to those who destroy .	لن نستسلم للتهديدات، وسوف نثبت أن المستقبل ملك لأولئك الذين يقومون بالبناء ، لا أولئك الذين يقومون بالتدمير .
35	It is time for a new compact among the civilised peoples of this world to eradicate war at its most fundamental source , and that is the corruption of young minds by violent ideology.	لقد حان الوقت لعهد جديد بين الشعوب المتحضرة في هذا العالم بغية استئصال الحروب من جذورها الأساسية ، أي عقول الشباب التي تفسدها أيديولوجيات عنيفة.
36	That means cutting off the funding that fuels such hatred.	وهذا يعني قطعاً لتمويل الذي يؤجج هذه الكراهية.
37	The ideology of ISIL or Al-Qaida or Boko Haram will wilt and die if it is consistently exposed and confronted and refuted in the light of day.	إن عقيدة داعش أو القاعدة أو بوكو حرام سوف تذوي وتفتني إذا جرى على الدوام كشفها ومجابهتها وفضحها في وضوح النهار.
38	Look at the young British Muslims who have responded to terrorist propaganda by starting the #notinmyname campaign, declaring that ISIL is hiding behind a false Islam.	انظروا إلى شباب المسلمين في بريطانيا الذين استجابوا لدعاية الإرهابيين ببدء حملة ليس باسمي التي أعلنت أن داعش تختبئ وراء إسلام كاذب.

39	Next year, we should all be prepared to announce the concrete steps that we have taken to counter extremist ideologies in our own countries - by getting intolerance out of schools, stopping radicalisation before it spreads and promoting institutions and programmes that build new bridges of understanding.	وينبغي لنا جميعا أن نكون مستعدين في السنة المقبلة للإعلان عن الخطوات الملموسة التي اتخذناها لمواجهة الأيديولوجيات المتطرفة في بلداننا بالذات - بإخراج التعصب من المدارس، ووقف التطرف قبل أن ينتشر، وتعزيز المؤسسات والبرامج التي تبني جسورا جديدة من التفاهم.
40	Thirdly, we must address the cycle of conflict, especially sectarian conflict, that creates the conditions that terrorists prey upon.	ثالثا، يجب علينا أن نواجه الدائرة المفرغة للصراع، لاسيما الصراع الطائفي الذي يولد الظروف التي يتغذى عليها الإرهابيون.
41	Iraq has come perilously close to plunging back into the abyss. The conflict has created a fertile recruiting ground for terrorists, who inevitably export such violence.	والعراق بات على وشك الانزلاق الخطير في الهاوية من جديد. وقد أوجد الصراع أرضا خصبة لتجنيد الإرهابيين الذين يصدرون حتما مثل هذا العنف.
42	The good news is that we also see signs that the tide can be reversed .	والخبر السار هو أننا نرى أيضا دلائل على إمكان عكس مسار هذا التيار.
43	You come from a great tradition that stands for education, not ignorance; innovation, not destruction; the dignity of life, not murder. Those who call you away from that path are betraying that tradition, not defending it.	إنكم من سلالة تقاليد عظيمة تنادي بالتعليم، وليس بالجهل، وبالإبداع وليس بالتدمير، وبتكريم الحياة، وليس بالقتل. وأولئك الذين يريدون إبعادكم عن هذا الطريق يخونون هذه التقاليد، ولا يدافعون عنها.
44	And we will expand our programmes to support entrepreneurship and civil society, education and youth, because ultimately those investments are the best antidote to violence .	وسوف نوسع نطاق برامجنا لدعم ريادة الأعمال والمجتمع المدني، والتعليم والشباب، لأن هذه الاستثمارات هي أفضل ترياق للعنف في نهاية المطاف.
45	to make our union more perfect, to bridge the divides that existed at the founding of this nation. America is not the same as it was 100 years ago or fifty years ago or even a decade ago.	ولجعل اتحادنا أكثر مثالية، ولسد الفجوات التي كانت موجودة عندما أسست هذه الأمة. أمريكا ليست هي نفسها قبل 100 سنة أو 50 سنة أو حتى عقد من الزمن.
46	We address our differences in the open space of democracy , with respect for the rule of law, with a place for people of every race and every religion and with an unyielding belief in the ability of individual men and women to change their communities and their circumstances and their countries for the better.	نعالج خلافاتنا في رحاب الديمقراطية الطلق، مع احترام سيادة القانون، ووجود مكان للناس من كل عرق وكل دين، ومع إيمان لا يتزعزع بالقدر الفردية للرجال والنساء على تغيير مجتمعاتهم وظروفهم، وبلدانهم نحو الأفضل.

47	And at this crossroads , I can promise the Assembly that the United States of America will not be distracted or deterred from what must be done. We are heirs to a proud legacy of freedom, and we are prepared to do what is necessary to secure that legacy for generations to come.	وفي هذا المنعطف، يمكن أن أعد الجمعية بأن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية لن تلتهي أو ترتدع عن القيام بما يجب القيام به. إننا ورثة إرث الحرية الذي نعتز به، ونحن على استعداد لأن نفعل ما هو ضروري لتأمين ذلك الإرث للأجيال المقبلة. وأطلب إلى الجمعية أن تتضمن إلينا في هذه المهمة المشتركة لصالح أطفال اليوم والغد.
48	America is committed to a development agenda that eradicates extreme poverty by 2030	وأمریکا ملتزمة بخطة التنمية للقضاء على الفقر المدقع بحلول عام 2030

Barack Obama 2015

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	by supporting the steady emergence of strong democracies accountable to their people	ودعم الظهور المنتظم لديمقراطيات قوية خاضعة للمساءلة أمام شعوبها،
2	by building an international system that imposes a cost on those who choose conflict over cooperation,	وبناء نظام دولي يفرض ثمنا على الذين يختارون النزاع بدلا من التعاون،
3	But we have pressed forward , slowly, steadily, to make a system of international rules and norms that are better and stronger and more consistent.	ولكننا مضينا قدما، ببطء، بخطى ثابتة، لإنشاء نظام من القواعد والمعايير الدولية أفضل وأقوى وأكثر اتساقا.
4	and buttressed a global economy that has lifted more than a billion people from poverty .	ودعم الاقتصاد العالمي الذي انتشل ما يزيد عن بليون شخص من براثن الفقر.
5	And yet we come together today knowing that the march of human progress never travels in a straight line ,	نجتمع اليوم ونحن نعرف أن التقدم البشري لا يسير بناتا في خط مستقيم،
6	that our work is far from complete and that dangerous currents risk pulling us back into a darker , more disordered world.	أي أن عملنا غير مكتمل والتيارات الخطيرة تشدنا إلى الوراء إلى عالم أكثر قتامة وأكثر اضطرابا.
7	Today we are seeing the collapse of strong men and fragile States breeding conflict and driving innocent men, women and children across borders on an epic scale.	نشهد اليوم انهيار ذوي النفوذ، وأصبحت الدول الهشة تربية خصبة لنمو وترعرع النزاعات والدفع بالأبرياء من الرجال والنساء والأطفال عبر الحدود على نطاق مذهل.
8	Brutal networks of terror have stepped into the vacuum .	وتعمل الشبكات الإرهابية الوحشية على سد الفراغ.
9	Global capital flows have powered growth and investment,	لقد عملت تدفقات رأس المال العالمية على تعضيد النمو والاستثمار،

10	the belief that power is a zero-sum game ,	بأن القوة هي لعبة محصلتها صفر ،
11	We see an erosion of the democratic principles and human rights that are fundamental to this institution's mission.	ونرى تآكلا للمبادئ الديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان التي تعتبر أساسية لرسالة هذه المؤسسة .
12	we see the fears of ordinary people being exploited through appeals to sectarianism, tribalism, racism or anti-Semitism; appeals to a glorious past before the body politic was infected by those who look different or worship God differently - a politics of us versus them.	وأكثر ما يندر بالشر أننا نرى أنه يجري استغلال مخاوف الناس العاديين من خلال نداءات موجهة نحو الطائفية أو النزعة القبلية أو العنصرية أو معاداة السامية؛ والاستشهاد بالماضي المجيد أمام المؤسسة السياسية التي نقل إليها العدوى الذين يظهرون بأنهم مختلفين عنا أو يعبدون الله بطريقة مختلفة عنا، أي أن سياستنا تتناقض مع سياستهم.
13	The United States is not immune to this.	إن الولايات المتحدة ليست بمأمن من هذا
14	We cannot look backwards . We live in an integrated world, one in which we all have a stake in one another's success.	ولا يمكننا أن ننظر إلى الوراء . فنحن نعيش في عالم متكامل، عالم كل واحد فينا يعيش فيه له مصلحة في نجاح الآخر.
15	No nation here in the Assembly can insulate itself from the threat of terrorism, the risk of financial contagion, the flow of migrants or the danger of a warming planet.	لا توجد دولة هنا في الجمعية يمكنها أن تنأى بنفسها عن التهديد الذي يشكله الإرهاب، من قبيل خطر انتقال العدوى المالية، وتدققا لمهاجرين أو خطر احتراق الكوكب.
16	In Iraq, the United States learned the hard lesson that even with hundreds of thousands of brave, effective troops and trillions of dollars from our Treasury, it cannot by itself impose stability on a foreign land.	ففي العراق، تعلمت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية درسا قاسيا حتى مع مئات الآلاف من القوات الشجاعة والفعالة التي لدينا، وتريليونات الدولارات التي ننفقها من خزينتنا، تعلمت بأنه لا يمكنها ذاتها أن تفرض الاستقرار على أي أرض أجنبية.
17	Unless we work with other nations under the mantle of international norms , principles and law that offers legitimacy to our efforts, we will not succeed.	ومالم نعمل مع الدول الأخرى تحت مظلة المبادئ والمعايير الدولية التي تضفي الشرعية على الجهود التي نبذلها، لن يكون بوسعنا تحقيق النجاح.
18	And history tells us that the dark forces unleashed by this type of politics surely make all of us less secure. Our world has been there before. We gain nothing from going back.	ويخبرنا التاريخ بأن القوى الظلامية التي يطلقها من هذا النوع من السياسات تجعلنا بالتأكيد جميعا نشعر بأننا أقل أمنا. ولقد شهد عالمنا ذلك من قبل. ولن نستفيد شيئا من العودة إلى ذلك.
19	Instead, I believe that we must go forward in pursuit of our ideals, not abandon them at this critical time.	وبدلا من ذلك، أعتقد أننا يجب أن نمضي قدما في تحقيق مثلنا، وليس التخلي عنها في هذا الوقت الحرج.
20	and pursue a path of cooperation rather than conflict. And strong nations, above all, have a responsibility to uphold that international order.	ونسير على طريق التعاون بدلا من النزاع. وتقع على عاتق الدول القوية، قبل كل شيء، مسؤولية التمسك بهذا النظام الدولي.

21	Our objective was to test whether Iran could change course , accept constraints and allow the world to verify that its nuclear programme would be peaceful.	فقد تمثل هدفنا في اختبار ما إذا كان بوسع إيران أن تغيّر مسارها ، وتقبل بالقيود وتسمح للعالم بالتحقق من أن برنامجها النووي سيكون للأغراض السلمية.
22	The strong men of today become the spark of revolution tomorrow. You can jail your opponents, but you cannot imprison ideas.	يثبت لنا تاريخ العقدين الماضيين بأن الديكتاتوريات لاتنعم بالاستقرار في عالم اليوم. فالمتنفذون اليوم سيصبحون شرارة ثورة الغد. يمكنكم سجن خصومكم، ولكن لايمكنكم سجن الأفكار.
23	That path is now available to a nation such as Iran, which, as of this moment, continues to deploy violent proxies to advance its interests.	وذلك الطريق متاح الآن أمام دولة مثل إيران، التي لاتزال حتى هذه اللحظة، تواصل نشر وكلاء العنف من أجل تحقيق مصالحها.
24	Those efforts may appear to give it leverage in disputes with its neighbours, but they fuel sectarian conflict that endangers the entire region and isolates Iran from the promise of trade and commerce.	وقد تبدو هذه الجهود بأنها تعطيها نفوذا في النزاعات مع جيرانها، ولكنها تغذي الصراع الطائفي الذي يهدد المنطقة بأكملها ويعزل إيران عن إمكانات التجارة والتبادل التجاري.
25	If Iran chooses a different path , that will be good for the security of the region, good for the Iranian people and good for the world.	وإذا اختارت إيران مساراً مختلفاً ، فسيكون ذلك أمراً يبشر بالخير للأمن في المنطقة، وبالخير للشعب الإيراني، وبالخير للعالم بأسره.
26	our coalition could have and should have done more to fill a vacuum left behind.	كان بوسع تحالفنا وكان ينبغي له أن يقوم بالمزيد من العمل لسد الفراغ الذي خلفناه وراءنا.
27	We also have to recognise that we must work more effectively in the future, as an international community, to build capacity for states that are in distress before they collapse.	ويتعين أيضاً أن نقر بأننا يجب أن نعمل بصورة أكثر فعالية في المستقبل، باعتبارنا المجتمع الدولي، على بناء القدرات في الدول المنكوبة قبل أن تنهار هذه الدول.
28	But we must recognise that after so much bloodshed, so much carnage, there cannot be a return to the pre-war status quo.	ولكن علينا الإقرار بأنه بعد سفك الكثير من الدمار والكثير من التخريب، لايمكن العودة إلى الوضع الذي كان قائماً قبل الحرب.
29	We know that ISIL - which emerged out of the chaos of Iraq and Syria - depends on perpetual war to survive, but we also know that they gain adherents because of a poisonous ideology .	إننا نعلم أن تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية - الذي نشأ من فوضى العراق وسوريا - يعتمد في بقاءه على إدامة الحرب، ولكننا أيضاً نعلم أنه يكسب أتباعاً بسبب أيديولوجية سامة .
30	Part of our job, together, is to work to reject such extremism that infects too many of our young people.	وجزء من مهمتنا، معاً، العمل على رفض ذلك التطرف الذي يصيب أعداداً كبيرة من الشباب.
31	Helping people who have been pushed to the margins of our world is not mere charity;	فمساعدة الناس الذي دفعوا إلى هوامش العالم لم تعد مجرد عمل خيري؛

32	We can promote growth through trade that meets a higher standard, and that is what we are doing through the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade agreement that encompasses nearly 40 per cent of the global economy, an agreement that will open markets while protecting the rights of workers and protecting the environment that enables development to be sustained.	وبوسعنا تعزير النمو من خلال التجارة التي تفي بمعايير أعلى وذلك مانقوم به من خلال شراكة المحيط الهادئ – وهي اتفاق تجاري يشمل 40 في المائة تقريبا من الاقتصاد العالمي، اتفاق سيفتح الأسواق مع حماية حقوق العمال وحماية البيئة التي تمكن من استمرار التنمية.
33	We can roll back the pollution that we put in our skies and help economies lift people out of poverty without condemning our children to the ravages of an ever-warming climate.	وبوسعنا دحر التلوث الذي نسببه في سماواتنا ومساعدة الاقتصادات على انتشال الناس من وهدة الفقر بدون الحكم على أطفالنا بالخراب الناجم من الاحترار الدائم للمناخ.
34	my belief in moving forward rather than backwards requires us to defend the democratic principles that allow societies to succeed.	فإن إيماني بالمضي قدما وليس القهقري يتطلب منا الدفاع عن مبادئ الديمقراطية التي تتيح للمجتمعات تحقيق النجاح.
35	When a free media can inform the public, corruption and abuse are exposed and can be rooted out .	وعندما تتمكن الصحافة الحرة من توعية الجمهور، ينكشف الفساد وإساءة استخدام السلطة ويمكن اجتثاثهما .
36	When civil society thrives , communities can solve problems that governments cannot necessarily solve alone.	وعندما يزدهر المجتمع المدني، تستطيع المجتمعات إيجاد حلول لمشاكل لايمكن للحكومات بالضرورة حلها منفردة.
37	I believe that what is true for America is true for virtually all mature democracies.	وأعتقد أنما ينطبق على أمريكا ينطبق تقريبا على جميع الديمقراطيات الناضجة .
38	I believe that is the future we must seek together - to believe in the dignity of every individual, to believe we can bridge our differences and choose cooperation over conflict.	وفي اعتقادي أن هذا هو المستقبل الذي يجب أن نسعى إليه معا – أن نؤمن بكرامة كل فرد وبأنه بوسعنا رأب خلافاتنا واختيار التعاون بدلا من التنازع.
39	Let us carry that faith forward into the future, for it is the only way we can ensure that the future will be brighter, for my children and for everyone’s children.	فلنتسلح بذلك الإيمان في سيرنا نحو المستقبل، لأنه هو السبيل الوحيد الذي يمكننا من ضمان أن يكون المستقبل أكثر إشراقا لأطفالنا ولأطفال الجميع.

Barack Obama 2016

No.	Source text metaphor	Target language expression
1	From the depths of the greatest financial crisis of our time, we coordinated our response to avoid further catastrophe and return the global economy to growth.	لقد نهضنا من أعماق أكبر أزمة مالية في عصرنا، وقمنا بتنسيق استجابتنا لتجنب حدوث كارثة إضافية وإعادة نمو الاقتصاد العالمي.

2	Yet around the globe we are seeing the same forces of global integration that have made us interdependent also expose deep fault lines in the existing international order.	لكننا نرى في جميع أنحاء العالم نفس قوى التكامل العالمي التي جعلتنا مترابطين تكشف عن تصدعات عميقة في النظام الدولي القائم.
3	Around the world, refugees flow across borders in flight from brutal conflict.	في جميع أنحاء العالم، يتدفق اللاجئين عبر الحدود فرارا من صراعات وحشية.
4	Financial disruptions continue to weigh upon our workers and entire communities.	ولا تزال الاختلالات المالية تلقي بثقلها على عمالنا ومجتمعاتنا المحلية بأكملها.
5	Across vast swaths of the Middle East, basic security and basic order have broken down .	وعبر مساحات شاسعة من الشرق الأوسط، انهيار الأمن الأساسي والنظام الأساسي.
6	Despite enormous progress, as people lose trust in institutions, governing becomes more difficult and tensions between nations become more quick to surface .	على الرغم من التقدم الهائل، فإن الحكم يصبح أكثر صعوبة وإدارة التوترات بين الدول تطفو بصورة أسرع إلى السطح ، مع فقد الناس للثقة في المؤسسات.
7	I want to suggest today that we must go forward and not backward.	وأود أن أقول اليوم إننا يجب أن نمضي إلى الأمام وليس إلى الوراء.
8	Moreover, the collapse of colonialism and communism has allowed more people than ever before to live with the freedom to choose their leaders.	وعلاوة على ذلك، أدى انهيار الاستعمار والشيوعية إلى أن المزيد من الناس أكثر من أي وقت مضى يعيشون مع حرية اختيار قادتهم.
9	that the end of the Cold War lifted the shadow of nuclear Armageddon , that the battlefields of Europe have been replaced by peaceful union and that China and India remain on a path of remarkable growth.	أن نهاية الحرب الباردة أزلت شبح اندلاع حرب نووية ، وأن ساحات المعارك في أوروبا حل محلها اتحاد سلمي، وأن الصين والهند لم تبرحا على طريق نمو ملحوظ.
10	Rather, I believe that we need to acknowledge these achievements in order to summon the confidence to carry this progress forward and to make sure that we do not abandon those very things that have delivered this progress.	بل إنني أعتقد أننا بحاجة إلى الاعتراف بهذه الإنجازات بغية استجماع الثقة للمضي قدما بهذا التقدم والتأكد من أننا لا نتخلى عن ذات الأشياء التي حققت هذا التقدم.
11	In order to move forward , however, we do have to acknowledge that the existing path to global integration requires a course correction.	لكن علينا، من أجل المضي قدما ، أن نقر بأن الطريق القائمة صوب التكامل العالمي تتطلب تصحيح المسار.
12	As these real problems have been neglected, alternative visions of the world have pressed forward both in the wealthiest countries and in the poorest	ومع تجاهل هذه المشاكل الحقيقية، مضت قدما رؤى بديلة للعالم في البلداننا لأكثر ثراء والأكثر فقرا

13	Moreover, I believe that the acceleration of travel, technology and telecommunications together with a global economy that depends on a global supply chain makes it ultimately self-defeating for those who seek to reverse this progress .	وعلاوة على ذلك، أعتقد أن تسارع الارتحال والتكنولوجيا والاتصالات السلكية واللاسلكية - إلى جانب اقتصاد عالمي يعتمد على سلسلة الإمداد العالمية - تجعل الأمر يؤدي في نهاية المطاف بأولئك الذين يسعون إلى عكس مسار هذا التقدم إلى هزيمة الذات.
14	Today, a nation ringed by walls would only imprison itself.	اليوم، الدولة التي تحيط نفسها بالجدران لا تسجن إلا نفسها.
15	It starts with making the global economy work better for all people and not just for those at the top .	إنها تبدأ بتحسين أداء الاقتصاد العالمي لصالح جميعا لشعوب وليس لمن هم في القمة فقط .
16	So how do we fix this imbalance? We cannot unwind immigration any more than we can stuff technology back into a box .	فكيف يمكننا إصلاح هذا الاختلال؟ لا يمكننا أن نوقف الهجرة مثلما لا يمكننا أن نعيد التكنولوجيا مرة أخرى إلى الصندوق .
17	central planned control of the economy is a dead end .	أن السيطرة المخططة مركزيا على الاقتصاد طريق مسدود .
18	But I do believe there is another path ,	لكنني أعتقد أن هناك طريقا آخر ،
19	one that fuels growth and innovation and offers the clearest route to individual opportunity and national success.	طريقا يغذي النمو والابتكار ويوفر أوضح السبل إلى الفرص الفردية والنجاح على الصعيد الوطني.
20	It does not require succumbing to a soulless capitalism that benefits only the few,	ولا يتطلب الخضوع للرأسمالية العديمة الرحمة التي تعود بالنفع على القلة فقط،
21	but rather recognises that economies are more successful when we close the gap between rich and poor and growth is broadly based.	بل يعترف بأن الاقتصادات تكون أكثر نجاحا عندما نسد الفجوة بين الأغنياء والفقراء، ويسند النمو إلى قاعدة أوسع.
22	because a society that asks less of oligarchs than of ordinary citizens will rot from within .	لأن المجتمع الذي يطلب من النخبة أقل مما يطلب من المواطنين العاديين سوف يتفكك من الداخل .
23	That is why we have pushed for transparency and cooperation in rooting out corruption and tracking illicit dollars,	وهذا هو السبب الذي جعلنا نشجع على الشفافية والتعاون في استئصال الفساد وتعقب الأموال غير المشروعة،
24	so I believe advanced economies still need to do more to close the gap between rich and poor nations around the globe.	أعتقد أن الاقتصادات المتقدمة النمو لا تزال بحاجة إلى فعل المزيد من أجل سد الفجوة بين الأغنياء والفقراء في جميع أنحاء العالم.
25	support institutions so that fragile States do not collapse in the first place and invest in emerging economies that become markets for our goods.	دعم المؤسسات حتى لا تنهار الدول الهشة أصلا والاستثمار في الاقتصادات الناشئة التي تصبح أسواقا لسلعنا.
26	poverty in this country fell at the fastest rate in nearly fifty years.	انخفض الفقر في هذا البلد بأسرع معدل في قرابة 50 عاما

27	There must be a sense of urgency about bringing the Agreement into force and helping poorer countries leapfrog destructive forms of energy.	ويجب أن يكون هناك إحساس بالإلحاح إزاء دخول الاتفاق حيز النفاذ ومساعدة البلدان الأفقر على تخطي أشكال الطاقة المدمرة.
28	Only then can we continue lifting all people up from poverty without condemning our children to a planet beyond their capacity to repair it.	عندئذ فقط سيكون بمقدورنا أن نواصل انتشال جميع الناس من الفقر بدون أن نحكم على أطفالنا بكوكب لا قدرة لهم على إصلاحه.
29	because we have learned that liberal democracy will not just wash across the globe in a single wave .	لأننا تعلمنا أن الديمقراطية الليبرالية لن تجتاح العالم من ذاتها في موجة واحدة.
30	It turns out that building accountable institutions is hard work, the work of generations.	لقد اتضح أن بناء مؤسسات تخضع للمساءلة عمل شاق، عمل تضطلع به أجيال.
31	The gains are often fragile . Sometimes we take one step forward and then two steps back.	والمكاسب تكون هشة غالباً وفي بعض الأحيان، نخطو خطوة إلى الأمام، ثم خطوتين إلى الوراء.
32	In countries held together by borders drawn by colonial Powers, with ethnic enclaves and tribal divisions, politics and elections can sometimes appear to be a zero-sum game .	وفي البلدان التي تجمع بينها حدود رسمتها القوى الاستعمارية، مع جيوب عرقية وانقسامات قبلية، تبدو السياسة والانتخابات أحياناً لعبة حصيلتها صفر .
33	I believe that the road of true democracy remains the better path.	وأعتقد أن طريق الديمقراطية الحقيقية لا تزال هي الطريق الأفضل.
34	I believe that, in the twenty-first century, economies can only grow to a certain point until they need to open up,	وأعتقد أنه في القرن الحادي والعشرين، لا يمكن للاقتصادات أن تنمو إلا لنقطة معينة حيث نحتاج إلى الانفتاح،
35	And history shows that strong men are then left with two paths : permanent crackdown, which sparks strife at home, or scapegoating enemies abroad, which can lead to war.	ويظهر التاريخ أن الأقوياء ليس أمامهم سوى مسارين : البطش الدائم الذي يطلق شرارة النزاع داخلياً، أو جعل الأعداء كبش فداء في الخارج الأمر الذي يمكن أن يؤدي إلى اندلاع الحروب.
36	The countries that have succeeded are ones in which people feel they have a stake .	إن البلدان التي حققت النجاح هي البلدان التي تشعر شعوبها بأن لديها نصيباً فيها.
37	So those of us who believe in democracy need to speak out forcefully because both the facts and history, I believe, are on our side .	لذا، يتعين على الذين يؤمنون منا بالديمقراطية أن يرفعوا الصوت بقوة دون خوف، لأن كلاً من الوقائع والتاريخ هما لصالحنا .
38	democracy needs to be driven by civic engagement from the bottom up , not governance by experts from the top down.	أن الديمقراطية تحتاج إلى المشاركة في الحياة المدنية من القاعدة إلى القمة ، وليس إلى حكم الخبراء من القمة إلى القاعدة.
39	if we discriminate on the basis of race, tribe or ethnicity, then the fragile bonds of civilisation will fray.	وإذا لجأنا إلى التمييز على أساس العرق أو القبيلة أو الانتماء العرقي، حينئذ فإن الروابط الهشة بين الحضارات سوف تتلاشى.

40	They are now at work helping to fuel both Syria's tragic civil war and the mindless medieval menace of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).	وهي تعمل الآن على إذكاء نار الحرب الأهلية المأساوية في سوريا، إذكاء التهديد الأرعن كالذي كان قائما في القرون الوسطى والناجم عن تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية في العراق والشام (داعش)
41	We all have to do better as leaders in tamping down , rather than encouraging, a notion of identity that leads us to diminish others.	ويتعين علينا جميعا بوصفنا قادة أن نعمل بشكل أفضل على إخماد ، بدلا من تشجيع، مفهوم للهوية يقودنا إلى التقليل من شأن الآخرين.
42	And any country that breaks this basic bargain must face consequences.	وعلى أي بلد ينقض هذه الصفقة الأساسية أن يواجه العواقب.
43	And those nations with these weapons, like the United States, have a unique responsibility to pursue the path of reducing our stockpiles and reaffirming basic norms, like the commitment to never test them again.	وتتحمل الدول التي لديها هذه الأسلحة، مثل الولايات المتحدة، مسؤولية فريدة عن مواصلة السير في طريق الحد من مخزوناتها والتأكيد من جديد على القواعد الأساسية، مثل الالتزام بعدم اختبار هذه الأسلحة مرة أخرى إطلاقا.
44	We cannot combat a disease like Zika that recognises no borders – mosquitoes do not respect walls – unless we make permanent the same urgency that we brought to bear against Ebola	ولا يمكننا مكافحة مرض مثل فيروس زيكا الذي لا يعترف بأي حدود – فالبعوض الناقل لفيروس زيكا لا يحترم الجدران مالم نستشعر الإلحاح الدائم والمماثل الذي شعرنا به في مكافحة فيروس إيبولا
45	rolling back the root causes of disease and helping poorer countries develop their public health infrastructures.	ودحر الأسباب الجذرية للمرض ومساعدة البلدان الفقيرة على تطوير هياكلها للصحة العامة.
46	If Russia continues to interfere in the affairs of its neighbours, it may be popular at home and it may fuel nationalist fervour for a time, but over time it is also going to diminish its stature and make its borders less secure.	فإذا واصلت روسيا التدخل في شؤون جيرانها، قد يكسب ذلك شعبية في الداخل وربما يغذي النعرة القومية، ولكنه مع مرور الوقت سيؤدي إلى التقليل من مكانتها ويجعل حدودها أقل أمنا.
47	We are all stakeholders in this international system,	ونحن جميعا أصحاب مصلحة في هذا النظام الدولي،
48	And together, now, we have to open our hearts and do more to help refugees who are desperate for a home.	علينا أن نفتح قلوبنا وأن نفعل المزيد لمساعدة اللاجئين الذين هم في أمس الحاجة إلى وطن.
49	I recognise that history tells a different story than the one that I have talked about here today.	أن التاريخ يروي لنا قصة مختلفة عن تلك التي رويتها هنا اليوم.
50	I have learned that our identities do not have to be defined by putting someone else down , but can be enhanced by lifting somebody else up .	وقد تعلمت من خلال حياتي في هذا البلد وبصفتي رئيسا له، أنه لا ينبغي أن تحدد هوياتنا بالاستقواء على البعض، بل أن تعزز بتمكين الضعفاء وانتشالهم مما هم عليه