

METAPHOR IN ZULU



ERIC A. HERMANSON



CENTRE FOR BIBLE INTERPRETATION
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METAPHOR IN ZULU

Problems in the Translation of Biblical Metaphor in the Book of Amos

Eric Alfred Hermanson



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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	American Bible Society
AV	Authorised Version
NAV	New Afrikaans Version (1983 translation)
NIV	New International Version
RSV	Revised Standard Version
UBS	United Bible Societies

HEBREW ORTHOGRAPHY

א	Aleph
ב	Veth
ג	Gimel
ד	Daleth
ה	Heh
ו	Vav
ז	Zayin
ח	Cheth
ט	Teth
י	Yod
ך	Chaph (end of words)
כ	Chaph
ל	Lamed
ם	Mem (end of words)
מ	Mem
ן	Nun (end of words)
נ	Nun
ס	Samekh
ע	Ayin
ף	Feh (end of words)
פ	Feh
ץ	Tsadi (end of words)
צ	Tsadi
ק	Koph
ר	Resh
שׁ	Shin
שׂ	Sin
ת	Thav
בּ	Beth
כּ	Kaph
פּ	Peh

SUMMARY

This study is in two parts. After a general introduction, the first section discusses the main theories of metaphor from the time of Aristotle to the present. A brief overview of the study of metaphor in the South Eastern Bantu languages follows, and metaphor found in the various forms of traditional and modern literature in Zulu is examined, analysed and categorised in the light of conceptual metaphor theory.

The second section begins by discussing various theories concerning the possibility of translating metaphor from one language to another. After a brief history of Bible translation in Zulu, selected Hebrew metaphors in the Book of Amos are identified, analysed and classified according to conceptual metaphor categories, an evaluation is made as to how successfully they have been translated in the published Zulu translations, and suggestions are given as to how the translations may be improved so as to enable the present day Zulu reader to recover the implicatures inherent in the Hebrew text.

This study shows that both Zulu and Biblical Hebrew metaphors can be analysed successfully according to conceptual metaphor theory and thereby enlarges the empirical basis of the theory.

Metaphors cover a vast number of source-target domain mappings, and are highly context-dependent. This study shows something of the cognitive and conceptual background, which gives rise to metaphor in language. Understanding the conceptual framework within which a metaphor is formed in one language, helps to identify the implicatures it contains within a given context. The translator then checks whether or not the speakers of the receptor language have the same conceptual framework and, if so, whether they are able to invoke a similar metaphor with the same implicatures. If the receptor language does have the same conceptual framework and they are able to invoke a similar metaphor with the same implications, then the metaphor may be translated directly from the one to the other. If not, it is then necessary to discover if the receptors have another conceptual framework from which they are able to invoke a metaphor with the same implicatures. If they do, this means that it may be possible to translate the metaphor from the source language into the receptor language by using a metaphor with a different source domain. It may also be possible to extend the normal area mapped between the source and target domains in the receptor language to convey implicatures intended in the source language to the receptor. This is how metaphor is extended intralingually so it should be possible interlingually, provided the extended mapping does not already occur in the receptor language, but with different implicatures. Such interlingual extended mappings are particularly possible in situations where there is extensive bilingual or multilingual contact, which is the case in South Africa.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

"Of making many books there is no end," (Ecclesiastes 12:12) declared the Preacher. This is certainly true with regard to the subject of metaphor, as the published bibliographies testify (Shibles, 1971; van Noppen, 1985, 1990). The Preacher concluded that "much study wearies the body." Scholars, however, appear to have exhausted neither themselves nor the subject, as metaphor has been under the scrutiny of philosophers and grammarians since at least the time of Aristotle (384 322 BC), and it continues to receive attention from, among others, philosophers, linguists, literary critics, philosophers of religion and theologians.

Most handle the subject from the perspective of one or other discipline and usually concentrate on metaphors as they are found in one or other language. This study of metaphor is from the perspective of a Bible translator and the particular problems faced by one whose task it is to translate the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament Scriptures into a modern language, in this case, Zulu.

Metaphor abounds in the Bible. It is consequently a pressing subject for theology and is often mentioned in doctrinal, philosophical and exegetical studies, although rarely discussed in any detail (Soskice, 1985:x).

De Waard (1974:107) has pointed out that:

"the problems related to the translation of non literal meanings of Biblical expressions (especially metaphor) have been insufficiently dealt with. In the otherwise remarkable study by Nida and Taber (1974:87 89) on the theory and practice of translation, only a few pages are devoted to the problem of figurative meanings in the context of the chapter on referential meaning, and still less attention has been paid to the problems of their transfer from the source language to the target language. This is certainly in disproportion to the importance of the problem, for the thesis can be defended that the judgment of any translation in general will be determined to a large extent by the particular evaluation of the efficiency or lack of efficiency with which non literal meanings have been handled. Because of this void in the existing translation theory, study of the problems involved in the translation of figurative meanings has become a top priority in more recent research."

1.1.1 Aim of this study

The aim of this study is twofold:

- To examine metaphor in Zulu in the light of current cognitive linguistic theory.
- To examine the possibility of translating Biblical metaphor, particularly metaphor as found in the Old Testament Book of Amos, into Zulu.

1.1.2 Reason for the study

- To date, very little attention has been given to the study of metaphor in Zulu.
- The literature indicates that a theory of metaphor is a crucial element in the wider theory of cognitive linguistics, but the current theories have, as their empirical basis, a very limited set of examples taken mainly from Indo-European languages. The present study will seek to enlarge the empirical basis and enable the theories to be tested to see whether they are more internationally valid.
- In spite of the fact that metaphor is both central to all forms of language use and at the same time one of the main points in which interlingual incongruence manifests itself, metaphor has paradoxically been neglected by translation theorists (Dagut, 1976:21). The practice has usually been to translate metaphor literally and thus often mask or falsify the implicatures, or to translate it non-metaphorically and thus destroy its stylistic effect and rhetorical impact. This raises the question whether or not the application of cognitive and pragmatic theory, including relevance theory and conceptual metaphor theory, can lead to a more satisfactory way to translate metaphor.
- A dynamic-equivalent Zulu translation of the New Testament and Psalms was published by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1986, and the project was suspended before the completion of the Old Testament. Examining the merits and demerits of translation methods which have been suggested for the translation of metaphor, in the light of current linguistic theory, and examining how selected metaphors in the Book of Amos have been translated into Zulu in existing translations, could throw light on how biblical metaphor could be translated into Zulu so as to convey more accurately to the modern Zulu audience, the implicatures intended for his original audience by the preaching of the Old Testament prophet, as contained in the Book. The results could be of value when the translation of the Old Testament into Zulu is resumed in the future.

1.1.3 Outline of this study

Section One

Chapter One contains a general introduction, setting out the reason for the study, its aim, and the outline followed.

Chapter Two discusses the main theories of metaphor from the time of Aristotle and Quintillian to the present.

Chapter Three contains a brief overview of the study of metaphor in the South Eastern Bantu languages.

Chapter Four discusses metaphor as it is found in various forms of traditional and modern literature in Zulu. Thereafter, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, associated with Lakoff, Johnson and Turner, is applied to Zulu metaphor and certain conceptual categories of metaphor in Zulu are identified.

Section Two

In Chapter Five theories concerning the possibility of the translation of metaphor from one language to another are discussed.

In Chapter Six a brief history of Bible translation in Zulu is given.

In Chapter Seven the problems of translating metaphors in the Book of Amos are discussed. Attention is paid to exegesis, to how Hebrew metaphors are recognised, how relevant metaphors in the Book of

Amos have been selected, and the way in which selected metaphors in the Book of Amos have been translated in existing translations in Zulu, so as to evaluate whether or not they have been translated successfully, or how the translation may be improved.

Chapter Eight contains the conclusions.

1.1.4 Orthography and terminology in quotations

Quotations from Bibles and other publications in Zulu are given in the orthography in which they were published. Direct quotations from other publications are given as they are found, and apparent grammatical or other errors are marked with the accepted Latin term *sic* (thus, in this manner). In some cases, where terms used in direct quotations are now considered derogatory, they are still given, with the currently more acceptable terms in square brackets.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) print conceptual metaphors in capital letters. In this dissertation they are printed in bold upper and lower case. Whole words in quotations are printed in capital letters only where they appear as such in the original.

CHAPTER 2

The Theory of Metaphor

2.1 INTRODUCTION

2.1.1 Aristotle's definition

Metaphor has been studied widely for at least the past two millennia, since Plato's student, Aristotle (384 322 BC), in his *Poetics*, gave his classic definition — *"metaphor is the application to one thing of the name of another"* and gave the explanation that "metaphor" functioned by analogy. These, says Dagut, (1976:22) still remain, as ever, the starting points of any further investigation. Indeed, although Soskice points out that Max Black speaks of *"the blind alley taken by those innumerable followers of Aristotle who have supposed metaphors to be replaceable by literal translations"* (1985:8 fn. 26), definitions of metaphor found in dictionaries, and in books in current use in South African schools, continue to be based on Aristotle's definition.

2.1.2 Current dictionary definitions

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1959:748) defines metaphor as:

"Application of name or descriptive term to an object to which it is not literally applicable."

The Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1990:910) says:

"1 A metaphor is 1.1 an imaginative way of describing something by referring to something else which has the qualities that you are trying to express. For example, if you want to say that someone is very shy and timid, you might say that they (sic) are a mouse. e.g. He is famous for his extensive use of golfing metaphors. 1.2. something that you say, write, draw, etc. that does not have its ordinary meaning but that is meant to be a symbol of something else that you are trying to express. e.g. She sees the play as a metaphor for the prisons we create for ourselves . . . Central to Picasso's work was the metaphor of the bullfight."

Treble and Vallins (1965:115) say:

"Metaphor, derived, through French from the Greek meta in the sense of "change," and phero "I bear", meaning, therefore, a change of significance"

Although schoolbooks are not normally regarded as authoritative in an academic thesis, it is important to note what they say about metaphor, as what the children are taught at school is certain to influence their understanding of metaphor and its use. In books prescribed for matriculation English, First Language, for the Cape Senior Certificate, in 1993, Fletcher and Scealess (1978:145) start by defining simile. *"A simile is a comparison between two different things that resemble each other in one respect. Similes are usually introduced by "as", "like" or "so". If both sides of the comparison are stated there need be no introductory*

word." Metaphor is then defined on the basis of the definition of simile: "*The difference between a metaphor and a simile is that a simile makes a direct comparison whereas a metaphor implies a comparison.*" Rose and Purkis (1989:133) also define metaphor after defining simile: "*Like a simile the metaphor carries over points of comparison between two otherwise very different things. Unlike a simile no word of comparison is used; there is a direct transfer of the attribute of one thing to another.*"

The Zulu First Language syllabus also includes the study of figures of speech, *imifanekiso-mqondo* (meaning pictures) in the handling of various genres of Zulu literature, and *ukungathekisa* or *isingathekiso* (metaphor) is dealt with briefly in the high school textbooks from standard 6 to standard 10. The standpoint presented is based on Aristotle's theory and metaphor is seen as a rhetorical device. For example, in *IsiZulu Sezikhuthali 10* (1988:103), it states: "*Sesiyazi ukuthi isingathekiso ukuqhathanisa izinto ezimbili ezingafani ukuze kuvele noma kugqame ukufana okuthile okuhloshwe ngumlobi. Sikwenza lokhu ngokubiza into ngenye ukuze kugqame lowo mqondo ohloshiwe. Lokhu kuwukusebenzisa ulimi ukuze kuvele imizwelo ethize yomlobi.*" (We already know that metaphor is to compare two things which are not similar so that a certain similarity intended by the writer is brought out or made clear. We do this by calling one thing by another so that that intended meaning is made clear. This is using language so that certain feelings of the writer are brought out). In *IsiZulu Soqobo 10* (1988:309), after explaining *isifaniso* (simile), it says: "*Uthini-ke ngomugqa othi: Inkosazane iyimbali? Kulomugqa inkosazane nembali ungathi sekuhlangene kwaba yinto eyodwa. Loluhlobo lokuqhathanisa kuthiwa yisingathekiso.*" (What does he mean by the expression: The princess is a flower? In this expression you could say that the princess and the flower have now joined and become one thing. This kind of comparison is called metaphor). It then goes on to explain that sometimes the poet may omit direct reference to the princess and simply say: "*Ngibona imbali*" (I see the flower).

It is interesting that although Doke, Vilakazi et. al. include the entry *metaphor* n. *ukungathekisa* in the English section (1958:290), they do not have a corresponding entry in the Zulu section of their dictionary. Teachers consulted all saw the word as connected with the conjunctives *sengathi* and *kungathi* (as though), so that the Class 15 verbal noun *ukungathekisa*, is to take one thing as though it were something else. Zulu Terminology and Orthography No. 3, (1972:131) gives the Class 7 noun *isingathekiso* as the Zulu term for metaphor.

2.1.3 Definition according to individual discipline

Soskice (1985:15) states that one scholar claims to have found 125 different definitions of metaphor, and adds "surely only a small fraction of those which have been put forward, 1 for not only is the subject matter elusive, but a definition of metaphor useful to one discipline often proves unsatisfactory to another." The footnote refers to H H Lieb, cited by Ijsseling (1976:116).

2.1.4 Popular position

Macky (1990:1), points out that ever since Max Black's *Model and Metaphors* was published in 1962, scholars have found metaphor to be ever more central to human knowing and ever more fascinating as a subject for debate, so that the world of philosophers and linguists has been flooded with books and articles on metaphor.

From the definitions in dictionaries and school textbooks currently in use, however, it would seem that the popular view of metaphor taught in the schools is that metaphor is a comparison, a substitution, or a similarity. This therefore continues to be based on Aristotle's definition. As "figurative language", "picture

language", "beeldspraak", metaphor is seen as a deviant form of language, the main function of which is to say in a more picturesque way something which could be said equally well without the use of metaphor. The advances made by philosophers and linguists in the study of the theory of metaphor over the past thirty years, appears therefore to have had very little, if any, impact on the understanding of metaphor by the man in the street.

2.2 TRADITIONAL VIEWS OF METAPHOR

2.2.1 Introduction

In this section, a brief overview of the main theories of metaphor will be given and evaluated according to the insights provided by the current literature.

2.2.2 Literal-core theories

This is how Johnson in *The Body in the Mind* (1987:67) classifies what are often called the Comparison, Substitution and Similarity theories. He says of them:

"The most long-standing and commonly held view is that metaphor is cognitively reducible to literal propositions. Objectivist theories of meaning have always assumed that metaphor is derivation from, or a derivative function on, proper literal meaning. Treated as a "literary device", metaphor would seem to be nothing more than a rhetorically powerful or artistically interesting mode of expression without its own unique cognitive content. At best, it can be only a forceful or convincing alternative way of reporting on an independently existing state of affairs, whose proper description would be given by literal concepts and propositions."

Literal-core theories, therefore, are based on the Objectivist view of metaphor which Johnson sums up as follows:

"The objective world has its structure, and our concepts and propositions, to be correct, must correspond to that structure. Only literal concepts and propositions can do that, since metaphors assert cross-categorical identities that do not exist objectively in reality. Metaphors may exist as cognitive processes of our understanding, but their meaning must be reducible to some set of literal concepts and propositions."

Substitution Theories

Substitution theories place the locus of metaphorical meaning on the word, so that metaphor is simply the substitution of one word for another (Van der Merwe, 1983:207).

Soskice (1989:24-25) says that the basic Substitution theory, accredited to Aristotle and Quintilian, holds that metaphor is just another way of saying what can be said literally. Therefore,

"The latent explanatory notion for the Substitution theory is one of deviant word meaning; metaphor is regarded as an improper word which substitutes for the proper one but which is, presumably, replaceable by it at any time; so one says: "He is a fox," but could equally say: "He is cunning". (See 5.5.2. for discussion on this metaphor as found in Luke 13:32). Metaphor has the virtue of clothing tired literal expression in attractive new garb, of

alleviating boredom, and, as Aquinas says, of being accessible to the uneducated, 'who are not ready to take intellectual things neat with nothing else.' "

This theory in her opinion, therefore:

"reduces metaphor to the status of a riddle or a word game and the appreciation of metaphor to the unravelling of that riddle. Were the Substitution theory correct, the only use of figurative substitution for the literal, apart from that of literary embellishment, would be didactic."

In *More than Cool Reason* (1989:124), although they unfortunately do not identify those who hold the various views, Lakoff and Turner refer to two versions of this theory as the *Naming Position* and the *Deviance Position*. The first has a notion of the "proper" use of words in which words designate literal concepts, concepts that are autonomous and can characterise states of affairs in the real world. A metaphor in this view, is the use of a word to mean something it doesn't "properly" mean. This means that metaphor is no more than a use of words, and an improper one at that. Lakoff and Turner point out that this position has the false consequence that metaphor has no conceptual role. In other words, it cannot be used in reasoning, conceptualising, and understanding. The second position holds that all concepts and conventional language are non-metaphoric, and we make metaphors only by deviating from normal conventional usage. To assume this position is to see all metaphoric language as deviant.

Comparison Theories

Van der Merwe (1983:207), indicates that Comparison theories also place the locus of metaphorical meaning on the word, and see metaphor as a succinct comparison, so that metaphor is actually a substitute for a simile.

According to Johnson (1987:67-8) such theories:

"treat metaphors in the canonical "A is B" form (e.g. Time is money) as elliptical similes equivalent to the assertion "A is like B in certain respects" (e.g. Time is like money in that it can be quantified, saved, wasted and so forth). Our ability to process the metaphor depends on our seeing that the A-domain (e.g. temporal relations) shares certain properties and relations with the B-domain. Understanding the utterance "Time is money" involves a transfer of these discrete properties and relations from the money domain so that they can be appropriately applied to enrich our concept of time. The distinctive feature of comparison theories is their insistence that the similarities revealed through the metaphorical transfer exist objectively in the world and are expressible in literal propositions (e.g. "Time is like money in being quantifiable.") There is, then, on this view no such thing as an irreducible metaphorical concept or proposition. There are only metaphorical utterances and thought processes whose meaning reduces to sets of literal propositions.

"The comparison theory is the best exemplar of the Objectivist orientation towards metaphor. It holds that literal concepts and propositions have meaning only insofar as they can map onto mind-independent realities objectively in the world. It treats literal meaning as basic and foundational. Thus, whatever meaning a metaphorical expression has must consist of a set of literal similarity statements. It is only via this literal core of

meaning that a metaphor has any cognitive function at all. It follows, therefore, that metaphors have no role in the generation of experiential structure; instead, they can, at best, be only secondary devices for indirectly reporting on pre-existing objective states of affairs."

Similarity Theory

Johnson does not elaborate on this and from the above statement seems to classify it with the Comparison theories. Van der Merwe (1983:207) describes it as seeing metaphor as a word, the literal meaning of which serves as a picture of that with which it is being compared.

Lakoff and Turner refer to this as the *Decoding Position*, where metaphor is seen merely as part of a code to be broken, in order to reveal the non-metaphoric concepts that the author is trying indirectly to express. The decoding mistake, they believe, underlies the common misleading phrase, used extensively by teachers when teaching pupils to analyze poetry, that "*x is a metaphor for y*", as when we say "*in this line, wind is a metaphor for change*." The mistaken conception underlying these statements is that the source domain merely gives a set of words that are a kind of symbolic code for referring to concepts in the target domain that are understood independently of the metaphor.

Other Literal-core Related Positions

In *More Than Cool Reason*, Lakoff and Turner (1989:120ff.) state that what they call the *Literal Meaning Theory*, has had a widespread effect. In addition to those above, they list a variety of positions which they see to be consequences of it. Unfortunately, although they say: "*We have done our best to survey the principal traditional theories of metaphor and where our views differ from them*", they "*have not tried to say who claims what, to associate particular authors with positions*". In a review of their book in *Language*, Jackendoff and Aaron (1991:321-2) therefore criticise how they have summarised the various positions without associating authors with them, excepting where they give an annotated bibliography on traditional views for further reading (1989:217-8). These cursory references to the literature, Jackendoff and Aaron rightly believe are misleading, for it is not always clear exactly to which theories they are referring and including under the various headings of their summary. It would appear that, in their view, the majority of theories of metaphor, which they label with such slogans as the *Reason-versus-Imagination Position*, the *Fallback Position*, the *Pragmatics Position*, and the *No-Concepts Position*, are all faulty because they are based on the false premises of the Literal Meaning Theory. Where applicable these positions will be discussed under the different headings where they most naturally fall.

2.2.3 Metaphorical Proposition Theories

Emotive Theory

This theory, or a version of it, is also known as the *Tension Theory*, as it sees the two referents in the metaphor in tension, producing a seemingly false statement (MacCormac, 1985:29). The statement however, is meaningful in that it expresses emotive import. The metaphor presents the emotive feelings of the author and stimulates similar and other emotional feelings in the hearer. There is no need for metaphors to be paraphrased, they can remain metaphors and still be meaningful and insightful, even though they are false and a misuse of language. In some cases, through continued misuse of language,

the tension lowers, truth increases and the utterance becomes grammatical, so a false metaphor becomes what has been called a dead metaphor, or a retired metaphor (1985:26).

▪ Evaluation

Lakoff and Turner (1989:128) say that one of the reasons why theorists fail to come to grips with the fact that ordinary everyday language is inescapably metaphorical is because they hold the belief that all conventional metaphors are "dead". That is, conventional metaphors are no longer metaphors, although they might once have been. This position fails to distinguish between conventional metaphors, which are part of our live conceptual system, and historical metaphors that have long since died out. The mistake derives from a basic confusion: it assumes that those things in our cognition that are most alive and most active are those that are conscious. On the contrary, those that are most alive and most deeply entrenched, efficient, and powerful are those that are so automatic as to be unconscious and effortless. Our understanding of life as a journey, for example, is active and widespread, but effortless and unconscious. If such metaphors did not exist in our conceptual systems, then we could not understand novel, unconventional poetic language that makes use of them. Lakoff and Turner agree, however, that there are indeed certain expressions that were once metaphoric and now no longer are e.g. "pedigree" derived from "pied de grue" (crane's foot). The image metaphor no longer exists at the conceptual level, and we no longer use "pedigree" in English to mean crane's foot. This is a truly dead metaphor — at both levels. Other metaphors can be dead at just one level cf. "comprehend" and "grasp". Today there is a live conceptual metaphor *Understanding is Grasping*, and we use the word "grasp" to mean "understand". In Latin "comprehendere" meant basically "to grasp", and by metaphoric extension "to understand". Now we use "comprehend" in English only in its metaphoric sense; its former central sense is dead to us. But the old conceptual metaphor is still alive, though it is not used in this word.

Interaction Theory

Soskice (1989:38) considers this to be *"in many ways the most satisfactory contemporary philosophical account of metaphor, and certainly the most often cited."* In this theory, the locus of the metaphorical meaning is not on the word, but on the sentence (Van der Merwe 1983:207).

In *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* as far back as 1936, I. A. Richards had said 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" (Richards, 1936:93). These two thoughts he called the "tenor" of the metaphor (its underlying subject) and the "vehicle" (the mode in which it is expressed). So, he argued that thought is irreducibly metaphorical and that linguistic metaphors are manifestations of these underlying metaphoric thought processes (Johnson, 1987:69). This theory went more or less unnoticed and was developed no further until Max Black in the mid-1950's suggested that, "it would be more illuminating. . . to say the metaphor creates the similarity rather than to say that it formulates some similarity antecedently existing." (1954:284-285). His basic notion is that a metaphor has two distinct subjects, a principal (the frame) and a subsidiary one (the focus), and that the distinctive cognitive content of the metaphor is the consequence of an interaction between these two subjects, or, more properly, between the two systems of implication to which these subjects give rise. In the statement "Man is a wolf" the principal subject man, is illumined by being seen in terms of the subsidiary subject, wolf. The wolf-metaphor suppresses some details, emphasises others — in short, organises our view of man. Black proposes that we regard this activity as a kind of "filtering" or "screening". When Black says that in a metaphor the two subjects interact, he means that their two systems of associated commonplaces

interact in such a way so as to produce a new, informative, and irreplaceable unit of meaning. Johnson (1987:69) says that Black's interaction theory argues that there is a class of metaphors with irreducible meaning above and beyond any statement of literal similarities between two objects. Such metaphors do not work merely by projecting discrete properties of one object onto another object or event that shares those properties. e.g. both time and money are thought to share the property of being quantifiable over discrete units. But the meaning of Time is Money is not simply a list of such properties and relations shared by both time and money. Instead, the meaning of the metaphor depends on thought processes in which an entire system of implications from the time-domain interacts with the implicative system for the money-domain, in a cognitive act of "seeing-as" or "conceiving-as".

Kittay (1987:22) gives the salient features of Interaction Theory as follows:

- That metaphors are sentences, not isolated words.
- That a metaphor consists of two components.
- That there is a tension between these two components.
- That these components need to be understood as systems.
- That the meaning of a metaphor arises from an interplay of these components.
- That the meaning of a metaphor is irreducible and cognitive.

In her theory, Kittay makes two modifications to the Black's account. First the systems are not "associated commonplaces", but semantic fields; secondly, both the vehicle and the topic (the primary subject) belong to systems, not only the vehicle (the subsidiary subject).

MacCormac (1985:5), in the book *A Cognitive Theory of Metaphor*, says:

"My theory can be described as a formal version of the interaction theory of Max Black. I argue that metaphor results from a cognitive process that juxtaposes two or more not normally associated referents, producing semantic conceptual anomaly, the symptom of which is usually emotional tension. The conceptual process that generates metaphor identifies similar attributes of the referents to form an analogy and identifies dissimilar attributes of the referents to produce semantic anomaly. The degree of similarity and dissimilarity determines the truth value of the metaphor."

He makes an important point, showing the link between metaphor as it manifests itself in language and metaphor as it is conceptualised in the mind, when he says:

"The production of metaphors is not just a linguistic phenomenon occurring on the surface of language; it arises from a deeper cognitive process that creatively envisages new possibilities for meanings" (1985:18).

▪ Evaluation

Soskice (1989:43) says that the real failure of Black's theory is not due to the looseness of terms like "filtering" and "screening", but is a consequence of Black's continued insistence that each metaphor has two distinct subjects. This position as he expounds it is applicable only to the "A is a B" form of metaphor, and the two subjects position invariably lapses into a comparison theory and ceases to merit the title "interactive". One important contribution of the theory, however, is to make clear that the efficacy of the

metaphor does not depend on the factual accuracy of the "associated commonplaces" or systems, but simply on the fact that roughly the same set of associations are made by both speaker and hearer.

Lakoff and Turner (1989:131) criticise this theory by saying:

"Unfortunately, this real phenomenon has been incorrectly analyzed as follows: the target domain is described as "suffusing" the source domain, and it is claimed that the metaphor is bidirectional — from target to source as well as from source to target. Indeed, according to this theory, there is no source or target. There is only a connection across domains, with one concept seen through the filter of the other.

"What is wrong with this analysis is: when we see life as a journey, we structure life in terms of a journey, and map onto the domain of life the inferential structure associated with journeys. We do not map onto the domain of journeys the inferential structure associated with the domain of life, e.g. journeys, as lives, have waking and sleeping parts. But it is not true that as a person can live only one life, so a traveller can take only one journey. Where there are domains A and B with mappings both from A to B and B to A, they turn out to be different mappings, rather than a single bidirectional mapping."

Interanimation theory

Soskice (1989:44ff.) finds Black's Interaction Theory unsatisfactory and so returns to Richards and uses a term he employed — interanimative. From the outset Richards establishes that meanings are things determined by complete utterances and surrounding contexts, and not by individual words in isolation. Metaphor therefore is not "some words being used metaphorically", but metaphor is the interanimation of words in the complete utterance. Richards intends to emphasise that metaphor is an intercourse of thoughts as opposed to a mere shifting of words or a substitution of term for term. The tenor may not be mentioned explicitly so it is thoughts and not words which are active together, although the thoughts are of course bound up with the words. In Richards, the tenor and the vehicle are not necessarily two terms of utterance at all. The stipulation that each metaphor has two distinct subjects is responsible for most of the serious inconsistencies of Black's interaction theory. It lies behind his claim in "Metaphor" that both subjects are modified in the interaction. Richards has no need for two explicit subjects. It is only by seeing that a metaphor has one true subject which tenor and vehicle conjointly depict and illumine that a full, interactive, or interanimative theory is possible. A metaphor is genuinely creative and says something that can be said adequately in no other way, not as an ornament to what we already know but as an embodiment of a new insight. Tenor and vehicle are inseparable and without the sense of the particular metaphor one may not have the same sense at all. So you cannot ask "What is X a metaphor for?" No metaphor is completely reducible to a literal equivalent without consequent loss of content, not even for those metaphors for which one can specify an ostensive referent.

▪ Evaluation

This is the most satisfactory of the propositional theories of metaphor in which metaphor is seen as necessarily a linguistic process, rather than being in our mental process of experiencing and understanding. Of particular merit is the emphasis on meaning being determined by complete utterances within specific contexts, rather than meaning being inherent in words in isolation. The emphasis that metaphor is an intercourse of thoughts, rather than the shifting of words or a substitution of term for term, makes this the propositional theory which is closest to the Conceptual Theory.

2.2.4 Non-propositional Theory

This highly influential and extremely controversial theory, referred to by Lakoff and Turner as the *No Concepts Position*, (1989:126) is attributed to Donald Davidson. According to this view there is no such thing as a distinctive "metaphorical meaning". The only meaning (and the only propositional content) a metaphorical statement has is the literal meaning (with its propositional content) of the sentence used in making the metaphorical utterance. Metaphor is a special use of this literal meaning to "intimate" or "suggest" something that might otherwise have gone unnoticed. Thus, if I say: "Smith is a pig," I can only mean what that sentence means literally (viz. that Smith is a four-legged, cloven-hooved creature with a long snout and a stout body covered with bristles). But, I can utter this sentence to "intimate" (not mean) certain things about Smith, so that I come to experience him in a certain way. Even though there is no special "metaphorical" meaning or propositional content, Davidson still grants that some metaphors perform a very important cognitive function — instead of "meaning" something, they "intimate" something, which causes us to notice or see things. This view challenges all tradition views, as comparison and interaction theories grant metaphors a propositional content of some kind (either literal or metaphorical). In particular, this theory is directed against all theories which try to defend the irreducibility of metaphor by reference to a special "metaphorical meaning".

Johnson points out that the problem with this theory is that Davidson has *no account whatever* of how it is that the literal sentence used is in any way connected up with what the hearer comes to notice.

2.3 MODERN THEORIES OF METAPHOR

2.3.1 Conceptual theories

Since about 1980, a number of linguists and philosophers, notably Lakoff, Johnson and Turner, have developed a theory of metaphor which is in total contrast to the traditional views and which basically states: *"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another"* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5).

2.3.2 Summary of the theory

In a review of the book *More Than Cool Reason* by Lakoff and Turner, Jackendorff and Aaron (1991:320) summarise the basic claims associated with this theory as follows:

- A metaphor is not a "figure of speech", a linguistic object. Rather, it is a conceptual or cognitive organisation expressed by the linguistic object. As a consequence, many different linguistic expressions may evoke (or invoke) the same metaphor.
- Metaphorical expressions pervade ordinary language: they are not just used for artistic purposes. These everyday metaphors reveal cognitive and cultural conceptions of the world.
- Metaphor in poetry is not a distinctly different phenomenon from metaphor in ordinary language. Rather, poetic metaphor exploits and enriches the everyday metaphors available to any competent speaker of the language.
- The act of reading texts is a cognitive process of bringing one's construal of the world to bear on the concepts evoked by the text.

2.3.3 Development of the theory

Rejection of Literal Meaning Theory

The Conceptual Theory of Metaphor is in sharp contrast to the majority of traditional theories and the modern developments of those theories, in that it totally rejects what Lakoff and Turner call the *Literal Meaning Theory*. This theory, they see as the basis for the majority of other theories of metaphor. As they believe the basic theory to be false, it follows that any theory based upon it will also be false. They state what they call the Literal Meaning Theory as follows (1989:114ff):

"If an expression of a language is 1) conventional and ordinary, then it is also 2) semantically autonomous, and 3) capable of making reference to objective reality.

Such a linguistic expression is called 'literal'.

No metaphors are literal.

"Objective reality is taken to have an existence independent of any human understanding; that is, it is taken to be 'mind-free'. Consequently, statements made in ordinary conventional language are capable of being objectively true or false. The notion of 'literal meaning' presupposes the truth of the Literal Meaning Theory, and within that theory the term 'literal' is taken to apply to those expressions of a language which meet all of conditions 1, 2, and 3. Given this theory, all ordinary, conventional language is called 'literal language' and is assumed to meet conditions 2 and 3."

If this is true, it implies firstly, that no ordinary conventional language can be metaphorical in any way. Secondly, all concepts expressed by ordinary conventional language must be semantically autonomous and hence not metaphorical. This is in accord with the common philosophical view that all concepts are reflections of objective reality, and hence cannot be metaphorical.

Lakoff and Turner, however, state that what they call the *Autonomy Claim*, that ordinary, conventional language is semantically autonomous and that it is not metaphoric, is false. On the contrary, in their writings they show that conventional language and our conventional conceptual system are fundamentally and ineradicably metaphoric. There are general mappings across conceptual domains that account for both poetic and everyday conventional language. If the Autonomy Claim were true, this would be impossible.

Similarly, they reject what they call the *Objectivist Claim*. This is that conventional expressions in a language designate aspects of an objective, mind-free reality and therefore, a statement must objectively be either true or false, depending on whether or not the objective world accords with the statement. It is a consequence of this claim that all conventional expressions in a language are semantically autonomous and no expression can be understood, in whole or in part, by metaphor. On this view, there could be no such things as conceptual metaphors, which are mappings across conceptual domains, because such mappings could not exist in the objective, mind-free world.

The major fallacy behind the Objectivist Claim is that it does not recognise that truth and falsity are relative to conceptual frameworks. Thus, it fails to recognise that a statement can be meaningful only relative to its defining framework, and it can be true or false only to the way we understand reality given that framework. Since conceptual frameworks are products of the human mind, the structure of reality as

it is reflected in human language is not objective in the technical sense, that is, not mind-free. Many of our conceptual frameworks are metaphorical.

Grounding Hypothesis

Lakoff and Turner (1989:119) find that the Grounding Hypothesis, basically that metaphorical understanding is grounded in non-metaphorical understanding (1989:113), is compatible with their theory. Firstly, whereas the Literal Meaning Theory sees all concepts conventionally expressed by words and phrases as semantically autonomous, the Grounding Hypothesis says that only *some* are, and they see *most* concepts as not being semantically autonomous. Secondly, the Grounding Hypothesis does not require that semantically autonomous concepts be a direct mirror of a mind-free reality, and they claim that what semantically autonomous concepts there are, are grounded in our patterns of bodily and social experience, i.e. they are not somehow given to us directly by the objective world, but are grounded in the patterns of experience that we routinely live. Thirdly, the Grounding Hypothesis is about *concepts* not about *language*.

Understanding and experience

Lakoff & Johnson (1980:153) make the point that metaphor is primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language. They also stress the experiential basis of metaphor and say: *"In actuality we feel that no metaphor can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis"* (1980:19).

They agree with objectivists on one major point: that things in the world do play a role in constraining our conceptual system. But they play this role only through our experience of them. Our experiences will 1) differ from culture to culture and 2) may depend on our understanding one kind of experience in terms of another, that is, our experience may be metaphorical in nature.

Lakoff and Johnson stress the automatic and unconscious character of conventional thought and language. The conventional aspects of language are the ones that are most alive, in the sense that they are embodied in our minds, are constantly used, and affect the way we think and talk every day. The fact that linguistic mechanisms are conventional, means that they are fixed, that they are not made up anew each time we use them; conventional metaphorical expressions that are part of a live system are also fixed. Because they are fixed, they are sometimes mistaken for dead.

By the stress they place on the existence of live conventional conceptual metaphors, it could seem that this school of thought sees all conventional concepts as being understood only through metaphor. This, however, is not correct. In criticising what they call the It's all metaphor position, Lakoff and Turner (1989:133) say:

"Metaphors allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another. To serve this function, there must be some grounding, some concepts that are not completely understood via metaphor to serve as source domains. There seems to be no shortage of concepts. A brief survey yields many concepts that are at least partly, if not totally, understood on their own terms: plants, departures, fire, sleep, locations, seeing, and so on."

It is therefore clear that they believe that there are many concepts which are understood independently of metaphor and which are understood on their own terms. This, we suggest, seems to coincide to some extent with the idea embodied in the term "Communicable Independent Use" which Macky (1990:38-42) suggests as a definition of literal language usage in contrast to "Dependent Usage" as a definition of figurative language usage.

▪ Evaluation

In evaluating the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor, Macky (1990:46-49) sees the emphasis on understanding as valuable, but believes that there is need for a definition in which the connection between understanding and speaking is brought out. He says that we need to recognise the roots of metaphor in our thinking, but at the same time bring out that the typical metaphor is expressed in speech. We should remember that all use of language has an essential mental component. Our thinking provides not only the origin of all our utterances but also the shaping, intended way of meaning that implicitly accompanies all speaking.

Jackendoff and Aaron (1991:336) agree that the thesis arising from the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor, that much literary metaphor is based on the culturally conventional metaphors that pervade ordinary speech, is new and striking. However, they believe that the Conceptual Theory needs to be modified by the addition of a criterion of incongruity, a more restricted ambit for the term "metaphor" and a more sophisticated learning theory. They believe that the theory, that metaphorical interpretations arise through pragmatic resolution of incongruity, can be maintained simultaneously with Lakoff and Turner's cognitivist approach and that Lakoff and Turner give no argument against such a possibility.

Jackendoff and Aaron do not believe that the only sources of non-metaphorical conceptual structures are sensorimotor experience, experience of habitual or routine sensorimotor and social patterns, and what we learn from our culture, or that all abstract concepts are understood via metaphor. The structured image schemas into which one's understanding of the world is organised, which contain slots for the various roles in the schema are not present in sensorimotor experience, or in habitual or routine patterns, nor are they taught. Moreover, the interpretation of metaphor requires that one have access to forms of the source and target schemas sufficiently abstract to be compared and mapped onto one another. The capacity for abstraction must come from the mind's own resources. Jackendoff and Aaron conclude that in order to support a theory of metaphor along the lines they propose, Lakoff and Turner must assume a theory of concept formation richer and more abstract than one is led to assume from their writings.

2.4 TOWARDS A THEORY OF METAPHOR

Remembering Soskice's suggestion that *"a definition of metaphor useful to one discipline often proves unsatisfactory to another,"* (2.1.3.) it seems that the formulation of a theory of metaphor which will be useful for translators, and Bible translators in particular, lies in something like a combination of the definition given by Soskice (1989:15) and that given by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5). Soskice says:

"Metaphor is that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another."

Lakoff and Johnson say:

"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."

These two definitions seem to be saying more or less the same thing although with two contrasting emphases. Lakoff and Johnson deny that metaphor is a figure of speech and emphasise that metaphor's essence is in our mental processes of understanding and experiencing. Soskice, on the other hand, emphasises that metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon, although she stresses that it is not necessarily oral. Macky (1990:48) believes that in their discussions of metaphor, these authors are not as far apart as their contrasting emphases suggest. Virtually all the example exponents of the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor given are linguistic. The linguistic aspect of metaphor seems to be vitally important. However one views the conceptualizing of and reasoning by metaphor in the mind, the metaphor must be reduced to linguistic form in order to be communicated. It is in its linguistic form that the translator encounters metaphor and his concern is how to handle it so that the concept embodied in the metaphor can be communicated to someone who speaks a different language.

On the other hand, Soskice's (1989:16) insistence that metaphors are not mental events does not mean that the mental aspect is disregarded. She says that the "thing" in her definition signifies any object or state of affairs and is not necessarily a physical object. It could just as well be the same as the "kind of thing" in Lakoff and Johnson's definition which, in the light of their total rejection of the Objectivist standpoint, cannot mean to them something objectively existing in the world. In adopting Richards' view of metaphor as an "interaction of thoughts" she comments that *"these 'thoughts' can be extra-utterance without being extra-linguistic"* (1989:45). That suggests that when we think metaphorically we have linguistic labels associated with the tenor and the vehicle. Soskice also emphasised the essential mental aspect of all metaphorical speech when she wrote: *"A metaphor is only a metaphor because someone, speaker or hearer and ideally both, regards it as such; the intentional component is essential. It is thus the speaker's meaning, what he was thinking in uttering the speech act, that is determinative in whether he was speaking non-metaphorically, metaphorically or even nonsensically"* (1990:136). For example, in English one may say: "He is green," and intend to convey that the man's surname is Green, or perhaps that he is an inhabitant of mars, or metaphorically that he is inexperienced, or that he is seasick. While it is true that whether or not a speech utterance is intended to be understood as metaphor depends on the speaker's meaning in uttering the speech act, it is also true that it is possible for the speaker to be understood to be speaking metaphorically simply because there is a basic conceptual metaphor for him to invoke and/or extend, in the language he is speaking.

Lakoff and Turner (1989:131) reject the Interaction Theory because of the bi-directional mapping from target domain to source domain as well as from source domain to target domain. It is precisely Black's insistence on two subjects in a metaphor which led Soskice (1989:43, 47) to reject this version of the theory and return to what she believes Richards meant by Interanimative Theory.

Lakoff and Turner (1989:66) say that we acquire cognitive models in at least two ways: by our own direct experience and through our culture. This therefore will be the way in which we *"understand and experience one thing in terms of another."*

Soskice (1989:15) explains the words in her definition "seen to be suggestive" as "seen so by a competent speaker of the language." Competence in a language is more than a knowledge of the

phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of a language. It includes what may be described in Afrikaans as "taalgevoel", that feeling for the language which is gained only through an understanding of the culture of the speakers of the language, and by experiencing all facets of life through the medium of that language.

We agree with Soskice (1989:44), when she says:

"A theory of metaphor should regard metaphor neither as a simple substitution for literal speech nor as strictly emotive. Metaphor should be treated as fully cognitive and capable of saying that which may be said in no other way. It should explain how metaphor gives us 'two ideas for one', yet do so without lapsing into the comparison theory. Ideally a theory of metaphor should go even further and discuss not only the speaker's intention in using metaphor, but also the hearer's reception of it, how the hearer decides that the speaker is speaking metaphorically rather than nonsensically, and so on. This would involve consideration not only of what is said but of the context in which it is said, the beliefs held mutually by both hearer and speaker, and the patterns of inference the hearer employs in determining the speaker's meaning."

From the above considerations, it can be seen that metaphor occurs from the conceptual interanimation of a source domain mapping onto a target domain and producing incongruity which creates a new meaning which can be understood by those of a similar experiential and cultural background.

An individual conceives a metaphor in his mind and may use that metaphor in his reasoning. However, in Bible translation we are interested not only in metaphor as such, but in how metaphor is used in communication. How is it that one person can understand and experience one thing in terms of another, or see something in terms suggestive of another and communicate that to someone else so that he or she will come to the same experience and understanding?

To answer this question, it is necessary to examine some of the advances made in the study of pragmatics in understanding metaphor. This leads us to consider not only what is said, but the context in which it is said, the beliefs held mutually by both hearer and speaker, and the patterns of inference the hearer employs in determining the speaker's meaning, as Soskice suggested (1989:44).

2.5 PRAGMATIC THEORY OF METAPHOR

Lakoff and Turner (1989:125) begin by dismissing pragmatics because of the traditional view taken from philosophical logic that semantics includes under its purview only conventional language that can be true or false. Metaphor is traditionally assumed to fall under the pragmatic rubric of language usage. On this account, no conventional metaphor is considered metaphor at all; only novel metaphorical expressions count. This point will be discussed later when Dagut's views on the translation of metaphor are considered (see 6.6.0.).

Lakoff and Turner say that pragmatics incorporates many of the positions they cite and reject under the general heading of Literal Meaning Theory. Among these are the assertions that metaphorical expressions are not literal, but deviant, and their meanings are paraphrases. Therefore, one first tries to understand them literally, and resorts to a metaphorical reading only if a literal reading is impossible.

Having stated that pragmatics has all the flaws inherent in many of the other positions they reject, they nevertheless admit:

"Incidentally, our claim that metaphor is not purely a matter of pragmatics does not mean that principles of conversation never enter into metaphorical understanding. On the contrary . . . such principles often combine with conceptual metaphors in the understanding of poetry" (1989:126).

This is an indication of the uneasy feeling one gets from time to time in the writings of those who hold to the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor. They have made a real discovery that live conventional conceptual metaphors pervade our everyday speech, but this fact seems to have caused them to react instinctively against even that which they could, and sometimes do, use to advantage in their own theory.

2.5.1 The Code or Semiotic Model of Communication

Up until the mid-sixties, it was almost universally assumed that communication in general, and verbal communication in particular, is achieved by encoding and decoding messages.

According to this model, communication involves a set of unobservable messages, a set of observable signals, and a code, i.e. a method of pairing signals with messages. The communicator, on deciding to convey a certain message, transmits the signal associated with that message by the code; the hearer, on receiving the signal, recovers the message associated with it by the code. In the case of verbal communication, the observable signals would be the phonetic (or graphemic) representation of utterances, the messages would be the thoughts that the speaker wished to convey, and the task of pragmatics would be to discover the code the hearers use to recover the intended messages from the observable signal (Wilson & Sperber, 1986:22).

Although utterance interpretation involves an element of decoding, there is more to understanding an utterance than merely recovering the semantic representation of the sentence uttered. There is a gap between the semantic representations of sentences and the thoughts communicated by utterances and it was assumed that this gap can be filled by an extra layer of encoding and decoding. It is obvious, however, that utterance interpretation is highly dependent upon the context within which it is uttered, context being more than the immediately surrounding sentences. Who the participants are, the time, place and situation, all contribute to the context.

2.5.2 Inferential Model of Communication

According to the Inferential theory of communication, communication is achieved not by encoding and decoding messages, but by providing evidence for an intended hypothesis about the speaker's communicative intentions. Communication is successful when the hearer interprets the evidence on the intended lines. Inferential communication, therefore, involves the formation and evaluation of hypotheses about the speaker's communicative intentions.

In the William James Lectures at Harvard in 1967 (1967:45ff.), H. Paul Grice discussed conversational implicature and suggested four categories under what he labelled the Cooperative Principle. These are:

Quantity

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: Be relevant.

Manner: Be perspicuous — i.e. clear in expression.

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.

Grice showed how the range of implicature in conversation depends on how a participant in a conversation fulfils the various maxims. He may violate a maxim, be faced with a clash between two maxims, or exploit a maxim by flouting it or by blatantly failing to fulfil it. He may also simply opt out and show that he is unwilling to cooperate in the way the maxim requires.

While this approach is obviously better equipped than the code model to deal with the full range of pragmatic data, questions arise as to what is meant by the terms used, whether or not these maxims are universal or cultural specific and whether these maxims are correct.

2.5.3. The Cognitive Theory of Relevance

In developing their Relevance Theory, (Sperber and Wilson 1986) have suggested that the key to human cognition is relevance and the maximisation of relevance. Humans tend to pay attention to the most relevant phenomena available; they construct the most relevant possible representations of these phenomena, and process them in a context that maximises the relevance of the phenomena. They, therefore, believe that communicated information comes with a guarantee of relevance and that this is enough to yield an explanatory pragmatic theory.

In explaining what they mean by relevance, they claim that information is relevant to the hearer if it interacts in a certain way with the hearer's existing assumptions about the world. New information can interact with, and be relevant in a context of existing assumptions, firstly by combining with the context to yield contextual implications; secondly, by strengthening existing assumptions; and thirdly, by contradicting and eliminating existing assumptions. These three types of interaction, they refer to as contextual effects, and they say that new information is relevant in any context in which it has contextual effects, and the greater its contextual effects, the more relevant it will be. They therefore define relevance in two parts as:

Relevance:

- a) *Other things being equal, the greater the contextual effects, the greater the relevance.*
- b) *Other things being equal, the smaller the processing effort, the greater the relevance.*

So, an individual with finite processing resources, who is aiming to maximise relevance, should pay attention to the phenomena which, when represented in the best possible way, and processed in the best possible context, seem likely to yield the greatest possible contextual effects in return for the minimum processing effort. The speaker guarantees that the information he is attempting to convey, when processed in a context he believes the audience has accessible, will be relevant enough to be worth the

audience's attention (Wilson & Sperber, 1986:30). The speaker who puts the audience to unnecessary processing effort, runs the risk of failing to achieve an acceptable level of relevance overall.

Implications for metaphor analysis

▪ **Processing effort**

Wilson and Sperber (1986:34) stress the importance of processing effort in utterance interpretation. By demanding extra processing effort — for example, by answering a question indirectly — the speaker can encourage the hearer to look for additional contextual effects in the form of additional weak or strong implicatures. This has important consequences for the analysis of metaphor and irony, and more generally of stylistic effects.

Grice analyses metaphor and irony as deliberate violations of the maxim of truthfulness. According to Grice, the hearer, faced with such a violation, reasons that the speaker must have been trying to communicate some logically related implicature which does not satisfy the maxim of truthfulness. Thus, the patently false metaphorical utterance such as: *"Their friendship blossomed"* might be interpreted as implicating: *Their friendship grew like a blossom*. This account is not compatible with relevance theory. A speaker, aiming at optimal relevance, could not have said *"Their friendship blossomed"* merely intending to implicate *"Their friendship grew like a blossom"*, since she could have spared her hearer some unnecessary processing effort by simply saying *"Their friendship grew like a blossom"* directly. Secondly, relevance theory has nothing comparable to Grice's maxim of truthfulness, according to which every utterance must express a belief of the speaker. What follows from relevance theory is something weaker; to be consistent with the principle of relevance, an utterance must achieve an adequate range of contextual effects and achieve them as economically as possible. There may be utterances which satisfy this weaker condition without explicitly expressing a belief of the speaker.

Inferential communication often involves a deliberate exploitation of resemblances. Where representation by resemblance is involved, the hearer must make some assumption about which properties of the representation are also shared by the original. In this, as in every other aspect of representation, the minimal assumption — that is, the first accessible assumption — consistent with the principle of relevance is the only assumption consistent with the principle of relevance. For example, when one sees a white plaster bust of Napoleon, without arms and legs, no rational addressee who is familiar with Western art and culture, would jump to the conclusion that Napoleon did not have arms and legs.

So also with verbal communication, exploiting linguistic resemblances. A speaker will expect her hearer to attribute to the original only the minimal set of properties needed to achieve an interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance. Every utterance is used to represent a thought: the very thought the speaker intended to communicate. According to the maxim of truthfulness, full identity between the contents of representation and the original is required — i.e. the utterance is a literal representation of the speaker's thought. According to the principle of relevance, the hearer should make the minimal assumption, consistent with the principle of relevance. In other words, he should take the utterance to be a literal representation of the speaker's thought only if nothing less than a literal representation would be consistent with the principle of relevance.

Metaphorical utterances provide an easily accessible non-literal interpretation, consistent with the principle of relevance, so there is no need to consider the literal interpretation at all.

By processing *"Their friendship blossomed"* in the context of his encyclopaedic knowledge of blossoming, the hearer might conclude that their friendship grew from small beginnings, in a favourable environment, by a natural process, into something beautiful, and was perhaps destined to fade. As with most metaphors, there is a substantial element of indeterminacy in its interpretation, and its associated implicatures will be relatively weak. For a speaker who wanted to achieve a range of effects along these lines, using this metaphor would be the most economical way of achieving them. Since this metaphor has an easily accessible non-literal interpretation, which is consistent with the principle of relevance, there is no need for the hearer to consider a literal interpretation at all. Metaphors are non-literal representations of the speaker's thought. It is not deviant, or a departure from the norm: indeed an utterance will only be interpreted as literal if no non-literal interpretation will do (Wilson & Sperber, 1986:40).

▪ Context

According to relevance theory, a speaker who intends an utterance to be interpreted in a particular way must also expect the hearer to be able to supply a context which allows that interpretation to be recovered (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:16).

In relevance theory, context is understood to be *"the set of premises used in interpreting an utterance"* (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:15). As such, it is a psychological notion. It refers to a subset of the hearer's belief about the world — more precisely it refers to a part of the cognitive environment of the hearer. The cognitive environment is a very comprehensive notion: the cognitive environment of an individual consists of all the facts that that individual is capable of representing in his mind and of accepting as true, or probably true. The sources of this information can be perception (seeing, hearing, feeling, smelling, etc), memory, or inference, which can make use of the information from the other two sources.

"A context in this sense is not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or the immediately preceding utterances: expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions, beliefs about the mental state of the speaker, may all play a role in interpretation" (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:15-16).

A *contextual effect* is a modification of one's cognitive environment that could not have been achieved by the stimulus alone, but only by the inferential combination of both (Gutt, 1992:22). Human beings somehow manage to communicate in situations where a great deal can be assumed about what is manifest to others, a lot can be assumed about what is mutually manifest to themselves and others, and nothing can be assumed to be truly mutually known or assumed. A cognitive environment is merely a set of assumptions which the individual is capable of mentally representing and accepting as true. Mutual cognitive environments directly provide all the information needed for communication and comprehension (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:45-46). Factual assumptions are acquired from four sources: perception, linguistic decoding, assumptions and assumption schemas stored in memory, and deduction (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:81).

"Code theorists see verbal communication as involving a speaker encoding one of her thoughts in an utterance, which is then decoded by the hearer (with an extra layer of inference in modern versions). We see verbal communication as involving a speaker producing an utterance as a public interpretation of one of her thoughts, and the hearer constructing a mental interpretation of this utterance, and hence the original thought. Let

us say that an utterance is an interpretive expression of a thought of the speaker's and that the hearer makes an interpretive assumption about the speaker's informative intention. It follows from our general account of inferential communication that an utterance should be an interpretive expression of a thought of the speaker's. However, we see no reason to postulate a convention, presumption, maxim or rule of literalness to the effect that this interpretation must be a literal reproduction. How close the interpretation is, and in particular when it is literal, can be determined on the basis of the principle of relevance.

"We assume then, that every utterance is an interpretive expression of a thought of the speaker's. What does that thought itself represent, and how? A mental representation, like any representation with a propositional form, can be used descriptively or interpretively. When it is used descriptively, it can be a description of a state of affairs in the actual world, or it can be a description of a desirable state of affairs. When it is used interpretively, it can be an interpretation of some attributed thought or utterance, or it can be an interpretation of some thought which it is or would be desirable to entertain in a certain way: as knowledge, for instance. Our argument may be summarised as follows: metaphor involves an interpretive relation between the propositional form of an utterance and the thought it represents" (underlining by EAH) (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:230-231).

Sperber and Wilson argue from everyday loose speech, for example where one says: "It's 5 o'clock," in answer to an enquiry regarding the time, even when it may be a few minutes before or after the hour, or when one says: "Pretoria is 50 km from Johannesburg," without stipulating from which point in each city one is measuring. They claim that there is no discontinuity between the loose uses and a variety of "figurative" examples which include the most characteristic examples of poetic metaphor. In both cases, the propositional form of the utterance differs from that of the thought interpreted. In both cases the hearer can proceed on the assumption that these two propositional forms have some identifiable logical and contextual implications in common. In both cases, the same interpretive abilities and procedures are involved (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:235).

In general, the wider the range of potential implicatures and the greater the hearer's responsibility for constructing them, the more poetic the effect, the more creative the metaphor. A good creative metaphor [in contrast to the highly standardised metaphor — EAH] is precisely one in which a variety of contextual effects can be retained and understood as weakly implicated by the speaker. In the richest and most successful cases, the hearer or reader can go beyond just exploring the immediate context and the entries for concepts contained in it, accessing a wide area of knowledge, adding metaphors of his own as interpretations of possible developments he is not ready to go into, and getting more and more very weak implicatures, with suggestions for still further processing. The result is a quite complex picture, for which the hearer has to take a large part of the responsibility, but the discovery of which has been triggered by the writer. The surprise and beauty of a successful creative metaphor lies in this condensation, in the fact that a single expression which has itself been loosely used will determine a very wide range of weak implicatures (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:236-237). What gives metaphors their peculiar communicative power is the fact that the hearer or reader is maximally involved in uncovering the implicatures. This process has been referred to as the satisfaction of co-operating.

The search for optimal relevance leads the speaker to adopt, on different occasions, a more or a less faithful interpretation of her thoughts. The result in some cases is literalness, in others metaphor. Metaphor thus requires no special interpretive abilities or procedures: it is a natural outcome of some very general abilities and procedures used in verbal communication (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:237).

The possibility of expressing oneself metaphorically and being understood as doing so follows from very general mechanisms of verbal communication rather than from some extra level of competence. Secondly, there is a continuum of cases rather than a dividing line between metaphorical and literal utterances — in other words metaphor involves no departure from a norm, no transgression of a rule, convention or maxim. If this is correct then metaphor is not essentially different from other types of non-figurative utterances and secondly it plays on the relationship between the propositional form of an utterance and the speaker's thought (Sperber & Wilson, 1986:242-243).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a cognitive linguistic theory which basically states: *"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another"* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5), and it postulates the existence of basic conceptual metaphors which can be invoked and/or extended by competent members of a language community. Relevance Theory is a theory of communication which appears to complement conceptual metaphor theory in explaining how a speaker uses metaphor and how the hearer comes to understand what the speaker intends by his use of metaphor. An important aspect of Relevance Theory is the emphasis that without the proper relevant context, metaphor fails as communication. This is crucial for translation theory. Unless the hearer or reader of the receptor language experiences the metaphor in a similar proper relevant context to that of the source language, he will be unable to discover the implicatures of the metaphor apparent in the source language. Failure to give sufficient weight to this aspect is a weakness of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:56) do, however, take some cognisance of this fact when they state that culture is not a conceptual overlay to experience, but that all experience is cultural through and through. So, metaphor is used and understood, not only within an individual sentence, or larger text, but also within the context of a certain situation, and within a certain society or group, speaking a specific language and having a specific culture.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory seems, to this researcher, to be a more useful way of analysing the basic metaphors of a language and their entailments than the Substitution, Comparison, or Interanimative Theories, for it is cognitive and helps to reveal something of the world view of the users. It also reveals basic source and target domains favoured by the language and indicates how the one maps upon the another so as to suggest possible entailments and extensions within one context or another. For the translator, having such an analysis in both the source and target languages, helps to give some indication of whether it will be possible to introduce an entailment or extension of a basic conceptual metaphor found in the one language into the other. If the basic conceptual metaphor is found in both languages, it is more likely to be possible to introduce a new extension of that metaphor by extending a source-target mapping of the basic conceptual metaphor present in both, than it would be if the basic conceptual metaphor is found in only the one language and not in the other. It is nevertheless important to ascertain that it is possible also to reproduce the proper relevant context in both languages so as to ensure that accurate communication will result.

2.6 CONCLUSION

In this thesis, metaphor in Zulu will be analysed according to the principles of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, so as to identify some common basic conceptual metaphors in Zulu and something of their source-target mapping. Selected Hebrew metaphors in the Book of Amos will be analysed as entailments of basic conceptual metaphors in Hebrew, and then an attempt will be made to translate them into Zulu in such a way that the contextual effects which are understood by the Zulu reader will be those which would have been understood by the Hebrew reader for whom the book was originally intended.

CHAPTER 3

The Study of Metaphor in South–Eastern Bantu Languages

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Although metaphor is mentioned in passing in many studies on Bantu languages, particularly in those on Bantu literature, very little formal attention has been paid to it.

3.2 METAPHOR IN ZULU

With regard to metaphor in Zulu, D B Z Ntuli read a paper on *An assessment of the poetry of B W Vilakazi — with special reference to the use of simile and metaphor*, at the Second Africa Languages Congress of Unisa in 1978. The most comprehensive study of metaphor in Zulu is contained in chapter 5 of his doctoral thesis on *The Poetry of B W Vilakazi*, which was later published (1984). This chapter discusses metaphor found in the poems contained in the anthologies *Inkondlo kaZulu* (The Zulu Song) and *Amal'ezulu* (Zulu Horizons), as it is generally translated. The chapter is entitled Imagery (1984:150-187), and after a discussion of simile, metaphor is considered under the section headings: *Idiomatic expressions; Copulative construction; Possessive Construction; Verbal Base; Metaphor with implicit tenor; and Personification*, under which are listed *Apostrophe; Human features; Human actions; and Human emotions*. The chapter ends with a section on symbolism. M W Jadezweni (1987:4), says that it was the highly illuminating analysis of metaphor in Zulu poetry in this chapter which was the inspiration which led him to draw a parallel between the Zulu, B W Vilakazi, and the Xhosa, J J R Jolobe, and to present a master's dissertation on *The Use of Metaphor in J J R Jolobe's UMYEZO*, to the University of Stellenbosch in 1987.

In 1971, E Z T S Mthiyane, submitted a short dissertation, *Water as a Focus of Symbolism in Vilakazi's Prose and Poetry*, towards the Honours B.A. degree at the University of Zululand. In this, having defined imagery as, "The art in the hands of a skilful writer to create living vivid pictures which intensify, clarify and enrich his descriptions," he states: "He usually resorts to a metaphorical use of words in order to create effect." He says that when imagery is used to convey a second and/or a third level of meaning it is called a symbol. He then goes on to show how Vilakazi, "converges his imagery on water as he creates living word pictures about nature, Zulu power, spiritual matters, strife and success, love and hatred, the gods, senses, death, heaven and hell, white rule against the Zulu reign of terror, prosperity and dire poverty, light and darkness" (1971:1). In this dissertation, there is no clear distinction between what the author considers to be imagery and symbol, and he seems to use the terms synonymously.

In 1974, J S M Khumalo published an article in *African Studies* on *Zulu Riddles* in which he discusses the necessity of understanding the metaphor employed in the Zulu riddle in order to be able to answer the question posed by the riddle.

Other articles on imagery in Zulu, which include metaphor, are *Imagery in Zulu praise-poetry*, by C T Msimang, which appeared in *Limi*, in 1981, and is based on the article submitted towards the Honours

B.A. degree at the University of South Africa, and, *Use of imagery and symbolism in the poetry of O E H Nxumalo*, by Joyce B G Sukumane, which appeared in SAJAL in November 1985. Msimang makes the point: "Imagery in Zulu praise-poetry is bound up with the Zulu culture, without knowledge of which, it might be difficult to understand and correctly interpret the images used" (1981:75). Sukumane says something similar when she states: "These observations illustrate that the Bantu thought pattern and mind's association of images differs from that of the European poet" (1985:139). She then goes on to discuss Nxumalo's poetry under two headings: *Poems in which imagery and symbolism are culturally derived*, and, *Poems in which imagery and symbolism are universally derived*, and she also notes an indication of 'personal' or 'private' symbols (1985:147), a distinction also made by Msimang, but which he found lacking in praise-poetry (1981:74-75). Msimang (1981:53) quotes the definition of imagery given by Heese and Lawton (1978:62): "... a reference to or a description of something concrete by means of which the writer wishes to tell you about something else. 'Concrete' in this sense means that it can be perceived by one or more of the senses. The 'something else' may be abstract, or it may be concrete too." They distinguish between four types of images, namely: Simile, personification, metaphor and symbol. Both Msimang (1981:71) and Sukumane (1985:139) quote Welleck and Warren (1949:194) when they distinguish between an image and a symbol: "An 'image' may be invoked once as a metaphor, but if it persistently recurs, both as presentation and representation, it becomes a symbol." From this it appears that both image and symbol may be a metaphor, and the frequency with which a metaphor is invoked distinguishes whether it is considered to be an image or a symbol.

In 1991, M T Radebe submitted a master's dissertation, entitled *Imagery in C T Msimang's Iziziba zoThukela*, to the Rand Afrikaans University. In Msimang's thirty poems in this anthology, Radebe identifies twenty similes, twenty six metaphors, twenty three personifications and ten cases of symbolism (1991:52). At the beginning of chapter three on metaphor, she states: "Metaphor is identified as a comparison that is made implicitly" (1991:21). She concludes that Msimang not only used metaphor more than other types of imagery, but that he used it effectively, and that: "The effective usage of metaphor helped him in producing a very interesting work due to the fact that metaphor is the most beautiful among all images" (1991:32). This last statement suggests that the author has been extremely subjective in her approach to her data.

In a master's dissertation, *Metaphorical Extensions as a basis for grammatilization with special reference to Zulu auxiliary verbs*, presented to the Department of Linguistics of the University of South Africa in 1991, S N Mkhatswa applied the conceptual theory of metaphor to explain the derivation of the category auxiliary in Zulu. He found that certain motion verbs are a source of Zulu auxiliaries. This is because verbs of motion express motion through space. The auxiliary verbs that are derived from these motion verbs express the abstract notions of tense and aspect. For the construal of these notions, that is the concrete notion space and the abstract notion time, he invoked the basic conceptual metaphor Time is Space as an underlying factor for the selection of verbs, especially motion verbs, as auxiliaries in Zulu (1991:152). (See 4.4.0.)

In a general article entitled *Metaphors we live by*, in SAJAL in 1988, H M Thipa applies some of the observations made by Lakoff and Johnson in their book by the same name to Southern Sotho and Xhosa. In closing he says: "It seems to me that their study of metaphor can be of considerable interest to Southern Bantu languages. They certainly explore an area within semantics that has not, as far as can be ascertained, been explored in Southern Bantu languages." (1988:80).

In 1993, Johannes Magwaza, a B.A. honours student at the University of the Witwatersrand wrote a short class paper *Metaphors derived from the source domains up/down, in/out and big/small*, and read a brief paper *The use of Metaphor in C T Msimang's Izulu Eladuma ESandlwane*, at a regional meeting of the African Languages Association of Southern Africa. In both, copies of which he kindly gave to this researcher, he makes use of conceptual metaphor theory to some extent. (See 4.14.1)

In July 1994, Thandiwe Nxumalo, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, read a paper entitled: *Zulu Metaphors that Describe Human Qualities with reference to Male and Female*, at the First World Congress of African Linguistics, held at the University of Swaziland at Kwaluseni. In it she discussed various Zulu metaphors with animals as the source domain, and especially how ten male and ten female Zulu-speaking university students understood the metaphors *He/She is a Dog* and *He/She is a Pig*, i.e. *Yinja* and *Yingulube*, used with a boy's name and with a girl's name. (See 4.14.2.2.)

3.3 METAPHOR IN TSWANA

P T van Staden studied beeldspraak (figurative language, or imagery) in Tswana and presented a master's dissertation entitled *Beeldspraak in die geskrewe en ongeskrewe literatuur van Tswana* (Imagery in the written and oral literature of Tswana) to Potchefstroom University in 1980. In his doctoral thesis, entitled *Beeldspraak in Sefalana sa Menate van L D Raditladi* (Imagery in L D Raditladi's Sefalana sa Menate), presented to the same university in 1985, he describes his findings in his master's dissertation as follows:

"Van Staden (1980:12-58) het die terme wat gebruik is om beeldspraak volgens die tradisionele benaderingswyse te beskryf, ondersoek. Omdat die begrip BEELDSPRAAK nie behoorlik gedefinieer is nie, bestaan daar 'n onhanteerbare aantal subvorme. Nadat al die sogenaamde vorme van beeldspraak ondersoek is, is bevind dat daar slegs twee vorme van beeldspraak is, naamlik die VERGELYKING en METAFOR." (Van Staden examined the terms used to describe imagery according to the traditional approach. Seeing that the concept IMAGERY has not been properly defined, there are an unwieldy number of sub-classes. Once all the so-called forms of imagery had been examined, it was found that there are only two kinds of imagery, namely SIMILE and METAPHOR.) (Van Staden, 1985:3).

Van Staden (1985:236-240) describes his aim in his doctoral thesis as: "to find a meaningful framework for identifying and describing imagery from a number of confusing approaches and descriptions presently being used. The weak aspects of one approach has (sic) been complemented by stronger ones found in the other approach." To do this, he uses the structural and transformational generative approaches in conjunction with semantic supporting aspects. He discusses a functional framework, based on the theories of metaphor propounded by Richards and Black; a structural framework, described with the help of terminology found in structural grammar; and a transformational generative framework. Because he finds that the functional, structural and TG framework fail to describe imagery comprehensively, semantic supportive aspects are included in the description.

3.4 METAPHOR IN SOUTHERN SOTHO

Although in his doctoral thesis, *The Poetry of K E Ntsane* presented to the University of South Africa in 1982 and published two years later, J M Lenake identifies metaphors used by that author, he does not

give them special attention, as he takes the standpoint that discussion of imagery should not be done in isolation, but be related to the whole poem (1984:9). He therefore deals with each metaphor as it occurs in the selection of poems he analyses.

In *A Study of some Aspects of K D P Maphalla's Poetry*, a master's dissertation presented to the University of Cape Town in 1988, A M Moleleki devotes the whole third chapter to imagery. His definition of imagery, adopted from Millar and Currie (*The language of Poetry*, Heinemann :London 1978:63-64) is extremely wide, viz. "*that part of a literary work of art which appeals to any one (or more) of these senses: sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell and the kinaesthetic sense that relates to our sense of bodily effect*" (1988:65). In a personal communication, he lamented the fact that he had not had a firm theoretical base from which to work. At times, he seems to hint at conceptual metaphor theory, e.g. *Death is Departure* (1988:170, 188); *Death is a Scoundrel* (189) and *Death is a Hunter* (190). It is unfortunate that he was not familiar with the theory as it may have helped him with his analysis and given him the theoretical basis he sought.

3.5 METAPHOR AMONG THE HAYA

An interesting study which is of some relevance to the present study, although not from the South-Eastern Bantu area, is the doctoral thesis of P I Seitel on *Proverbs and the Structure of Metaphor among the Haya of Tanzania*, presented to the University of Pennsylvania in 1972. In his treatment of metaphor in general and proverbial metaphor in particular, he characterises the meaning process as "foregrounding". The vehicle (or proverb) foregrounds certain features of its tenor (or context situation); it selects the features and organises them into a culturally recognisable configuration. Thus, when a speaker uses a proverb, he, in effect, selects and organises certain features of the context situation - those features that he wishes to emphasise to suit his own intention. He advances the claim that "foregrounding", the selection and organisation of features, and naming, are in this sense the same process. In effect, a proverb names a situation (1976:242). An addressee can interpret the proverb use because (1) he shares the culturally defined symbolic associations inherent in and manipulated by the proverb, and (2) his familiarity with proverb use in general and the specific context situation allows him to make the correct correlations. The fact that metaphor encompasses two juxtaposed logical domains accounts for its ability to convince. This particular rhetorical device allows the addressee to be led and to lead himself to the desired conclusion at the same time. His reasoning is directed through the speaker's juxtaposition of situations — proverb and context — at the same time that the addressee draws his "own conclusions" by confirming the culturally determined associational relationships among the entities involved. It is the metaphoric nature of the discourse that allows the speaker to direct the addressee's reasoning processes through the indirect means of "letting him come to his own conclusions" (1976:249-250). Then, also, the ambiguity inherent in metaphor often allows a speaker to comment proverbially on a topic without taking responsibility for the meaning inherent in his words (1976:255).

3.6 CONCLUSION

To date, the study of metaphor in South-Eastern Bantu languages has been done either as part of a study of "imagery" in the language, or it has been concentrated on a specific literary genre, or the writings of an individual author. Jadezweni (1987:81) says of his own study: "*The study can be seen to have employed a fusion of both the comparison and interaction theories of metaphor.*" This seems to be the case with the majority of studies thus far, with the exception of that of Mkhatswa (1991) who applied the

basic conceptual metaphor Time is Space in the study of Zulu auxiliary verbs. As Thipa (1985) has indicated, applying conceptual metaphor theory to a language such as Zulu could be of considerable interest, and this is what this thesis seeks to do.

CHAPTER 4

Zulu Metaphor

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Callow and Beekman (1974:141) stress that before one attempts to translate metaphor from one language into another, it is first necessary to ensure that the speakers of the receptor language continue to create and decipher new metaphors in their language. They say:

"Most translators come from an urban-type culture, where new metaphors are constantly being created and deciphered, so there is a high degree of tolerance for unusual and unfamiliar collocations. Metaphors are also frequently used by authors, and a high degree of literacy means that most speakers are constantly exposed to new collations and metaphors. This is so much a part of the background of most translators that they tend to assume it is also true of the people for whom they are translating.

"However, experience has shown that this can by no means be assumed. Cultures vary considerably in this matter. Many of the cultures of Meso-America are intolerant of new and unfamiliar collocations; others welcome them and take a real delight in deciphering them."

Larsen (1984:251f.) agrees with this, and says:

"If a language group is constantly making up new metaphors, it may not be a problem to introduce one in the translation. However, it should be carefully checked to be sure that it works. There are some languages in which new metaphors are seldom created, and to translate the metaphor into such languages could cause serious problems of understanding. In languages where metaphors are not used a great deal, it may be difficult for the readers to understand a metaphor translated directly from the source language."

One does not have to look far, however, to see that metaphor is well known in Zulu, and its use is actively engaged in, both among the urban and the rural communities. Vilakazi (1946:259), for example, commenting on the use in praise poetry of original subjectival concords agreeing with the noun class prefixes of nouns from which personal names in Class 1a have been derived, instead of the normal concords agreeing with Class 1a, says:

"Where the European poet might use a simile, the Nguni poet uses a metaphor. The use of the original concord, even when the noun has changed its class, brings about a metaphorical idea, which in English would be shown by a simile, e.g. UZulu ladum'obala, literally translated: "Sir Heaven which thunders in the open country", and this means: "He is like the heaven that thunders in open country". The usage of concords in this figurative manner forms a special licence of poetic technique, applicable when nouns are personified."

Metaphor is found in all the literary genres of Zulu, as examples given below will show, and metaphor is constantly being used in township slang such as *Isicamtho*, and in the coining of words to describe new concepts in Zulu. Although he does not discuss metaphor as such, many of the examples Nkabinde (1968) gives of how adaptable Zulu has proved to be in filling what some have called "semantic voids", are metaphoric extensions. Many metaphorically derived neologisms, such as *umthetho wesinene* (the Immorality Act < the law of the frontal part of a man's loin-covering) have proved extremely successful, whereas others, such as *ezombangazwe* (politics < news concerning dispute over the land), have failed to gain acceptance in favour of words derived from English or Afrikaans, such as *ezeapolitiki* (politics) (1968:89).

4.2 METHOD

This study of metaphor in Zulu is general and not confined to any one author or book. It begins by showing how Zulu, in common with other Bantu languages, categorises phenomena through a system of noun classes. Drawing on the researcher's knowledge, it then identifies metaphor in various literary genres in Zulu, as found in various publications, articles and theses. Grammaticalization through metaphorical extension has been discussed in a thesis by Mkhathshwa (1991), Zulu names have been discussed in a thesis by Koopman (1976), while a collection of idioms and polysemes is found in *Inqolobane Yesizwe* by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966). Khumalo (1974) has shown that Zulu riddles are based on metaphor, and Hadebe (1967 & 1978) has also contributed to their study. Nyembezi (1954), in his classification of the contents of Zulu proverbs, suggests something of the way in which the Zulu categorise. For metaphor in praise poetry the anthologies, *Izibongo Zamakhosi*, edited by Nyembezi (1958), *Izibongo: Zulu Praise-poems*, by Cope (1968) and *The Praises of Dingana* (sic) by Rycroft and Ngcobo (1988) were consulted. The two well known anthologies by Vilakazi, *Inkondlo kaZulu* (1965) and *Amal' ezulu*, (1970) and one by Msimang (1983b), *Iziziba ZoThukela*, were studied for metaphor in modern poetry. Nyembezi's novels, *Mntanami! Mntanami!* (1957), *Inkinsela YaseMgungundlovu* (1970) and *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa* (1974), yielded examples of metaphor used in novels.

As the works of Vilakazi, Nyembezi and Msimang have been the subject of theses by Ntuli, Mthiyane, Ngconwane and Radebe, these were also consulted to see how Zulu academics understand the way in which the use of metaphor by these writers has been understood and appreciated by those whose mother tongue is Zulu.

Wherever possible, this researcher's impressions and conclusions have been checked with Zulu-speakers, both academic and non-academic.

4.3 CATEGORIZATION IN ZULU NOUN CLASSES

Lakoff, in *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987), has shown the importance in the study of metaphor of seeing how speakers of a language categorise the phenomena which they find within the world around them. One of the characteristic features of the family of Bantu Languages, of which Zulu is a member, is a system of noun classes, distinguished by different prefixes. Each noun class prefix carries some semantic significance or categorization. This means that the same noun stem may occur with a different noun prefix and thereby indicate some difference of meaning to the basic stem. For example: the noun stem /-ntu/ (human), may occur with the following noun class prefixes, with the indicated semantic significance.

Class 1: *umuntu* (person — singular)

Class 2: *abantu* (people — plural)

Class 7: *isintu* (Bantu language; culture; humankind)

Class: 11: *uluntu* (Common people)

Class 14: *ubuntu* (Human nature; human character)

The semantic significance of the various noun class prefixes in Zulu is as follows:

Class 1: *lumu- um-/-* Only personal nouns (singular)

Class 2: *laba- ab- abe-/-* Only personal nouns (plural)

Class 1a: *lu-/-*

- Proper names: All such nouns are found in this class.
- Personal nouns: *ubaba* (father)
- Miscellaneous: (Foreign acquisitions) *umese* (knife); *usheleni* (shilling)
- Interrogative noun: *uban?* (who)

Class 2a: Plural of Class 1a

Class 3:

- Parts of body: *umzimba* (body); *umunwe* (finger); *umlenze* (leg); *umlomo* (mouth)
- Names of most rivers: *Ungeni*; *Umlathuzane*
- Names of plants: *umuthi* (tree); *umkhiwane* (fig); *umhungulu* (Natal plum)
- Miscellaneous — some of which derived from verbs *umbuso* (government) < *ukubusa* (to rule); *umsebenzi* (work) < *ukusebenza* (to work); *umuzi* (village); *umthetho* (law) < *ukuthetha* (try a case)

Class 4: Plural of nouns in Class 3 which have a plural

Class 5:

- Parts of body: *ikhanda* (head); *igazi* (blood)
- Words of foreign origin: *ikati* (cat); *itafula* (table)
- Personal Names of tribes and nations: *iNgisi* (Englishman); *iLawu* (Hottentot)
- Miscellaneous: *idada* (duck); *itshe* (stone)

Class 6:

- Plural to nouns of Class 5
- Plural to some nouns in Class 9: *amadoda* (men); *amakhosi* (chiefs)
- Neutral — some nouns which have no singular: *amanzi* (water); *amafutha* (fat; oil); *amandla* (strength)

Class 7: Singular

- Numbers: *isihlanu* (fifth)
- Languages and manners or customs: *isiZulu* (Zulu language; Zulu custom); *isiNgisi* (English language; English custom)
- Types of people: *isidakwa* (drunkard); *isiphukuphuku* (fool)
- Specialists: *isisebenzi* (employee) cf. *umsebenzi* (workman); *isibumbi* (expert potter) cf. *umbumbi* (potter); *isihambi* (traveller) cf. *umhambi* (traveller)
- Parts of body: *isandla* (hand); *isithupha* (thumb)

- Manufactured objects: *isibhamu* (gun); *isitsha* (dish)
- Actions derived from verbs: *isono* (sin) < *ukona* (to do wrong); *isenzo* (action) < *ukwenza* (to do)

Class 8a: Plural of those nouns in Class 7 which have a plural

Class 9: Singular

- Animals: *inyoni* (bird); *inja* (dog); *inyathi* (buffalo)
- Personal nouns: *inkosi* (chief); *indoda* (man); *intombi* (girl)
- Miscellaneous: *into* (thing); *ingubo* (blanket); *incwadi* (letter, book)

Class 10: Plural to nouns in Class 9 and Class 11, except those which have plural in Class 6, or which have no plural.

Class 11: Singular

- Long, thin objects: *uthi* (long stick); *usungulo* (long needle)
- Miscellaneous: *usuku* (day); *ulwandle* (sea); *ubisi* (milk); *ufudu* (tortoise)

Class 14: Neutral

- Abstract nouns from stems of nouns and adjectives: *ubuntu* (humanity); *ubuhle* (beauty)
- Miscellaneous: *ubuso* (face); *ubusuku* (night); *ubuthongo* (sleep)

Class 15: Verbal nouns and present infinitive of verbs

Class 16: *Pha-/phe-* Locative nouns: *phandle* (outside); *phansi* (down, under); *phezulu* (up, above); *phesheya* (across, on the other side)

Class 17: *Ku-* Locative nouns: *kude* (far); *kudala* (long ago); *kufuphi* (near); *kufushane* (shortly)

In some languages this system is more extensive. Ganda, a language spoken in Uganda, has the largest number of classes, viz. 23. In some languages, the semantic significance of the noun prefixes is also more extensive than in Zulu, and using a noun stem with a different prefix may carry additional implicatures to those associated with the stem with its most common prefix. For example, in Haya, spoken in Tanzania, the Class 8 prefix */eki-* has connotations of "gross" and "stupid". A young child tried out the word *ekijungu* rather than *omujungu* (European) in Seitel's presence, and was disciplined by an older sibling for his experiment (Seitel, 1973:77-78). Even although the Zulu noun class system is not as well developed as in other Bantu languages, the categories it delineates are nevertheless used in the development of new vocabulary with particular implicatures.

4.4 GRAMMATICALIZATION THROUGH METAPHORICAL EXTENSION IN ZULU

In a master's thesis in 1991, Mkhathshwa developed a theoretical framework in terms of which the significance of tense and aspect auxiliaries in Zulu were interpreted. The framework involved the notion of the basic conceptual metaphor Time is Space where the abstract notion "time" is construed in terms of a time line with a specific reference point relative to which an action is temporarily organized (e.g. tense) and a time line with an internal structure with reference to boundedness and dimension (e.g. aspect).

He states (1991:149):

"Making use of the various topological schemas, we tried to show that metaphors play an important role in the development of Zulu auxiliaries from their verb counterparts. The various topological representations are an attempt to explicate our mental view of the way in which the metaphor is invoked in the various tense and aspect significances.

"We have also explained why only certain verbs can function as auxiliaries. The semantic 'position' of the selected verbs in certain semantic domains (motivated by the relevant metaphor) determines their selection. Thus, only those motion verbs which are neutral/generic as regards certain semantic properties can function as auxiliaries."

The fact that a Zulu-speaking linguist found it possible not only to invoke "the metaphor Time is Space as an underlying motivating factor for the selection of verbs, especially motion verbs as auxiliaries in Zulu" (1991:152), but could conclude: "the most salient points of this investigation are that Zulu auxiliaries are a derivative category and this derivation is not arbitrary but is determined by underlying factors such as metaphors. Hence metaphorical extensions form the basis for grammaticalization of Zulu auxiliary verbs" (1991:153), is a good indication that basic conceptual metaphors "partially structure our everyday concepts and that this structure is reflected in our literal language," in Zulu, just as Lakoff and Johnson found to be the case in English (1980:46).

4.5 METAPHORICAL EXTENSION IN ZULU IDIOM AND POLYSEME

Dagut (1978:98f.) discusses how a metaphor may be taken up and used by an increasing number of speakers until it eventually finds its place in a dictionary — the surest sign of a metaphor's "institutionalization".

When what he calls a "simplex" metaphor passes from its original peculiarity of performance into a regularity of competence, it results in a polyseme, whereas where what he calls a "complex" metaphor undergoes the process, it results in an idiom. In their survey of Zulu culture and customs, *Inqolobane Yesizwe* (The Storehouse of the Nation), Nyembezi and Nxumalo give a wide range of examples of this phenomenon in Zulu under the heading *Izisho* (Sayings) (1966:192-244).

4.6 ZULU NAME GIVING

It is common practice in Zulu to give people nicknames which are often metaphorically based and refer to some physical characteristic or character trait in the individual. For example *Mantindane* (Witch's familiar) used of one always hurrying about, sticking his nose into this, that and the other; *Busobendlazi* (face of a mouse-bird) given to a round-faced man who used to be thin and was then called *Busobendlala* (face of famine) (Koopman, 1976:22). Many of the praise names found in poetry have a similar metaphorical derivation.

4.7 ZULU RIDDLES

Khumalo (1974:193) has shown how the Zulu riddle is based on metaphor. He explains how the person who composes the riddle starts with the answer and then constructs the question by thinking of something which resembles it metaphorically.

Although it has been stated that riddling is not nearly as common as it was in the past, Vilakazi (1946:264) said:

"In the same way as an elder is judged to be a clever man by his command of proverbs in oratory, so are the young people considered clever by their command and invention of riddles with which they test their company. Some of these riddles are stereotyped, but as they allow of initiative in metaphorical usages, the children, by giving play to their imagination and comparison of objects, can frame their own riddles in the first part of the problem, the solution always remaining the same. This may be the first step in story invention."

Lakoff and Turner say that as children, we automatically, as a matter of course, acquire a mastery of everyday metaphor (1989:xi). As a recreational pastime, or whatever else it may be, riddling is one of the ways in which children are helped to gain competence in thinking metaphorically. There are collections of riddles, often a number of questions invoke the same answer, and many of the riddles have been part of the folklore for a long time. However, there is nothing to stop children or adults from adding a new riddle to their repertoire.

Many riddles give credence to the theory that in metaphor, as one item is called by the name of another, so also the reason for this is to highlight one particular resemblance between the tenor and the vehicle. In other words, one asks the question: "In what one way does the article in the answer resemble that in the question?" Hadebe (1978:9) states, however, that there is often an argument between the one who questions and the one who answers as to what the correct answer is, and why. Khumalo (1974:193) says that there is normally one correct answer to a riddle and once formed it is passed on from group to group and generation to generation and all who know the riddle know the answer. However, the fact that people sometimes argue about the correct interpretation of the riddle, implies that there could be more than one interpretation to a particular riddle. This supports the theory that metaphor does not depend on the source domain and the target domain having only one resemblance between them. There may be more than one resemblance, and metaphor therefore stimulates the mind to think of others. For example, Hadebe (1979:137) records the following riddle:

Q. Ngomshayeli ongaboshelwa ijubane. (By a driver who is not arrested for speeding.)
A. Isikuludilayiva. (It is a screwdriver.)

Hadebe gives an explanation of this in a footnote: *"This refers to modern screwdrivers powered by electricity."* In other words, Hadebe, sees "speed" as the all important resemblance between the two domains. He therefore feels the need to explain the riddle, as he does not see the ordinary manual screwdriver as having anything to do with speed. Looking for a resemblance based on speed, leads him to think of an electric screwdriver. He reasons that a car driver who speeds is likely to be given a ticket, but even although the [electric] screwdriver is speeding, it cannot be given a ticket.

This riddle may, or may not have been newly composed in Zulu. Whether it was, or whether it was translated from the similar English riddle, speed may have been the point of resemblance which was uppermost in the mind of the person who first asked this riddle in Zulu. However, the main point of resemblance perceived, could equally well have been the pun on the word "driver", which is disguised in the Zulu version by the word *"umshayeli"* in the question as stated in Hadebe's version. This was definitely the main point in the riddle when I first heard it in English as a child, for that was long before I

had ever heard of an electric screwdriver. So, although speed may have been a factor, it was definitely secondary at the time. The English riddle is as follows:

Q. What driver will never be caught for speeding?

A. A screwdriver.

Interestingly enough, Nkabinde (1968:84) says: "*The use of loan-words in the spoken language is sometimes superseded by Zulu words in writing,*" and he gives as an example the fact that *udilayiva* (a driver) in spoken language, becomes *umshayeli* (a driver) in written language. This would suggest that the word *udilayiva* is becoming more common in colloquial Zulu than the word *umshayeli*. This could mean that it may sometimes be used in the question part of this riddle. It may be that the word *udilayiva* is used when a riddler wishes to make the riddle easier, and *umshayeli* is used when a riddler wishes to make the riddle more obscure.

Khumalo points out that Zulu riddles may be obscure to some people because of their ignorance of the Zulu way of life. This indicates the importance of the socio-cultural context in the process of communication. Unless the hearer knows the socio-cultural context in which an utterance such as a metaphor or a riddle is made, there is no way in which he will be able to understand it.

In order to understand Zulu riddles, it is also necessary to understand how metaphor is used in Zulu. Khumalo (1974:194) says that this means that "*one must understand how Zulus disguise movement, shape, sound, colour, size and the words themselves which form the answers to certain riddles. One has to know something about Zulu culture and be able to spot puns where they occur. In several cases a knowledge of their [Zulu] proverbs and sayings is necessary.*" He gives examples of verbs commonly used in Zulu and shows how the basic action described by the verb is carried over metaphorically to convey an extended meaning in riddles formed of metaphors based on movement. Sometimes movement is represented metaphorically by whole phrases or sentences, and sometimes by ideophones.

The main point of resemblance between the object in the question and the object in the answer may also be in the shape of the two.

In common with many other languages, as recorded by Berlin and Kay in their book *Basic Color Terms* (1969), Zulu does not have many words to describe colours. So, for example, under the stem *-mhlophe* (white) the Zulus include cream-coloured, silver, light-greyish and even colourless. Similarly, the stem *-bomvu* (red) covers a range from light brown to dark red, and even to describe someone who is light-skinned (Khumalo in personal communication). Therefore, when these colours are used in a riddle or a metaphor, the basic colour term may refer to an object anywhere within a large range of colour variants, which could be confusing to a non-Zulu speaker for whom the equivalent colour term in his language is perceived to have a much smaller semantic domain. Sometimes the resemblance between the source domain and the target domain is that they have the same colour and yet the colour is not mentioned. An example of this is the riddle:

Q. Indlu yomfundisi engavulwayo. (A minister's house which is not opened.)

A. Iqanda. (An egg.)

In contrast to the huts of the Zulus, the walls of the houses of the early missionaries in Zululand were whitewashed, so "minister's house" indicates a white house.

Sound may also be used metaphorically, as with the sound of breaking wind and the crack of a gunshot.

Q. *Umama uyasuza; ingane iyabaleka.* (Mother farts; the child flees.)

A. *Isibhamu nenhlamvu.* (A gun and a bullet.)

Size, too may be used metaphorically, with the complementary conceptual metaphors **Big is Important** and **Small is Insignificant** being invoked so that the nouns *inkunzi* (bull), *inkosi* (chief) refer to something big or somebody important; *intaba* (mountain) refers to something big, tall or high. In a letter received by this researcher from a prisoner who had been doing a Bible Correspondence course in prison, he wrote: *Ngalesi sikhathi bengifisa ukuba inkunzi yomfundisi.* (By this time I had hoped to be a bull of a minister, i.e. an outstanding minister, a minister of renown.)

Although it is not always the case, the riddler often assists the riddlee to bridge the metaphorical gap between the question and the answer, by the word used metaphorically to describe the subject of the answer. *Nginento yami* (I have my thing); *Nginomuntu wami* (I have my person); *Nginomfazi wami* (I have my woman); *Nginehashi lami* (I have my horse); *Nginenkomo yami* (I have my beast); *Ngezinyoni zami* (By my birds); *Ngedlelo lami* (By my pasture); *Ngebhola lami* (By my ball); *Ngensizwa yami* (By my young man) (Hadebe, 1978:47ff.).

If the subject of the answer is an inanimate object, the subject of the question could be *into* (thing) or some other inanimate thing, or possibly *umuntu* (person) which seems the most common subject used, whether the answer is animate or inanimate. For example, the riddles: Q. *Ngendishi yami egubuzekile.* A. *Isibhakabhaka.* (With my upside down dish. It is the sky.), and: Q. *Umntu wami odla ehlanza.* A. *Ibhasi.* (My person who eats while vomiting. A bus.)

If the subject of the answer occurs in large numbers, the subject of the question could very likely be *inkomo*: *izinkomo* (beast; cattle), giving the idea of a herd, or large group. For example: Q. *Izinkomo ezimhlophe eziluswa yinkunzi ebomvu.* A. *Amazinyo nolimi.* (White cows looked after by a red bull. Teeth and tongue.)

If the subject of the answer is something which is extremely active or has an up and down movement, the subject of the question could very likely be *ihhashi* (horse). For example: Q. *Ihhashi lami eligijima maqede liphelelwe ngumsila.* A. *Yinalithi.* (My horse which loses its tail after running. It is a needle.)

If the subject of the answer is connected with a female, the subject of the question is also likely to be female such as *intombi*; *umfazi*; *umama*; *isalukazi* (girl; woman; mother; old lady). For example: Q. *Umama odla qede alale phezu kwengane yakhe.* A. *Itshe lokugaya nembokodwe.* (A mother who eats and then sleeps on her child. A nether grinding stone and upper grinding stone.) Grinding is done by women and when not in use the nether grinding stone is placed over the upper grinding stone. Another example which suggests that what the riddler is seeking has something to do with a woman — in fact something which is used by a white woman is: *Umcondo kamesisi.* (A white women's thin leg). The answer is: *Yinalithi* (It is a needle).

Examining collections of riddles, it is clear that there are many riddles which have the same answer. This is a further indication of the freedom which metaphor gives to use one's cognitive powers. A needle, for example, is described variously as a white woman's leg, and also as a horse, and a person whose intestines trail behind him.

4.8 PROVERBS

Seitel (1972:14) states:

"A proverb is a metaphorical representation, or description, of the situation about which it is spoken. By applying the logic of metaphor, proverb users understand the meaning of a proverb and judge its appropriateness to the situation as described. Metaphor is a central feature of the phenomenon of proverb use."

As he sees it, the proverb is the vehicle of the metaphor which foregrounds certain features of the context situation, the tenor of the metaphor; it selects the features and organizes them into a culturally recognizable configuration. Thus, when a speaker uses a proverb, he, in effect, selects and organizes certain features on the context situation — those features that he wishes to emphasize to suit his own intention. This process he refers to as "foregrounding" and claims that foregrounding, the selection and organization of features, and naming are in this sense the same process. This is most evident in the statement that a proverb names a situation.

This seems to correspond with conceptual metaphor theory, as the context situation is understood and experienced in terms of the proverb, so categorizing the situation in terms of the cultural framework or world view of the group. The overall basic conceptual metaphor might then be stated as *The Context Situation is a Proverb*, as a certain situation is understood as a proverb, which categorizes and names that situation within the world view of the group. Nkabinde has shown that new proverbs are still being coined in Zulu (1968:76-83).

Individual proverbs then invoke other conceptual metaphors, for example the contrasting proverbs: *Ikhoth' eyikhothayo* (It licks the one that licks it) and: *Ikhab' eyikhabayo* (It kicks the one that kicks it), both invoke the metaphor *People are Animals*, whereas: *Kufa khaba kufa mqumbi* (There dies the crops and the buds) invokes the metaphor *People are Plants* and: *Ulel' umlalela wafuthi* (He is sleeping a long sleep) invokes the conceptual metaphor *Death is Sleep* which occurs also in that exact form in the proverb: *Ukuf' ubuthongo* (Death is sleep).

Nyembezi (1954:47-50) classifies the content of Zulu proverbs as follows:

- *Ubuntu* (Humaneness, good moral nature, good disposition)
 - *Ukuphatha kahle abanye* (Hospitality)
 - *Ukuziphatha okubi* (Bad manners)
 - *Ukuziqhenya* (Pride)
 - *Ukungabi nambongo* (Ingatitude)
 - *Inkani* (Obstinacy)
 - *Ukungabi nabuntu* (Lack of humaneness and good moral character)
 - *Ezinye* (Miscellaneous)
- *Ukwethembeka nokungethembeki* (Honesty and Dishonesty)
 - *Inkohliso* (Deception)
 - *Ubuqili* (Cunning)
 - *Ukungethembeli* (Unfaithfulness)
- *Ubuhlobo nobutha* (Friendship and Enmity)
 - *Izisongo* (Threats)
 - *Ukuphindisela* (Revenge)

- *Ulunya* (Callousness)
- *Imibango* (Feuds)
- *Ubuhlobo* (Friendship)
- *Ubutha* (Enmity)
- *Ezinye* (Miscellaneous)
- *Impumelelo, inhlanhla, namashwa* (Good fortune and misfortune)
 - *Inhlanhla* (Good fortune)
 - *Amashwa* (Misfortune)
 - *Izinhlopheko* (Troubles)
 - *Ukwenza okungenambuyiselo* (Fruitless labour)
 - *Ukwehluleka* (Failure)
 - *Ukulahlekelwa yithemba* (Despair)
 - *Intandabuzo* (Uncertainty)
 - *Izikhuthazo* (Encouragement)
- *Ubuqhawe nobugwala* (Bravery and Cowardice)
- *Emakhaya* (Domestic Affairs)
 - *Umendo* (Marriage)
 - *Ufuzo* (Heredity)
 - *Ukumiswa kwemizi* (Running of homes)
 - *Umndeni* (Relatives)
 - *Abazali nabantwana* (Parents and Children)
 - *Amadlozi* (Spirits)
 - *Izingxoxo* (Conversation)
 - *Ukweboleka* (Borrowing)
 - *Ezinye* (Miscellaneous)
- *Ukwedlula kwemihla* (Passage of Time)
 - *Ukuguga* (Old Age)
 - *Ukufa* (Death)
- *Inhlakanipho nobuwula* (Wisdom and Foolishness)
- *Izixwayiso* (Caution)
 - *Ukukhuliswa kwabantwana* (Upbringing of children)
 - *Ingozi* (Danger)
 - *Zenzele* (Do things for yourself)
 - *Funa izeluleko* (Seek advice)
 - *Izinto ezincane zingalimaza* (Small things may be harmful)
 - *Ukwenza izinto ngesikhathi* (Doing things in time)
 - *Ukuzwelana* (Sympathy for others)
 - *Ukubonga* (Gratitude)
 - *Ukukhulumela futhi* (Talking too much)
 - *Ubuvila nokukhuthala* (Laziness and Industry)
 - *Ezinye* (Miscellaneous)
- *Ezinye* (Miscellaneous)

This classification gives a useful overview of the Zulu world view and of the qualities, characteristics and actions which are valued, admired, and praiseworthy, and also those which are despised, condemned and feared.

4.9 POETRY

Metaphor is very common in poetry and Lakoff and Turner point out that "because metaphor is a primary tool for understanding our world and our selves, entering into an engagement with powerful poetic metaphors is grappling in an important way with what it means to have a human life" (1989:xii).

4.9.1 Praise-poetry

In discussing poetry in pre-Shakan times, Kunene (1962:60-1) says:

"The poetry of this time is mainly about physical characteristics. It is an interesting fact that blackness in Pre-Shakan times or before the white man came did not have the same psychological repulsion it has amongst some sections today. Darkness, though it was the host of prowling wolves and the sneaking sorcerers, had not the religious sanction of being associated with the devil. The king was referred to as the 'Black one'.

"There are numerous references made to the praiseworthy blackness of the king's appearance. It must be noted that this blackness was not a spiritual quality but a physical one.

"Dingiswayo is referred to as: Umdaxube ongadima zamidaka. This refers to his physical appearance. He is so dark that his darkness is comparable to the expanse of the fields of mud. He might not, of course, have been so dark, but his poet knowing that blackness was (a) desirable quality, made this hyperbolic comment.

"Phakathwayo is also referred to as: Unofukuthwayo omnyama. Khondlo is referred to as: Nodungandaba omnyama, and Dibandlela referred to as: Mzizima ongukuhlwa.

"It is related that when the King wanted a chief wife he usually chose the darkest-skinned girl in the country. A person who was too light was said to be undignified; hence the poets (sic) emphasis on the King's blackness."

In this passage, Kunene gives evidence of a common misunderstanding with regard to metaphor, viz. that metaphor is a poetic symbol which has only one reference or meaning. The meaning he gives could be expressed as a basic conceptual metaphor Beautiful is Black. It is completely reasonable and easy to understand how this could be a conceptual metaphor among dark-skinned people. However, this does not rule out the possibility of there being another conceptual metaphor which could be expressed as Bad is Darkness, or Bad is Night, and hence Bad is Black, among the Zulu in pre-Shakan times, particularly in the light of the possible terrors hidden by the dark, which Kunene acknowledges. The existence of this basic conceptual metaphor in Zulu would have made it relatively simple, when Christianity was introduced to the Zulu, for this metaphor to be extended to cover the Christian understanding of sin and the devil, as expressed in the languages of those by whom they were evangelised, such as English. The extensions of the metaphor could be expressed as Sin is Black and The Devil is Black. It does not mean that because there is a metaphor Beautiful is Black and another metaphor The Devil is Black, or Sin is Black, that there is any necessary correlation between them.

They simultaneously remain part of one's conceptual system exactly as contradictory proverbs do, e.g. "Absence makes the heart grow fonder", and "Out of sight, out of mind".

A very common conceptual metaphor in Zulu is **People are Animals**. Kunene (1962:111) also shows how the use of this metaphor changed over the years in traditional poetry:

"In Zulu poetry some poetical symbols are derived from animals.

"There is a difference in the handling of animal symbols between the pre-Shakan poets and the Shakan. The pre-Shakan poets used animal symbols with reservation. The praised is identified with the harmless animals like the ancestral snake, the buck, the swallow, the cow and seldom the elephant. Shakan poets on the other hand frequently used symbols of animals that have strength, power and the ferocity identical to the aggressive spirit of the age. The praised were often identified with lions, elephants, leopards, wolves, mambas and hyaenas."

Later, he says:

"It is significant that in Post-Shakan poetry identification is made with both gentle and ferocious animals. There is greater preference for symbols of gentle animals than in the Shakan era" (1962:150-1).

As the Zulu were a pastoral people, who lived surrounded by wild animals, it is not surprising that their praise-poets should invoke conceptual metaphors from nature, from celestial bodies, the weather, natural phenomena and the animal and plant kingdom. It is equally understandable that they would invoke metaphors involving the more ferocious animals when praising Shaka, their most famous and warlike king.

4.9.2 Modern Poetry

Modern poets have imitated both the traditional praise-poets and modern European poets in their compositions, as Ntuli has shown (1973). Ntuli mentions, for example, how Vilakazi makes use of *izibongo* imagery in a different context, and also introduces characters from folklore (1984:24-33). He also states that the range of the Zulu's expression was widened by his coming into contact with Western poetry, for, as he shows in a quotation from Bang (1951:523):

"The innermost feelings of sorrow, joy, love, hate and ecstasy do not find expression in the isibongo (sic) nor are social conditions criticised or praised. Scenic nature is never eulogised."

Modern anthologies of Zulu poetry contain poems covering a wide range of subjects, including the innermost feelings, scenic nature, institutions, modern inventions, and especially social conditions in the ever-increasing store of protest poetry. Modern poetry employs many metaphors drawn from praise-poetry. It is also true, however, that modern poetry contains subjects which reflect new experiences which have come from education, the move from a rural to an urban environment, employment, contact with people of other languages and cultures, the advances of modern technology, and exposure via the media and travel to the rest of the world. So, while basic conceptual metaphors consistent with the traditional Zulu world view continue to be invoked, sometimes also to describe new experiences, it is also

true that influenced by the experiences of the past two centuries, the Zulu conceptual store has expanded along with that of every other developing society. It is not only the Zulu lexicon which has expanded with the addition of words acquired from other languages, old words acquiring new meanings, or new words being coined, to describe new experiences, new articles, new inventions, new technology and the like. The way in which the Zulu conceive and conceptualize has also expanded and so also their store of conceptual metaphors. For example, Vilakazi invokes the conceptual metaphor *Machines are People* when in his poem *Woza Nonjinjikazi* he tells the train: *Woza wena Nonjinjikazi!* (Come, you Nonjinjikazi!). It is obvious that the Zulu could not have had this conceptual metaphor prior to their becoming acquainted with machines for the first time, although it could be argued that the formation of this metaphor was possible because it is an extension of the basic conceptual metaphor *Inanimate objects are People*, personification apparently being a universal concept.

While it can be stated with certainty that *Machines are People* is a relatively recent addition to Zulu conceptual metaphor, it is not that easy to discover whether other conceptual metaphors invoked in modern Zulu poetry, other literature and everyday conversation, are recent and possibly acquired through contact with other languages such as Afrikaans and English, or not. For example, what conceptual metaphors existed in Zulu regarding sorrow, joy, love, hate, ecstasy, emotions which Bang (1951:523) claims did not find expression in the compositions of the praise poets? It would not be an easy task, and it is beyond the scope of this study, to try to determine, from early records of Zulu folklore, poetry, songs, proverbs and riddles and other literature exactly what conceptual metaphors there were and to compare them with the conceptual metaphors in those domains in modern Zulu literature and speech. However, it is quite possible that even in the domain of these emotions which are common to man, some conceptual metaphors have been acquired from contact with the literature of other languages. Languages are in a state of constant change, and if new conceptual metaphors are acquired for new concepts, it is also possible that new conceptual metaphors can be acquired for old concepts, so that something may be understood and experienced as something else, not only as it may have been done by the people of that group in the past, but also as it is by people of another group with whom they have recently come into contact. It is dangerous to try to impose limits to what a person's mind can conceive, simply because of the apparent normal restraints of that person's language and culture. A person is constantly receiving and processing new information through the medium of his own language within the framework of his own culture and world view. This, however, does not preclude him from obtaining and understanding new information from another culture and world view and of adding it to his conceptual system. This is a point which it would do well for all translators to remember. Too often members of a language group are looked upon as if they all have exactly the same level of linguistic competence in their mother tongue, and as if they are totally incapable of expanding their conceptual ability. It must be remembered that there are specialists in every society, and specialists usually have their own jargon which includes not only lexical items, but also metaphor. Specialist jargon is often incomprehensible to the non specialist, but it can be learnt, so that one's conceptual domain may be adapted and enlarged until one has a complete grasp of the jargon. Seeing that one can expand one's conceptual horizons within one's own language and culture, there is nothing to stop one from expanding one's conceptual horizons through contact with another language and culture. If this takes place over a large section of the community, for example by large-scale contact of members of one society with members of another society, then it could lead to the alteration of the conceptual domain of a community, for example by the addition of a conceptual metaphor acquired from the other language group.

It must be remembered, however, that in order for a conceptual metaphor in one language to be acquired by another, there must be some mechanism which reconstructs the proper relevant context. Dr E R Hope pointed out to this researcher that, in Thai, to say of someone: "She is a golden orchid," means that she is a prostitute. It would not convey this to most English speakers nor to most Zulu speakers. The point is, however, that it does convey that meaning to certain speakers of English and other languages, such as missionaries and the ladies' clients, who have been in contact with the Thai language and that section of Thai society. Therefore, when they say: "She is a golden orchid", the other English speakers of their group will understand what her profession is. It is probable that the metaphor in English will remain idiolectal among this select group of Englishmen. However, it is also possible that if someone wrote a novel, or produced a television series entitled "The Golden Orchid" about such a person, it would provide the necessary relevant context for the metaphor to be accepted into popular use in English, without much difficulty. The metaphor could possibly then be of short duration, for as long as the television series or book was popular, or it could become a standard English expression, even after its origin may have been long forgotten.

4.10 MODERN NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

As with the modern poets, Zulu writers of novels and short stories, such as B W Vilakazi, C L S Nyembezi, D B Z Ntuli and C T Msimang, have all used metaphor effectively in their writings.

4.11 CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN ZULU

4.11.1 Introduction

"Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act," say Lakoff and Johnson, "is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980:3).

Lakoff and Turner (1989:xi) claim:

"Metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically, with so little effort that we hardly notice it. It is omnipresent: metaphor suffuses our thoughts, no matter what we are thinking about. It is accessible to everyone: as children, we automatically, as a matter of course, acquire a mastery of everyday metaphor. It is conventional: metaphor is an integral part of our ordinary everyday thought and language. And it is irreplaceable: metaphor allows us to understand our selves and our world in ways that no other modes of thought can."

They go on to say that great poets can speak to us because they use the modes of thought we all possess. What the poets do is to use extensions of the same general and ordinary metaphorical conceptions which we all use (1989:2).

Basic conceptual metaphors consist in our experiencing or understanding one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:5). In many cases the basic metaphor entails a number of other metaphors, so that there is often a systematic hierarchy of metaphors ranging from the basic general metaphor to the specific metaphor, many of which form part of the normal language use of the competent speaker of the language. New, novel, and poetic metaphors occur as competent speakers of the

language extend conventional metaphors, perhaps by highlighting a facet of a metaphor which is not usually exploited, or by using cross-metaphorical correspondences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:97ff.).

4.12 BASIC METAPHORS

Lakoff (1987:273) points out that one of Mark Johnson's basic insights, developed in *The Body in the Mind* (1987) is that experience is structured in a significant way prior to, and independent of any concepts. Existing concepts may impose further structuring on what we experience, but basic experiential structures are present regardless of any such imposition of concepts.

Johnson makes a case for the embodiment of what he calls kinaesthetic image schemas.

There is, for example, the Container schema — a schema consisting of a *boundary* distinguishing an *interior* from an *exterior*. This defines the most basic distinction between In and Out. We understand our own bodies as containers which are situated within other containers. So, for example, there is a conceptual metaphor States are Locations, the location being understood as a container. One may therefore say: *Ngisothandweni* (I am in love); *Wangingenisa enhluphekweni* (He made me go into trouble), *Wangikhipha esonweni, wangifaka ekuphileni* (He took me out of sin and he placed me into life). It is difficult to discover whether some of these are original Zulu ways of expressing these concepts, or whether they arose only after contact with Western language and culture. The fact that Prof. D B Z Ntuli queried the example, *Ngisothandweni* (I am in love), when reading a draft of this chapter, while Magwaza (1993:6) gives, *ukuba sothandweni* (to be in love), as an example of what is said in Zulu, suggests that, under the influence of English, expressions such as these are being accepted by the younger speakers of Zulu, while still being resisted as foreign by their elders. What is certain is that the existence of the Container schema in Zulu makes new metaphors which fit the schema possible, such as, for example, the Christian concept of Christ taking someone out of the state of sin and placing him into a new state, that of eternal life, as expressed in a popular Zulu chorus sung in churches.

There is the Part-Whole schema. We experience our bodies as wholes with parts that we can manipulate. Our basic-level perception can distinguish the fundamental Part-Whole structure that we need to function in our physical environment. Families are sometimes understood as wholes with parts. For example, in *Mntanami*, *Mntanami* (Nyembezi, 1957:118), Dlamini says of his son, Jabulani: *Noma enjalo ungumntanami, uyigazi lami uyinyama yami*. (Although he is like that he is my child, he is my blood, he is my flesh.)

This image schema is also the basis for metonymy, where a part is used to denote the whole. For example, Msimang addresses Chief Buthelezi saying: *Mlomo owodwa sukum' ukhulume* (Lone mouth stand up and speak) (1980:35), the only voice striving for black freedom in the face of growing opposition (Radebe, 1991:31).

The Link schema. Our first link is the umbilical cord. From infancy we hold on to things and parents to secure our location or theirs. Social and interpersonal relationships are often understood in terms of links.

The Centre-Periphery Schema. We experience our bodies as having a centre — the torso and internal organs and peripheries — fingers, toes, hair etc. Centres are more important in two ways: Injuries to the centre are more serious than to the periphery; the centre defines the identity of the individual in a way which the peripheries do not, e.g. if you cut your hair you remain the same person you were before you cut your hair.

The Source-Path-Goal (Destination) Schema. Every time we move anywhere there is a place we start from, a place we end at, and a sequence of contiguous locations connection the starting and ending points, as well as a direction. Purposes, for example, are understood in terms of destinations, and achieving a purpose is understood as passing along a path from a starting point to an end point. One of the metaphors which follows this schema is *Life is a Journey*, which has an entailment *Education is a Journey*. In Msimang's poem on the centenary of the University of South Africa (1980:2), for example, he sees the university as a steep and difficult road along which one may travel to reach one's destination in academic achievement — a road which proves too arduous for the weak and lazy.

Other image schemas include *Up-Down*; *Front-Back*; and *Linear order* schemas. A good example of the *Linear order* schema is seen in the way in which the conceptual metaphor *Time is Space* is invoked in the selection of verbs, especially motion verbs in the derivation of auxiliaries in Zulu, as demonstrated by Mkhatswa (1991).

Johnson is led to conclude that:

- Image schemas structure our experience preconceptually.
- Corresponding image-schematic concepts exist.
- There are metaphors mapping image schemas into abstract domains, preserving their basic logic.
- The metaphors are not arbitrary, but are themselves motivated by structures inhering in everyday bodily experience.

4.13 EXPERIENTIAL BASES OF METAPHOR

Lakoff (1987:276) argues that each metaphor has a source domain, a target domain, and a source-to-target mapping. To show that the metaphor is *natural* in that it is *motivated by the structure of our experience*, we need to answer three questions:

- What determines the choice of a possible well-structured source domain?
- What determines the pairing of the source domain with the target domain?
- What determines the details of the source-to-target mapping?

The answer to the first question is based on the fact that, to function as a source domain for a metaphor, a domain must be understood independently of the metaphor.

The answers to the other two questions come from the existence of a structural correlation in our daily experience that motivates the details of the metaphorical mapping, e.g. in the corresponding image-schematic concepts *More is Up*; *Less is Down*, the physical correlation is overwhelming. This image-schema may be extended as the conceptual metaphors *More is Big*; *Less is Small*, and *Honour is Up*; *Dishonour is Down*, for example.

Accepting that our experience is structured in a significant way by kinaesthetic image schemas, prior to, and independent of, any concepts, would tend to suggest that the pre-conceptual experience of everyone throughout the world is structured in a similar way.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:56) claim that most of our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured; that is, that most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts. Our conceptual system is based on our direct physical experience of the world around us. This direct physical experience, they say:

"is never merely a matter of having a body of a certain sort; rather every experience takes place within a vast background of cultural presuppositions. It can be misleading, therefore, to speak of direct physical experience as though there were some core of immediate experience which we then 'interpret' in terms of our conceptual system. Cultural assumptions, values, and attitudes are not a conceptual overlay which we may or may not place upon experience as we choose. It would be more correct to say that all experience is cultural through and through, that we experience our 'world' in such a way that our culture is already present in the experience itself."

Having said that, they concede that there is still an important distinction between experiences that are "more" physical, such as standing up, and those which are "more" cultural, such as attending a wedding ceremony (1980:57).

4.14 APPLYING THE THEORY TO ZULU

Lakoff and Johnson's (1980:56) claim that culture is not a conceptual overlay to experience, but rather that all experience is cultural through and through, so that our culture is already present in the experience itself, is an important insight. The Zulu undergoes experiences within the context of Zulu culture and hence within the context of Zulu cultural presuppositions, or Zulu folk theory. It follows that when a Zulu and a person from another cultural group undergo a seemingly similar experience in the physical realm, it will not necessarily be similar in their respective conceptual realm. Even when an experience is apparently similar on a basic conceptual level, people of different cultures may still interpret it differently.

An examination of metaphor, as it is found in everyday speech and in the various literary genres in Zulu, indicates that it can be analysed successfully according to Conceptual Theory. Attempting to discover all the possible source — target mappings for metaphor in any language would be a lifetime task, and this is also true of Zulu, as Nyembezi is reported once having been told by an uneducated old Zulu gentleman: *IsiZulu siningi, mntanami* (The Zulu language is extremely wide, my child) (Ngcongwane, 1981:285). The following are some of the image schemas and conceptual metaphors most commonly found in the Zulu literature examined.

4.14.1 The Image Schema Up and Down, Big and Small

This image schema is drawn from experience, where increasing the amount of a substance means that its height increases, i.e. it goes up, and decreasing the amount means that the height decreases, i.e. it goes down. Adults are bigger than children, and they have more strength, more knowledge, more experience and are more important within society. When one is well and strong, one is up and about, but when one is tired and ill, one sits or lies down. These experiences have led to such conceptual metaphors as *More is Up*, *Less is Down*; *Health is Up*, *Ill-health is Down*, with entailments such as *More Important is Up/Big*, *Less Important is Down/Small*.

The conceptual metaphor *More is Up* is seen in such expressions as the following: *Kwathi uma kuhlolwa, washo phezulu umfo kaQwabe* (Qwabe's son came first in the examinations.) *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa* (1953:31) (Ngcongwane, 1981:208). So, it can be said of a person, *wakhulumela phezulu* (He spoke loudly), or of a patient who is finding it difficult to breathe, *waphfumulela phezulu* (He breathed rapidly). Vilakazi (1970:6) wrote a poem entitled *Imfundo ephakeme* (Higher education), which could lead one to *isikhundla esiphakeme* (a high position) and being able *ukugqoka izingubo zamanani aphezulu* (to wear

expensive (highly priced) clothes). The former example is an entailment both of the metaphor **More is Up**, for the clothes cost more money than others, and of the metaphor **Better is Up**, because higher price normally implies better quality. So, those who live the high life, *abaphila impilo ephakeme*, or *abaphila impilo ephhezulu*, are often envied. Evidence for the conceptual metaphor **Health is Up** surfaces each time one responds to the greeting: *Ninjani?* (How are you?) with the reply: *Ngivukile*. (I have arisen, i.e. I am well.)

As **Better is Up**, so also, **Important is Up**. An employee who is promoted, *wenyukela esikhundleni esiphakeme* (ascends to a higher position) showing also that **Change of State is Change of Location**. Members of the Zulu Royal family are hailed as *Wena wangasenhla* (You of the elevated place). Whereas it is bad to elevate oneself, *ukuziphakamisa* and evidence pride, it is nevertheless considered by the Zulu that *kungcono ukuba ngaphezulu kunokuba ngaphansi komunye umuntu* (it is better to be above rather than below another person).

A related conceptual metaphor is **Important is Big**, and one may be important because *uyisikhulu* (he is a person of rank), or maybe because *unamabhizinisi amakhulu* (he has large businesses).

In addition to supplying some of the examples above, Magwaza (1993a), in an unpublished paper, gave examples of the contrastive conceptual metaphors **Less is Down**, and hence **Less Important is Down**, and **Worse is Down**, and pointed out that misfortune, to the Zulu is *ukwehlela phansi* (going downwards) or *ukuwa* (falling). No Zulu likes to be looked down on, *ukubukelwa phansi*, for example for having been born of people of low class *ukuzalwa abantu abaphansi*, to be taken for granted, *ukuthathelwa phansi*, or to get low marks, *ukuthola imiphumela ephansi*. When a team loses, *bawile* (they have fallen), and *ibhizinisi lakhe liwile* (his business has fallen) implies that his business has closed down. If one becomes disappointed, one may say *umoya wami washona phansi* (my spirit sank), and if one feels depressed, *uzizwa ephansi* (he feels himself down). Some other examples are found, for example, when Ndebenkulu refers to the village Nyanyadu in *Inkinsela YaseMgungundlovu* (Nyembezi, 1970:25), saying: *le ndawo isephansi kangaka* (this place is still so far down), which Ngcongwane (1981:175) translates: "hierdie plek nog so agter is wat ontwikkelings betref" (this place is still so far behind as far as development is concerned).

Nyembezi (1970:102), plays on words, when the youth Diliza (Demolish) puts doubts in the minds of the men that Ndebenkulu could get a high price for their cattle: *Athula amadoda aphefumula, kubonakala ukuthi umfana udiliza amathemba amakhulu abeseqalile ukumila*, which Ngcongwane (1981:179) translates as: "Die manne bly stil en begin diep asemhaal. Dit was duidelik dat die jongman besig was om hul hooggekoesterde verwagtings af te breek" (The men kept quiet and began to breathe deeply. It was clear that the youth was busy demolishing their high expectations). The same verbal stem is used in *Mntanami, Mntanami* (Nyembezi, 1957:3), when after Jabulani has left home, some women say of his mother, *MaNtuli: Awumboni ezimuke edilikela phansi nje?* (Don't you see how fat she is, flowing down like an avalanche?) (Ngcongwane, 1981:162).

Not only does this conceptual metaphor find expression in the Zulu language, but also in Zulu culture, where, for example, a child coming into the presence of an adult will sit, so as to be lower than the adult, and give physical expression to the conceptual metaphor **Less Important is Down**.

Down is not necessarily bad, however. Getting to the root of the matter, *ukuqala into phansi* (starting something at the bottom), humbling one's self, *ukuzibeka phansi*, or being humble, *ukuba phansi*, is

good, as is retiring, *ukuthatha umhlalaphansi*. Of Jabulile in *Ubudoda abukhulelwa* (1953:81), Nyembezi says: *Yayinomoya ophansi*, translated by Ngcongwane (1981:96) as: "Sy was ook aan die stil kant" (She was also on the quiet side).

Then, also, Deep is Profound, for in Msimang's poem on D B Z Ntuli (1980:9), the metaphor he invokes depicts Ntuli as one for whom the depths of knowledge held no fear:

- *Inhlambi yamanzi*
- *USojulase ongesabi nakujula,*
- *Ngob' uhlambe kwezinzonzobe,*
- *Ngob' uhlambe oThukela*
- *Waze wayodabula ulwandle.*
- (Expert swimmer in water
- The deep one who is not afraid of depths,
- For he swam in the deep pools,
- For he swam in the Thukela
- And went on to swim through the sea.)

4.14.2 The People are Animals Metaphor

Introduction

Human beings belong to the animal kingdom, i.e. people are animals. People therefore can be classified non-metaphorically as mammals, as *Homo sapiens*, and even more specifically according to their race, family and gender. However, People are Animals is also a basic conceptual metaphor, in which people are perceived of as possessing the characteristics of different animals. This metaphor occurs in many different languages and it is possible that it is a statement of a universal basic concept. It is important to note that the animal characteristics attributed to the people are not necessarily real characteristics of the particular animals. They are rather perceived characteristics of the animals, according to folk models, which speakers acquire as they acquire the language. This explains, for example, how an English-speaking South African understands the metaphor Man is a Wolf, although he may never have seen a wolf, and know very little from practical experience of its characteristics and habits. Also, although the same animal metaphor may occur in two different languages, it does not mean that the concept engendered by the metaphor in the one language will be identical to the concept engendered by the metaphor in the second language. It all depends on how that animal is perceived within that language community. Lakoff and Turner (1989:193-4) comment:

"One of the most elaborate domains in which we understand the nonhuman in terms of the human is the domain of animal life. There we have well-elaborated schemas characterising what animals are like, and we usually understand their characteristics metaphorically in terms of the characteristics of human beings. Here are some common propositions that occur in schemas for animals (in English — EAH):

- *Pigs are dirty, messy, and rude.*
- *Lions are courageous and noble.*
- *Foxes are clever.*
- *Dogs are loyal, dependent and dependable.*
- *Cats are fickle and independent.*

— *Wolves are cruel and murderous.*

— *Gorillas are aggressive and violent.*

*These are metaphorical propositions within schemas. They all involve conventionalized instances of the **Great Chain Metaphor**, through which the properties of things lower on the chain are understood in terms of human properties. Our folk understandings of what these animals are like is metaphorical. We understand their attributes in terms of human character traits. We think of them, react to them, and treat them as we would a person with such traits."*

The animal kingdom is a rich source domain for metaphor in Zulu. In a genre such as the folktale in which the corresponding conceptual metaphor **Animals are People** is commonly found, the attributes of the animals are understood as human character traits. Then these same character traits are attributed from animals back to humans in the conceptual metaphor **People are Animals**.

The animal kingdom serves as a rich source domain for metaphor, not only with animate, but also inanimate target domains. It is clear that the basic metaphor **People are Animals** (*Abantu bayizilwane*), in Zulu, entails a hierarchy of metaphors which includes all the phyla in the animal kingdom. Therefore, there are also basic conceptual metaphors **People are Mammals**, **People are Birds**, **People are Reptiles**, **People are Amphibians**, and **People are Insects**. An indication that these metaphors are conceptual and in the realm of the mind, rather than linguistic and in the realm of language, is the fact that whereas we can understand them as they are written above, as links in a hierarchy of metaphorical entailments, they do not occur as such in everyday speech. These metaphors entail further basic metaphors, for example, **People are Wild Animals**, and **People are Domestic Animals**. The hierarchy extends further so that metaphorically, people may be specific kinds of animals, and even animals of a specific sex, age or colour. Metaphors with animals as the source domain and people as the target domain are an excellent example of the possible hierarchical structure of entailed conceptual metaphors leading from the extremely general to the specific. It does not mean, however, that there will always be the same elaborate structure between metaphors derived from other domains. It also does not mean that because people are identified metaphorically with many different species of animals, they may be identified metaphorically with every species of animal. It is possible, and maybe even probable, however, that because of the existing hierarchy of entailments of the basic conceptual metaphor **People are Animals**, that a new metaphor may be coined in a language by invoking an animal never previously used metaphorically in that language. This fact may have implications in the translation of metaphor from one language to another, for example, where an animal used metaphorically for a person in one language, is not normally used metaphorically for a person in the other. Care will need to be taken, however, to ensure that the metaphor conveys the same implicature in the receptor language as it does in the source language.

Some entailments of People are Animals in Zulu

The animal category is a very common source domain for Zulu metaphor. In Zulu, the word *isilwane* may be used to refer to any animal, whether wild or domestic. Commenting on Nyembezi's use of this metaphor to describe Ndebenkulu in his novel *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*, Ngcongwane (1981:238) says:

"Die skrywer self verwys, met 'n ondertoon van duidelike hekel, herhaaldelik na Ndebenkulu as Isilwane sikaNdebenkulu!" (The author himself, with an undertone of distinct disdain, refers repeatedly to Ndebenkulu as Isilwane sikaNdebenkulu!)

In translating the three examples he gives of Nyembezi's referring to Ndebenkulu as *sona isilwane* (*Inkinsela*, 1970:25) and *isilwane sikaNdebenkulu* (1970:81, 213), Ngcongwane uses the Afrikaans word "ondier" (monster). Therefore, both from what he says, and from his translation, it would appear that to call someone *isilwane* (animal) in Zulu, is most uncomplimentary.

This, however, is not necessarily so. It all depends on the context in which the metaphor is used, as can be seen from the entry in the Zulu-English Dictionary (Doke & Vilakazi 1949:472). Here, the third meaning of the word *isilwane* is listed as: Animal or person of outstanding qualities: *isilwane sensizwa* (fine, upstanding young man); *isilwane sentokazi* (fine, upstanding girl); *isilwane sehhashi* (magnificent horse). Dingane is praised as *ISilwan' esibang' izillo*, (Animal that caused lamentations); *Silwan-vukel' abant'ekweneni*; *USilwan' ubenduna kwaGibixhegu* (Animal that ambushed people in the wilds; The Animal was a commander at Gibixhegu) (Rycroft, 1988:145, 172), and Shaka is also praised in this way: *USilwan' helele emizini yabantu*; *USilwan' ubenduna kwaDibandlela* (Fierce Animal in the homes of people; Wild Animal that was in charge at Dibandlela's) (Cope, 1968:95). The word, therefore, is used metaphorically in two ways, either as a compliment or otherwise almost as the exact opposite, depending on the context.

▪ **People are Large Animals**

Large animals are often used metaphorically in describing people who are noble. Nyembezi (1958:15-16) says:

Kulisiko lezimbongi zakwaZulu ukufanekisa amakhosi nezilwane ezinolaka ngoba phela amakhosi ngabantu abakhulu, abesatshwayo, abanesithunzi (It is customary for Zulu praise-poets to compare the chiefs to ferocious animals, for, as you know chiefs are great people, who are to be feared and who have dignity).

Ngcongwane (1981:237), says:

"Die tradisionele pryslied in die Zulutaal is 'n treffende voorbeeld van sulke metaforiese taal. In plaas van om te sê die koning is so groot soos die hemele, word daar oordragtelik na hom verwys as die hemele self - Bayede! Uyizulu!"

"Hy is ook figuurlik al die groot diere — die leeu (ingonyama), die tier (isilo) of die olifant (indlovu). Hierdie naaste identifisering maak van 'n metafoor 'n ietwat sterker beeldvorm as die anders meergebruikte vergelyking." (The traditional praise poem in the Zulu language is a striking example of such metaphorical language. Instead of saying the king

is as great as the heavens, he is referred to figuratively as the heavens themselves. Hail! You are the heavens! Figuratively, he is also all the large animals — the lion (ingonyama), the tiger (leopard) (isilo) or the elephant (indlovu). This close identification makes the metaphor a slightly stronger figurative form than the otherwise more frequently used simile.)

The word *isilo* refers to a wild beast, particularly to the lion and the leopard (Doke & Vilakazi, 1949:460), whereas the diminutive form *isilwane* refers to both wild and domestic animals, as seen above. Although Ngcongwane translates *isilo* as "tier" (tiger), it should be noted that there are no tigers in Southern Africa, but that the word is used interchangeably with *luiperd* (leopard) in Afrikaans. The word commonly used in Zulu for leopard is *ingwe*.

The Zulu king is praised with the following names of large animals:

Silo! (O Wild animal! O Leopard!)

Ngonyama! (O Lion!)

Ndlovu! (O Elephant!)

When used of the king, it does not appear that the Zulu attribute any distinguishing implicatures to the names used. Informants claimed that they are all used because they are all seen to be appropriate for someone as great as the king.

The names of large animals are also used metaphorically to describe various kinds of people.

Uyisilo: (He is a wild animal, i.e. He is a fierce person) (Colenso, 1905:322). Bryant (1905:359) says it can also refer to the Zulu king "*from his prerogative of executing people*", or any white man, "*from the dread his appearance and power inspires*".

Ulibhubesi: (He is a lion). Msimang (1980:38) describes Chief Buthelezi as a lion, seizing, tearing and smashing his rivals. Radebe remarks: "*This is a principal beast used as an emblem for a courageous, strong or bellicose person,*" adding that "*the lion has the status of a king of animals*" (1991:22).

Uyingwe: (He is a leopard — a ferocious man) Rycroft (1988:124) quotes lines from Dingane's praises: *Othe esabhula ingwe, kwavuka impisi, impisi leyo bekunguMxhama kaNtendeka* (Who, as he was beating around for a tiger (i.e. leopard), up jumped a hyena, that hyena being Mxhama, son of Ntendeka).

Uyimpisi: (He is a hyena — a very ugly, vicious-looking person) Mxhama, son of Ntendeka, one of the followers of Mzilikazi, is referred to as a hyena in the praises of Dingane recorded by Samuelson (Rycroft, 1988:124). The implication here is that Mxhama is seen to be a bit of a rogue.

Uyimvubu: (He is a hippopotamus — He is a huge, fat person) *Uyimvubumvubu* (He is a very stout man) *Uyisivubuvubu* (She is a very stout woman) (Doke, et al. 1958:315)

Uyinyathi: (He is a buffalo — He is a very strong person) Senzangakhona is praised as: *Inyath' emnyama yakwaNobamba ehambe yengam' amazibuko* (The black buffalo of Nobamba who watches over the fords) (Nyembezi, 1958:15). Berglund (1976:100), relates a conversation with a diviner in which he was told:

"Buffaloes are males. They are strong, like men. A strong man is an inyathi (buffalo). When young men dance wearing ubunyathi (ornament of plaited buffalo skin worn by

young men around the head and sometimes around the arms at umjadu dances) they are saying to the girls, 'Look at our strength.' They lift their legs high showing off their thighs. They work very hard throughout the dance, showing off their strength. So the animal is a male."

Iguqa: Colenso defines this animal as a large bull buffalo, a rogue buffalo, whereas Doke and Vilakazi define it as a grown-up beast. In a personal communication, Prof. D B Z Ntuli explained that it refers to a young bull, i.e. an "old" male calf. In a line reminiscent of the praise of Shaka, where he is called *Inkonyana* (calf) (Nyembezi, 1958:35), Msimang refers to Chief Buthelezi as:

*Iguqa elimnyama likaMnyamana,
likhwele phezu kwendlu kwaPhindangene,
bathe liyahlola kanti yibona behlola,
libhekise amehlo eMpumalanga (1980:34)
(The black young bull of Mnyamana,
climbed on the hut at Phindangene's,
they thought he was predicting evil
whereas it was they who were predicting evil,
he was casting his eyes to the east).*

Radebe (1991:25) sees this as a reference to Buthelezi's complexion, physical strength and menacing eyes, rather different from his being described as *inkomo* (a head of cattle) in the previous stanza.

▪ People are Small Wild Animals

Uyimpungushe: (He is a jackal) Although jackals are common, it does not seem that this metaphor occurs commonly in Zulu. In a personal communication, Prof. D B Z Ntuli said that it would suggest to him someone who is cowardly, because the jackal is easily scared off, or perhaps someone who is a non-entity. He added that he knew the metaphor from the Bible, where it is used in Luke 13:32, i.e. where Jesus refers to Herod as "that fox".

Uyimpunzi: (He is a duiker) Rycroft, mentions that in some versions of the praises of Dingane, he is referred to as a duiker and in others as a goat. Cetshwayo is also praised in this way (1988:131-2). Nyembezi (1958:7), comments on Dingiswayo's being praised as *Impunz' evuke nomkhonto* (the duiker that woke up with a spear), *Yimpunzi phela ngoba nakhu babezingelwa nguyise* (He is a duiker because now they were being hunted by his father).

Uyigundane: (He is a rat) Dingane is referred to as having devoured (slaughtered) one of Mzilikazi's people, uGundane-kumitha (Pregnancy-of-a-rat) (Rycroft, 1988:121, 124).

Unguchakijana: (He is a slender mongoose or weasel — he is cunning) Jama is praised as: *UBuchakijana bakithi bakwaSidlozi, bumba mgojana buyaselela*, (The fount of cunning of our place at Sidlozi, that digs a small hole and hides in it). Cope (1968:74-5) says in footnotes to his translation: "*Ubuchakijana is the abstract noun derived from Uchakijana, the cunning weasel who shares the honours with Unogwaja, the hare as the trickster of Zulu folklore*"; adding: "*He made good use of his craftiness*".

Uyinungu: (He is a porcupine) Shaka is praised: *Inung' egwaze amacukubada, phakathi kukaMagaye noNzawu* (Porcupine that stabbed the disorderly young people between Magaye and Nzawu) (Cope,

1968:109). Porcupines are tenacious animals which bristle with sharp spear-like quills which can inflict painful wounds.

Uyinyamazane: (He is a buck) Nyembezi (1958:28), referring to Shaka who had taken refuge because of those who feared for his life, says: *Nakho futhi kuzothi uSenzangakhona ehambele kwaMthethwa, ezwakale esebuza kuMudli ukuthi: 'Inyamazane yakithi awukayiboni yini?'* (That is why when Senzangakhona visited at Mthethwa's place, he was heard to ask Mudli: "Have you not yet seen the buck from our place?" The implication is that of someone being hunted by others.

▪ People are Domesticated Animals

The Zulu are traditionally a pastoral people with their wealth and status being gauged by the number of cattle they owned. It is therefore not surprising that the metaphor People are Cattle is commonly invoked in a large number of entailments. For example:

Uyinkomo: (He is a head of cattle) Msimang (1980:34) refers to Chief Buthelezi as *inkomo yasoSuthu* (beast of the Zulu royal house), referring to him at the time of his marriage preparations, a time when cattle play a significant role in Zulu culture with the *ukulobola* custom. Nxumalo (1994:12), however, states that *"there are not many cow metaphors in Zulu because the cow is 'sacred',"* although she does not explain what she means by the word which she puts in quotation marks. She goes on to say: *"The only one that highlights this is 'uyinkomo' which is used to refer to a boy who can't play soccer — because of lack of coordination."* This is rather a mundane metaphor from an animal which she describes as she does. It demonstrates the importance of the context in which the metaphor is used in determining how it will be understood. For example, calling Chief Buthelezi *inkomo yasoSuthu* would not suggest that he lacked coordination, nor that he could not play soccer. Of this, Radebe (1991:25) says: *"It is not quite clear why inkomo (a domesticated bovine mammal) is chosen out of thousands of mammals. It might be that the beast may be heard some distance away. This image is appropriate because the Chief's proposal to a woman distances away, was answered and the very beast is used to pay lobola for the woman."* Informants said that the basic reason for the use of this metaphor is that cattle are held in high regard by the Zulu and so to call someone *inkomo* is extremely positive, as it indicates that that person is held in high regard.

Uyithole: (He is a calf) The conceptual metaphor He is a Calf is that of one who successfully acts with foolhardy courage not expected of youth. Msimang (1980:10) refers to D B Z Ntuli as *Ithole likaMaShezi elihlabe lingakamili nampondo* (MaShezi's calf who stabbed before it had grown horns). This refers to his achievements while still young. Because of his attempted elimination of all his rivals, Dingane too is *Ithole elinsizwa lakokaDonda, elihambe liwakhahlel' amany' amathole* (the male calf of Donda, which went around kicking the other calves) (Nyembezi, 1958:53). Nxumalo (1994:10-11) suggests that this is one of the few affectionate metaphors in Zulu, and gives it the gloss "prince".

Uyinkonyane: (He is a calf) Shaka is described as *Inkonyan' ekhwele phezu kwendlu kwaNtombazi* (The calf that climbed on top of Ntombazi's hut), about which Nyembezi comments: *Ngenxa yamandla kaZwide, akekho owayecabanga ukuthi uZwide angehlulwa nguShaka. Isenzo sikaShaka sokubhekana naye basibona abanye njengamagangozi* (Because of Zwide's power nobody thought he could be conquered by Shaka. Shaka's act of opposing him was seen by some to be impudent action) (1958:35). Nxumalo (1994:11) records *uyinkonyane* as an affectionate metaphor to refer to a child.

Uyinkunzi: (He is a bull — a strong, strapping man) A burly fellow may be referred to as *inkunzi yamalanga* (Doke-Vilakazi, 1949:416). Rycroft (1988: 24), quoting Clegg in a paper presented to the 2nd Symposium on Ethnomusicology in Grahamstown in 1981, says: "*The Zulu use the bull as a symbol of manhood, virility, achievement, courage.*" In a letter this researcher received from a man engaged in a Bible correspondence course, he said: "*Bengifuna ukuba yinkunzi yomfundisi*" (I wanted to become a bull of a minister i.e. an outstanding minister).

Uyinkabi: (He is an ox) In his poem, *Ezinkomponi* (1970:62), Vilakazi says of the miners: *Sivumile ukuphum' eqhugwaneni, sazuluswa njengezinkabi* (We have agreed to go out of the hut to be herded like oxen). The verbal metaphor is extended by a simile based on the same basic conceptual metaphor, and Ntuli explains its use by saying: "*Here the poet does not compare the miners to ordinary cattle or bulls. He chooses to use oxen because the ox has lost its natural potency and fertility. The poet feels that these workers seem to have lost their manhood*" (1984:157).

Uyinkone: (Beast black, brown or red, with a white patch on the ridge of the back) Dingane is referred to as *INKon' eth' isankona kwaphuk' isihlalo* (Spotted beast whose disapproval broke the seat), and *INKon' evele ngobus' eMantiyane* (Spotted beast whose face appeared at Mantiyane) (Rycroft, 1988:109, 140). Rycroft suggests that this praise may have arisen from Dingane's predilection for cattle with these markings.

The importance of cattle to the Zulu means that another conceptual metaphor, *Institutions are Animals*, also has bovine entailments. Msimang (1980:2) refers to the University of South Africa as: *UNondlinikazi waseMzansini obhonse kwenanela izintaba nemimango* (The large good milking cow of the south, whose lowing echoes through mountains and ravines). This metaphor is combined with the metaphor *People are Animals*, the two metaphors being linked by the similar vehicle in each case. The university is bovine and is depicted as nurturing her students, who are also bovine:

*kwatshakadula imivemve
namaguqa asephusa aphindela ayokwanyisa
(the feeble calves gambolled
and the old calves, already weaned, suckled once more).*

So, the influence of the university is felt far and wide, giving educational nourishment, not only to the young, but also to older students who are educated, but have returned to improve their qualifications. This sentence also entails a third conceptual metaphor, viz. *Knowledge is Food*, which links the other two metaphors together. This conceptual metaphor is also used in the poem *Imfundo ephakeme* (Higher Education) (1970:6), where Vilakazi says: *Uma ngigogodana nencwadi* (If I scrape out from the book), the image being of one scraping the last scraps of food from a pot. Ntuli (1984:161) says that this expression can be regarded as a dead metaphor because it is already part of everyday language and so has lost its original effect, for it is normal to say of a highly educated person *ufunde wagogoda* (he has learned and scraped out everything). Although this expression in Zulu has passed from the realm of novel metaphor into the realm of idiom where it is part of the normal linguistic competence of Zulu speakers and thus may have lost some of its poetic impact, it nevertheless is an entailment of the basic conceptual metaphor *Knowledge is Food*. This is important for translators to remember, because it does not mean that because a metaphor has passed into the vocabulary of the competent speaker of one language, a

similar entailment of the same conceptual metaphor in another language will follow the same road nor that it will necessarily have the same status in that language.

Uyimvu: (He is a sheep) Nxumalo (1994:1) says that this refers to a quiet person who does not complain, and explained in a personal communication that when a goat is slaughtered for the ancestors, it must make a noise in order to be accepted. A sheep goes to the slaughter without a noise (Isaiah 53:7).

Uyinja: (He is a dog — a low-class, inferior person; person of low, coarse habits) (Doke, Vilakazi, 1949:572). Nyembezi (1958:126) says: *Kuyaziwa ukuthi abantu benkosi yizinja zayo. Umuntu ovukela inkosi yakhe ufana nenja evukela umniniyo* (It is known that a king's subjects are his dogs. A person who rebels against his king is like a dog that attacks its master). Nxumalo (1994:7f.) says that the Zulu have no special loyalty or affinity towards dogs. They keep them for protection and hunting, and discard them when they are of no more use to them for these purposes. Dogs are sexually indiscriminate. In an empirical test which she performed by asking ten male and ten female Zulu-speaking university students the meaning of: *USipho uyinja* (Sipho, a boy, is a dog) and *UThoko uyinja* (Thoko, a girl, is a dog), she found that they shared the common view that both the boy and the girl were selfish, greedy, useless, and/or bad-mannered. However, their interpretation of the sexual overtones of this metaphor was different when applied to a boy from that when applied to a girl. The majority of respondents understood the boy to have a formal relationship with more than one girlfriend and to sleep with them all. Although this is not encouraged in Zulu society, his excessive sexual drive was seen as an acceptable attribute, and he was seen to be a real man. The girl on the other hand, was understood to have no formal relationships, but to be indiscriminately promiscuous. She was like a bitch in season who will mate with any dog available. So, in a sexual context, using the metaphor to refer to a boy is a compliment, whereas using the metaphor to refer to a girl is condemnatory. Nxumalo (p. 11) also lists the word *iwundlu*, for which she gives the gloss "lion cub", but which may also refer to a pup or whelp, as being used metaphorically as a word of endearment for a child.

Ungumgodoyi: (He is a worthless dog) Doke and Vilakazi (1949:253) give the meaning of this as a pariah, scavenger dog, having no master, and also as a fabulous dog said to devour men. They also give the metaphorical meaning, i.e. worthless, good-for-nothing person. Nxumalo (1994:5-7) explains that this is the name given to a dog which is of no longer any use for protection or hunting and is therefore rejected as worthless.

Uyikati: (She is a cat) Nxumalo (1994:11) says that this means that she is very clean and neat, and comments: "Not like the English where this means that she is nasty and fights. Zulus focus on the fact that cats clean themselves so much. The English culture focuses on the fact that they make such a horrible noise when they fight."

Uyimbuzi: (He is a goat) Rycroft (1988:131-2) quotes Colenso as commenting on Dingane's praise: *Imbuzi kaDambuza benoNdlela* (Goat of Dambuza and Ndlela) "the goat symbolises a gentle animal, and he is called the goat of Dambuza, as having listened to the advice of Dambuza" (First Steps in Zulu, 1871:82). It is this line in which he is referred to as an *impunzi* (duiker) in some versions (See uyimpunzi above).

Uyingulube: (He is a pig) Nxumalo (1994:9) found that her respondents in the empirical test mentioned above, interpreted this metaphor to mean that the person, whether male or female, was very untidy, stupid and a glutton. Only the respondents from the metropolitan area of Johannesburg, mentioned that

the metaphor could also refer to the sexual behaviour of the girl. *Akazithandi* (She does not respect herself), is how this was expressed, meaning that she is promiscuous. Nxumalo also found it interesting that the majority of respondents from Johannesburg, and two from outside the area, mentioned that it could mean that both the boy and the girl were fat. This she says reveals the influence of Western culture, which suggests that they also interpreted it as a negative attribute, as in English. In Zulu, only animals *-nona* (get fat). Humans *-zimuka* (gain weight) or *-khuluphala* (become big), and this is a positive attribute, for a thin person is thought to be ill or not well cared for. Nxumalo also lists *ukotshi* (piglet) as referring endearingly to a child with puppy fat.

▪ People are Birds

Unenyoni: (He has a bird) Vusi is described by Nyembezi in this way in *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa* (1974:108), and Ngcongwane (1981:117) says it: "*verwys na 'n bang gevoel in Vusi se hart*" (refers to a fearful feeling in Vusi's heart).

Uyinyoni: (He is a bird) Shaka is referred to as a bird which devours other birds: *Inyon' edl' ezinye* (Cope, 1968:107), indicating that he is superior to the others.

Ungujo: (He is a finch) Shaka, upset that not a single warrior remained in barracks when he gave the Zimpohlo regiment permission to do some heavy petting with their sweethearts, is referred to as a finch: *Ujoj' obethwe Zimpohlo, ziyohlobonga ngaye kubatshazwayo* (Finch which was beaten by the Zimpohlo regiment going to pet with the admired ones with his permission). Cope (1968:113) translates this: "*The finch that was beaten by the Zimpohlo regiment, going to hlobonga on his account the admired ones.*" In a personal communication, Ntuli said that he felt that the line should read: *Ujoj' obethwe Zimpohlo, ziyohlobonga ngaye kuBatshazwayo*, and be translated: "*Finch which was beaten by the Zimpohlo regiment going to pet with his permission at Batshazwayo*". The finch is a bird which is easily upset, and shows it.

Ulukhozi: (He is a Black eagle — He is a violent, passionate man; He is a very quick walker) (Doke & Vilakazi, 1949:407) Msimang (1980:30), describes Chief Buthelezi, who is well known for his passionate political standpoints as:

*Ukhozi lwakwaPhindangene
Luphindelele futhi eNgilandi.
(Eagle of Phindangene's place,
Who returned again to England.)*

Radebe (1991:30) sees this metaphor as symbolising speed, surprise attack and prudence, and also as a reference to the aircraft which took him to and from England. This illustrates the fact that a metaphor may invoke wider possible implications in some contexts than in others. In a context in which there was no mention of travel, the eagle's flying ability would probably not have come to the fore in connection with the chief.

Uyingqungqulu / Uyingqwayingqwayi: (He is a Bateleur) Nyembezi recognises these two words as referring to the same bird. Senzangakhona is praised as: *Ingqwayingqwayi ebomvu nezinyawo* (The red bateleur with red claws) (1958:15,16). Msimang (1980:9) begins his poem on D B Z Ntuli by calling him: *Ingqwayingqwayi yaseGcotsheni* (The bateleur of Gcotsheni, i.e. the place where he was born and brought up) and Radebe (1991:24) says that Ntuli is called this "*because he is a sturdy person*". What

exactly she means by this is not at all clear. In fact the metaphor is used for one who is greatly honoured and respected because of his powerful achievements. This is so with the use of the names of different types of eagles such as *ukhozi*, *ingqungqulu*, and *ingqwayingqwayi*, with *ingqwayingqwayi* seemingly being used to refer to the most highly favoured. It is possible that in these metaphors the high flying of the eagles is mapped onto the Greater Honour is Higher Up entailment of the image schema More is Up.

According to the Rev T H Vilakazi (personal communication), God was often referred to as *Ingqungqulu* in the prayers of older people in Kwa-Zulu, and they would refer to his sending plagues upon Pharaoh, addressing God as: *Ingqungqulu eyashaya amaphiko phezu komuzi kaFaro* (Bateleur who beat his wings above the house of Pharaoh).

When Cetshwayo and Zibhebhu clashed, they are described by the bard as: *Izingqungqulu zibethene phezulu* (Bateleurs clashing with one another in the air) (Nyembezi, 1958:122).

In his poem on the centenary of the University of South Africa, (1980:3), as well as the bovine branch of the metaphor Institutions are Animals mentioned above, Msimang invokes the avarian branch of this conceptual metaphor, and refers to the university as *ingqwayingqwayi*, which Radebe (1991:23) translates as prestigious "because it has high status which it has achieved through success".

Uyinkonjane: (He is a swallow) Dingane is praised: *Inkonjane kaJama, ewab' ephikweni, eziny' izinkonjane zikaJama ziwab' emhlana* (Swallow of Jama, with black and white spotted wing, other swallows of Jama have spots on their back.) (Rycroft, 1988:193). It was not clear to any of the informants consulted why Dingane is called a swallow, nor what the significance of his having spots is, nor why they differed from those of the others. Ntuli suggested that it may have had something to do with the king's regalia.

Uyisikhova: (He is an owl) Doke and Vilakazi (1949:406) list the idiomatic phrase, *umoya wesikhova* (spirit of the owl) as meaning "political unrest, subversion of authority, communism, sabotage". Nyembezi (1958:15), commenting on the line *Uthi lwempund' obeluhlal'izikhova* (The gatepost upon which the owls sat) in Senzangakhona's praises, says: *Phela isikhova yinyoni yabathakathi. Izitha zikaSenzangakhona zazifana nabathakathi kuye*. (Indeed the owl is the bird of wizards. Senzangakhona's enemies were like wizards to him). The Zulu concept of the owl as a bird of sorcery and subterfuge, because it hunts at night, is in sharp contrast with the English concept of the owl as a bird of wisdom.

Unguklebe / Unguhele: (He is a hawk) These two words can refer to a number of different kinds of hawks. Dingane is praised as: *UKleb' engimbon' ukwehla kwezikaMagaye* (Hawk that I saw descending on (the cattle) of Magaye), Shaka is praised in a similar way, excepting that the cattle are those of Mangcengeza. Rycroft (1988:158), quoting Doke and Vilakazi (1949:432) says that the hawk can also signify an immoral person, or a person of no character, the metaphor here probably refers rather to the swiftness with which the respective Zulu kings acted in rustling cattle, as informants did not associate the hawk with a thief as such.

Unguthekwane: (He is a hammerhead) Nxumalo (1994:10) erroneously gives the gloss "swan", but says that this is said of someone who is thin, and is a negative attribute. Ntuli, in a personal communication, said that the name is applied to one who is ugly and unpleasant to look at, and who may be evil, as the bird is considered to be a bad omen. Colenso (1905:577) gives an interesting metaphorical usage. The belief that the bird stops up the entrance to its nest when the wind blows in that direction and opens

another, led to white people, whose houses have several doors being referred to as *oThekwane* (hammerheads).

Ungucilo: (She is a lark) Nxumalo (1994:10), who does not identify this bird, says that this refers to a very thin person, and is a negative attribute.

Uyimpangele: (She is a guinea fowl) Nxumalo (1994:12) lists this as referring to one who is very pretty.

Uyimpigogo: (She is a peacock) The peacock is not indigenous to South Africa, and so has only been known by the Zulu since the time it was introduced into the country. Conceptually in English and Afrikaans, the main thrust of this metaphor is that of pride, which is understood to be a negative attribute. The Zulu, however, do not seem to have taken over the Western conceptual basis of the metaphor, but have their own conceptual basis, based on their own observation of the bird's plumage. In Zulu, according to Nxumalo (1994:12), this is a positive attribute referring to the fact that the woman draws attention to herself by the way in which she dresses and behaves, which men like.

Uyiqhude elimzwezwe: (She is an old rooster, i.e. a rooster with a spur). Nxumalo (1994:12), says that when women are old and no longer attractive to men, they are given negative attributes. The woman is female, the rooster is male, and the implication is that the woman has become sexless. This is similar to saying of a woman: *Uyindoda* (She is a man), which implies that she is ugly, whereas using the same expression of a male, implies that he is a real man among men.

Seeing that there is a conceptual metaphor *People are Birds* in Zulu, the verbs normally associated with the actions of birds may also be attributed to people. Referring to Indians in *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa* (1953:75), for example, Nyembezi says: *Afukamele ubugelekeqe kuphela*, which Ngcongwane translates as: "*Hulle broei altyd skelmstreke uit*" (All they do is hatch mischief).

Msimang (1980:3) can also describe the Unisa building on the hill overlooking Muckleneuk, by saying: *useyingqwayingqwayi ngokugogq' amaphiko phezu kweMuckleneuk*, (It is still a bateleur, having folded its wings above Muckleneuk).

As a bird protects her chicks with her wings, so a queen may protect her subjects. Nyembezi (1958:146) invokes the *People are Birds* metaphor when he comments on the praises of Bhunu: *Ngalesi sikhathi amaSwazi ayeseqhansi kwephiko likaKhwini* (At that time the Swazi were still under the wing of the Queen).

The basic conceptual metaphor *People are Birds* also entails the metaphor *Preying People are Birds of Prey*. Thus, in the poem *UNokufa*, when Vilakazi (1965:73) describes those watching in anticipation for someone to die, he says:

... noma oklebe
 Base bephakuza izimpiko,
 Bencel' izithupha beq' ilanga,
 Bethi ngeke ngamehlo simbone.
 (... even when the hawks
 Were flapping their wings,
 And licking their fingers and leaping over the sun
 Saying that we shall not see him again with our eyes.)

Ntuli (1984:169) suggests that it does not take much to discover, through the use of the words *izithupha* (thumbs) and *bethi* (saying, thinking), words associated with human beings, that the hawks are people, probably those who are hoping to get a share of the deceased person's estate.

Zulu also has the corresponding metaphor, Birds are People, for example, in Vilakazi's poem, *Inqomfi* (1965:17) it is said of the Yellow-throated Longclaw: *Unothando olumangalisayo, alukhethi* (You have amazing love, it does not discriminate).

▪ People are Reptiles

Uyingwenya: (He is a crocodile) Nxumalo (1994:11) says that this metaphor is used to describe someone who is powerful and dangerous, someone who attacks without warning so that you do not see him coming.

Ulufudu: (He is a tortoise) Concerning Ngwane Ngcolosi being praised as: Ufud'oludl' abantu lubayenga ngendaba (Cope, 1968:167), Ntuli says: "It is possible that Ngwane looked sheepish and harmless like a tortoise whereas he was dangerous" (Ntuli, 1973:101).

Uyinyoka: (He is a snake — He is an underhanded person; a crafty-dealing person) (Doke, Vilakazi 1949:628).

Uyimamba: (He is a mamba) Nyembezi comments: *Esinye isilwane amakhosi avame ukufanekiswa naso yimamba* (Another animal with which chiefs are commonly likened is the mamba) (1958:16). Later, he says: *Kulisiko lezimboni zikaZulu ukufanekisa amakhosi nezilo ezinolaka. Yingalokhu uCetshwayo efanekiswa nendlondlo nanemamba* (It is customary for Zulu bards to liken the kings to ferocious beasts. That is why Cetshwayo is likened to the *indlondlo* and the mamba) (1958:103). Nxumalo (1994:11) lists the metaphor using the diminutive form of the noun: *Uyimambana* (He is a little mamba) as referring to a smart, good looking person of any age or sex.

Indlondlo: Doke and Vilakazi identify this as a "large, dark-coloured variety of cerastes or horned viper *Cerastes caudalis*, of a very venomous nature, and regarded by the Natives as the most dreaded of snakes" (1949:159). Commenting on Cetshwayo's praise: *Bexokozele! indlondlo yakokaTshana* (They causing a hubbub about the indlondlo of Tshana), Nyembezi (1958:94, 95) says:

Leli gama lendlondlo aliqondile ukuthi uCetshwayo wayesengumuntu omdala. Lisho ukuthi wayeyingozi kakhulu. UZulu uthi indlondlo inolaka kakhulu kunemamba esencane. Phela indlondlo yimamba endala. (This word indlondlo does not mean that Cetshwayo was already an old person. It means that he was extremely dangerous. A Zulu says that an indlondlo has a worse temper than a young mamba. For an indlondlo is an old mamba.)

He goes on to say:

Ngempela wayesefana nezindlondlo, esegcwele ulaka lodwa. (Indeed he was now like old mambas, being full of nothing but rage.)

Msimang (1980:38) uses the same metaphor to describe Chief Buthelezi when he opposed Prime Minister Vorster: *Abelungu kuze kwasa bengalele, lokhu ubeseyindlondlo.* (The white people did not sleep until dawn, because he was now a vicious old mamba). Radebe comments on this: "The metaphor

used here is very impressive because he is said to be in a towering rage because he interminably exists in a towering rage." (1991:23).

Uyihobosha: (He is a puffadder — He is a person with very large appetite) (Doke, Vilakazi, 1949:343)

Uwuxamu: (He is a monitor lizard) The monitor lizard is a dirty grey colour, and Nxumalo (1994) lists it, but does not discuss it. In a personal communication she said that this is said of a person who does not wash.

Uyimbulu: (He is a tree monitor — He is a deceptive, double-faced person; one who is not what he pretends to be) (Doke & Vilakazi, 1949:494; Krige, 1957:352) Berglund (1976:251, 312) says that the tree monitor is a symbol of death. This is according to Zulu folklore, where the creator, after creation, sent a chameleon to inform men that they should be immortal. But, on changing his mind, he sent the tree monitor with the message that men would die. The tree monitor arrived first with his message, which explains why men are mortal.

Ulunwabu: (He is a chameleon) The mythological folktale in connection with the tree monitor and the origin of death also explains why the Zulu conceive the chameleon as a symbol of unreliability and so could invoke the conceptual metaphor *Ulunwabu* (He is a chameleon) to describe someone who is unreliable (Berglund 1976:252).

Yinhlwathi: (It is a python) Berglund (1976:183) says that the necklace of snake vertebrae worn by diviners is sometimes called *inhlwathi* (python). According to his informant these bones do not necessarily come from the python, but are symbols of courage and strength, like that of the python. *"When we say inhlwathi we do not mean the python itself. We are speaking of the thing that the python resembles. That is courage. So these bones are called inhlwathi."*

▪ People are Insects

Uvemvane: (Butterfly) When Shaka is praised as: *UVemvane lukaPhunga, lumabal' azizinge sengath' abekiwe*, (Butterfly of Phunga, which has coloured circles which seem to have been placed), Nyembezi comments: *kusobala ukuthi wayenogazi, ethandeka* (it is obvious that he had personality and was loved) (1958:44). So, whereas in English, to call someone a butterfly is to imply that he does not keep still long enough to concentrate on anything, in Zulu it implies someone who has attractive qualities.

Imbungulu: (Bedbug) It is obviously not a compliment to be called *imbungulu* (bedbug), the epithet used by the grandmother when referring to the lodger in *S'gudi S'nayisi*, the popular television series some years ago.

When Mpisi did not want Vusi to work for an Indian in Nyembezi's *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa* (1953:68) he says of them: *Yizimbungulu eziphila ngokuncela igazi labantu* (They are bedbugs who live by sucking people's blood), referring to their unscrupulous exploitation of their customers.

Intethe: (Locust) The praises of both Senzangakhona and Shaka contain the line: *Inteth' egolwe nganti zamkhonto kwaMalandela* (Locust which was caught with spear shafts in Mandela's land) (Nyembezi, 1958:13, 20). Ntuli (1978:24), comments on this metaphor: *"By using the locust image the bards were not belittling the kings. They were looking at the kings through the contemptuous eyes of the enemies who thought that these kings were like fragile insects who could be easily disposed of."*

The Animal Kingdom is not the only source domain mapping onto People as the target domain. Conceptual metaphors also occur mapped onto other source domains, for example, the following.

4.14.3 People are Natural Phenomena

Like animals, natural phenomena form a category which is a very common source domain for metaphor in Zulu. Nyembezi (1958:8-9) says: *Ziyathanda futhi izimbongi ukufanekisa amakhosi nezilo ezinolaka noma nezulu.* (The praise poets also like to compare the kings with ferocious animals or the heavens.) Some of the entailments of this basic conceptual metaphor in Zulu, are the following:

▪ A Person is the Sky

Dingiswayo is praised:

*Izulu likaPhiko libaneka kanjani?
Lenzani elikaSombangeya kaPhiko?
(How does the sky of Phiko flash with lightning?
What is the sky of Sombangela, son of Phiko, doing?*

*Izulu lidume futhi, Gwabi kaNdaba,
Indlukula zamaNtungwa zimukile,
Lidum' eNhlanwini kubaThembu,
(The sky thundered again, Gwabi, son of Ndaba,
The aggressive ones of the Ntungwa having departed,
It thundered at Nhlangwini amongst the Thembus) (Cope, 1968:125)*

In *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* (Nyembezi, 1970:178), Diliza considers Ndebenkulu as one who sees himself as the highest heaven — *ozibona eyizulu eliphezulu*. Themba (1970:182), does not go that far, but rather invokes the metaphor A Person is a Celestial Being, and says that his father sees Ndebenkulu as being an angel from heaven — *uyingelosi evela ezulwini*.

The A Person is the Sky metaphor, entails the A Person is a Celestial Body metaphor, of which the following are examples.

▪ A Person is the Sun

Nyembezi (1958:16) points out: *Kanti futhi kuvamisile ukuba amakhosi afanekiswe nelanga* (It is also common for chiefs to be likened to the sun).

*Ilanga eliphume linsizwa,
Lathi liphezulu lansasa,
Selifun' ukwothiwa mizimbazimba.
(Sun that came forth as a youth (i.e. shining brightly)
And when it was high spread out its rays,
Wanting to give warmth to many bodies. (Cope, 1968:77)*

In this praise of Senzangakhona, the A Day is a Lifetime metaphor is also invoked, with the bright sun being experienced as having the strength and promise of youth.

Msimang (1980:36), also uses the A Person is the Sun metaphor, when he describes Chief Buthelezi as:

*Ulanga eliphume limisebe,
Liphuma phansi eMahlabathini*
(Sun which rose giving out rays,
rising down in Mahlabathini) (Radebe, 1991:30)

▪ A Person is the Dawn, the Morning Star

Dingane's appearance is described as the breaking of the dawn in his praises (Nyembezi, 1958:62):

*Uluvi lungumnyama wokusa,
Umziziny' ungamathunz' ezintaba,
Ufipha luyindlov' enamanxeba.
Umbomboshi omnyama.*
(You are the dark faint light of early dawn,
The haziness like the shadows of the mountains,
Dark brown elephant with wounds.
Black umbomboshi).

Mpande (Nyembezi, 1958:71), is described as being attractive and being talked about by everyone in the lines of his praises where the metaphor A Person is the Morning Star is invoked:

*Inkwenkwez' ephum' izilwane zabikelana,
Kubikelan' ikhwezi nesilimela.*
(Star which came out and the animals reported among themselves
There reported the Morning Star and Pleiades)

The corresponding conceptual metaphor, Celestial Bodies are People, also exists in Zulu. Watching day break over Shaka's tomb, Vilakazi plays back and forth between these metaphors, together with the metaphor Knowledge and Education is Light:

*Ikhwezi lifana noShaka
Yen' obikezel' ukusa,
Nokusa kwaleth' ukufunda,
Imfundo yaleth' inkanyiso
Evez' isikhumbuzo setshe.*
(The morning star is like Shaka
who foretold the coming of dawn,
and the dawn brought learning,
education brought enlightenment
which resulted in this stone monument.) (Vilakazi, 1965:66)

This shows the correlations of source to target mapping very clearly. Because Knowledge is Light it follows that it is likely that mapping the target domain onto the source domain will mean that it will be possible also to correlate the stages leading from darkness to light with the stages leading from

ignorance to knowledge. This is indeed the case and it also shows that the basic metaphor Knowledge is Light entails, not only its converse Ignorance is Darkness, but also other metaphors as well, such as Ignorance is Night (i.e. when it is dark) and Knowledge is Day (i.e. when it is light). Superimposed upon this is a Link-Schema which links the individual metaphors at the different stages of time. The linked metaphors are the following:

Shaka is the Morning Star. (Stated in simile form.)

The morning star heralds the dawn and Shaka heralded the dawn of education. (Link)

Dawn is the Beginning of Education

Dawn brings light and education brings knowledge. (Link)

Knowledge is Light

Entailed within the basic metaphor Knowledge is Light, is the metaphor Knowing is Seeing, *Sengiyabona* (Now I understand), for one can see when it is light, but one cannot see in the darkness.

The metaphor, Dawn is the Beginning of Education, is also invoked in Msimang's poem on the Centenary of the University of South Africa (1980:2):

*Indonsakusa kudabuk' ukukhanya,
Ikhwez' elikhanye umnyama wanyamalala
Kwelakith' eMzansi Afrika ngowe-1873.*

(Jupiter bringing the beginning of light,

Venus (Morning Star) which shined and the darkness disappeared in our place South Africa in the year 1873.)

Another example of the conceptual metaphor Celestial Bodies are People is found in Vilakazi's *Inkelenkele yakwaXhosa* (The Xhosa Disaster) (1965:6), where the sun and the moon mock the Xhosa for having believed Nongqawuze's prophecy, and now stand waiting for their cause to be vindicated.

*Ilanga lakhwel' umango walo
Liyilokhu lisinekile njalo*

.....
*Lazi konke okwehlakalayo
Nokuzovela phinde lithi vuya*

.....
Yaphum' inyang' ihlek' usulu nayo.

(The sun ascended its incline
Grinning all the time

.....
It knew what was happening
And what would happen but it said nothing

.....
The moon rose laughing cynically.)

In *Nayaphi?* (Where did you go?) (1970:18), Vilakazi enquires of the moon and also the woman carrying wood, seen in the shadows of the moon, about his deceased wife and brother.

*Inyanga iphume ngiyibona,
 Ngahlunga ngamehlo ngiyibuza.
 Yathi ayizange inibone.
 (The moon rose before my eyes,
 I scanned it and asked it.
 It said it had not seen you.)*

Further entailments of People are Natural Phenomena

Nyembezi invokes wind and sea entailments of the People are Natural Phenomena metaphor when MaNtuli is described as a real whirlwind, *isikhwishikhwishi uqobo* (1970:7), indicating that she was extremely industrious, and also as the sea, *uMaNtuli elulwandle* (1970:37), indicating that she was extremely angry.

The Zulu bards also invoke a number of different entailments of this metaphor. In Shaka's praises, he is called a fire: *Umlilo wothathe, umlil' oshis' ubuhanguhangu* (Fire which burns with scorching heat), and he is called a mountain (Nyembezi, 1958:32, 35):

*Intaba emahwanqa kaMjokwane,
 Ebingadli mihlambi yankomo,
 Ebidl' imihlambi yezinyamazane.
 (Bewhiskered mountain, son of Mjokwane,
 who did not (only) eat herds of cattle,
 but (also) herds of buck.)*

Shaka is also called water, seeing that the poet says that he cannot be brought to an end (Nyembezi, 1958:41):

*Amanz' aseMpembeni Ndwandwe kaNdaba,
 Amanz' aseMpembeni yinguqunguqu,
 Angiqedi nalapho ayayo,
 Amany' ayewuka, amany' ayaqonsa.
 (The water of Mpembeni Ndwandwe son of Ndaba,
 The water of Mpembeni is a rushing torrent
 I cannot complete to tell where it goes,
 Some flows up, some flows down.)*

Not only is Shaka a rushing torrent, he is also a fountain (1958:42), as is Senzangakhona. The poet also invokes the People are Plants metaphor, and although Senzangakhona was a fountain from which benefits could be obtained, Cope notes (1968:78) there were hidden dangers in his personality, particularly an unpredictable quick temper.

*Umthombo wamanzi wakwaNobamba,
 Engiphuze kuwo
 Ngaze ngaphos' ukudliwa nazimamba,
 Ebezilala ehlozini nasephungweni.
 (Fountain of water of Nobamba's place,*

From which I drank
And was almost eaten by the mambas
Which lay in the thicket and the climbing plants.)

Shaka, and others, are also referred to as deep, silent pools, mysterious and dangerous. Nyembezi (1958:53), commenting on the lines from Dingane's praises:

*Isizib' esiseMavivane Dingane,
Isizib' esinzonzo sizonzobe,*
*Siminzis' umunt' eth' uyawela,
Waze washona nangesicoco.*
(Deep pool which is at Mavivane, Dingane,
The deep silent pool overwhelms,
It drowns the person who thinks he is crossing,
Until even his heading disappears),

says of Dingane: *Isimo sakhe uDingane sasikhohlisa, umuntu aze alutheke* (Dingane's nature was deceptive, and a person eventually was overcome). Later (1958:61), he says of the same lines: *Sizwa ukuthi wayengumuntu owayenza izinto ngobuqili, enonele phakathi okwendlazi* (We hear that he was a person who did things with cunning, being fat inside like a mousebird i.e. hiding his real character within). Doke and Vilakazi (1949:632) attribute a similar line to Shaka's praises: "*Ichibi elinzonzo linzonzobe*" (The silent pool has grown overpowering).

Dingane is also referred to as: *Ibhaka lamanzi lawoNdikidi* (Puddle of water of the Ndikidi's) (Nyembezi, 1958:61). Exactly what the implicatures of this metaphor were not obvious to the informants. However, Ntuli suggested that it could possibly refer to one being treacherous and dangerous, for one could slip in a puddle of water, the depth of which is uncertain, and fall.

The corresponding metaphor, Natural phenomena are People, is also found. Msimang (1980:43), for example refers to snow as: *Nkosazane emhlophe* (White princess) in order to stress its beauty.

Vilakazi, who had never personally seen the Victoria Falls, also uses the Natural Phenomena are People conceptual metaphor in describing the Falls (1965:18).

*UNkulunkul' ogcobe isimongo
Sekhanda lakho ngomudwa wothingo
Lwenkosikazi, nenkung' engapheli
Egubuzele izinyawo zakho.*
(God has anointed your forehead
With a streak of the
Rainbow, and everlasting mists
shroud your feet.)

Later (1965:20), he says:

*Kuyinjabulo ngisho ukuthinta
Umphetho weminyibe yesibhamba
Esingamful' ukhalo lweVictoria*

(It is a joy even to touch
the seam of the belt
which ties the waist of the Victoria Falls.)

People also serve as a source domain in the conceptual metaphor Places are People, where, for example, Vilakazi (1965:4) describes the slaughter of all their cattle by the Xhosa, and says: *Bhek' izibaya nezinxuluma kukhamisile* (Behold the cattle kraals and large homesteads are agape i.e. empty).

Ntuli (1984:71), commenting on *Ngomz' Omdaladala kaGrout* (Vilakazi, 1965:51-58) says:

"In the mind of the poet Groutville is like an old person — unfortunately this personification is not fully developed. The poet uses an appropriate description: 'Mvot' ozisini', meaning that Groutville is like a person who has lost some of her teeth because of old age. While Groutville is considered with respect for her role in the past, she is no more effective now; she has lost her 'bite'."

The line partly quoted above is: *Mvot' ozisini wen' onwele zakho ziluhlaza, bezikanywa ngamahleza*. (Mvoti who are gap-toothed, you whose hair is green, combed with maize cobs). Ntuli (1984:172), says that the details given as the village as an old person are too few to give a clear picture, possibly because he found it difficult to extend the metaphor to associate different parts of the village with parts of the human body.

4.14.4. People are Plants

Msimang (1980:38), refers to Chief Buthelezi saying *ubeseyimbabazane* (he was a stinging nettle), which Radebe (1991:23) says suggests that Buthelezi is capable of causing physical or mental pain.

Msimang (1980:10), also refers to Ntuli by a common Zulu idiom, saying: *umthente ohlab' usamila* (Sharp grass stalk which pierces when it is just beginning to grow), stressing his achievements at an early age which left people wondering just how old he really was.

In *Umcabango Wasekuseni* (Morning Meditation) (1965:31), Vilakazi invokes the entailment Human Death is the Death of a Plant, and says:

*Sizukulwane sosizi,
Nin' enihulelwe phansi
Yizinkambiso zomhlaba —
(O afflicted generation,
You who are mown down
by the practices of earth —)*

The people are mown down with speed and ease like grass. They are defenceless and can neither flee nor resist. That which is responsible for their destruction is an abstract concept, which indicates that Zulu also has a conceptual metaphor Abstract Concepts are People.

In *UNokufa* (1965:76), Vilakazi describes the death of various people as being like that of plants. Sihlonono's daughters died suddenly, like a tree snapping: *ZawoSihlonono ziphoqoka*. Others are chopped down by young men: *zigawulwa zinsizwa zendl' emnyama*, which Ntuli (1984:168) suggests is a more gradual process of dying caused by being bewitched. Death even caused the patriarch,

Makhwatha, to whither: *Wena engikubone ubunisa umuth' omkhulu wakwaMakhwatha*. (You whom I saw causing the great tree of Mkhwatha's place to whither.)

In a personal communication, Prof. J B Hlongwane reminded this researcher of a common Zulu idiom which is a combination of the conceptual metaphors **People are Plants** and **Beautiful is Black**: *Uyindoni yamanzi* (She is a black berry of the Cordate water myrtle *Syzygium cordatum*, i.e. She is a dark beauty).

The corresponding conceptual metaphor **Plants are People** also occurs, for Vilakazi (1965:38) has the grass, speaking to the deceased beneath it:

Utshani ngaphezulu buyothi:
"Lala sithandwa, la'uphumule."
(The grass above will say:
"Sleep beloved, sleep and rest.")

4.14.5. People are Inanimate Objects

Although people are animate, they are often described in terms of inanimate objects. For example, in *UNokufa*, Vilakazi (1965:78) says:

Ngabona izinsika zomuzi
Ekade ziphase nokababa,
Zinqunyelwa phans' okoqadolo.
(I saw pillars of the kraal,
Which had been supporting my father's (kraal)
Cut down like the blackjack weed.)

The *umuzi* (kraal) here refers to the family and the *izinsika* (poles) to the family members, as the poles support the hut, not the whole kraal. This metaphor is then linked to a simile which in turn is based on the conceptual metaphor **People are Plants**.

Shaka is called a hoe: *Ilemb' eleg' amany' amalemba ngokukhalipha* (Hoe which jumps over the other hoes in sharpness.) (Nyembezi, 1958:19). Shaka, the animate, is identified with an inanimate object, a hoe, and the inanimate object is then personified and treated as if it were animate and able to jump. This could also be stated as an entailment, **People are Implements**.

Mpande is called:

Intonga yethusi
Eyasala kweziny' izinduku.
(Bronze fighting stick
Which remained over the other sticks) (Nyembezi, 1958:71).

Mpande is also described as an iron armband:

USongo lensimbi yakoNdikidi,
Elidl' uDambuza benoSikhombazana.
(Mr Iron Armband of Ndikidi,
Who devoured Dambuza and Sikhombazana) (Nyembezi, 1958:74).

Shaka is described as: *USivutha sanginqe* (a burning furnace), because of the number of people he destroyed (Cope, 1968:112).

A further entailment of People are Inanimate Objects is People are Vessels, as when Vilakazi (1965:41), in praising Shaka, son of Senzangakhona, says: *Wawa uZwide waziwisa ... wawa izingcezu* (Zwide fell, causing his own fall ... and shattered into pieces). Ntuli (1984:168) remarks that once a vessel has been broken like this it cannot be put together again.

The corresponding metaphor, Inanimate Objects are People, is also found, as when Ntuli (1984:158) says of Vilakazi's description of Mamina (1970: 43): *unjengobhaqa olukhanyisa luxosh' umnyam' exhibeni* (you are like a stalk torch which shines and chases the darkness from the kitchen):

"The simple (sic) [simile ?] 'unjengobhaqa' develops into a metaphor because of the verb metaphor 'luxosha'. The verb 'luxosha' first works backwards to animate the otherwise inanimate 'ubhaqa'. In fact the context personifies 'ubhaqa' because normally it is only a human being who can chase anything out of a house. In the second instance 'luxosha' animates the intangible darkness because it is only a living creature which responds by fleeing from an attacker."

Shaka and Phakathwayo are praised: *UMzac' onesikhanda phambili, owashay' amanzi kwavel' udaka* (Fighting stick with a head at the end, which struck the water and mud appeared), referring to the disturbance they caused (Cope, 1968:151).

Ntuli (1984:171) points out that Vilakazi likes to address various objects as if they were human beings capable of hearing and understanding what he tells them. For example, in his poem about the St. Paul's Anglican Church in Durban (1970:22), he commands the church bells: *Khalani zinsimbi* (Cry you bells), while in *NgePhasika* (At Easter), Vilakazi (1965:2) shows the nails to be shameless in their part in the crucifixion of Christ, when he says:

*Usungulo lungenamahlon' okungena
Lubhoboz' inyam' emanzi luyibhanqa
Nokhun' olomil' olungezwa zinhlungu.
(The nail without shame entering
And piercing the moist flesh and binding it
To the dry wood which feels no pain.)*

Another entailment is Machines are People, for when I asked a labourer where he had put a tool he had been using, he replied: *Ngiyibeke empumulweni yemoto*. (I put it on the car's nose i.e. bonnet.) Vilakazi (1965:22), addresses the train by name, as he would a person: *Woza wena Nonjinjikazi* (Come, you Massive Engine), and in the last stanza: *Suka wena Nonjinjikazi* (Go away, you Massive Engine). The train has feet upon which it runs away speedily, without lifting them, and when it is asked about its former passengers, it is as if it blocks its ears. The first lines of the next stanza are interesting: *Waleth' izihubahubane zazovukuz' umhlaba wethu*. The word *izihubahubane* does not appear in the Doke, Vilakazi Dictionary, but it is derived from the reduplicated verbal stem *-huba*, (1949:347) which means to make a distant rumbling, chant a war-song, or move along on the belly. Sobukwe, in lectures at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1960, understood it as also invoking the Machines are People metaphor and, using the first given gloss of the verbal stem, translated, *"you brought bulldozers*

burrowing". The translation in Malcolm and Friedman (1962:34) is: "You brought moles who travelled far, to burrow deep within our soil". In this translation the metaphor People are Animals is invoked, using the second and third glosses of the verb stem, and seeing the chanting and crawling miners as moles *izimvukuzane*, derived from the verb *-vukuza* (burrow).

4.14.6 People are Abstract Concepts

Recalling his background, when he was young and despised, Shaka is called a joke: *Uteku lwabafazi bakwaNomgabi* (Joke of the women of Nomgabi's place) (Nyembezi, 1958:19).

4.14.7 People are Seasons

In his poem in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Mariannhill, where he had studied, Vilakazi (1965:87) says:

*Nawe intokazi kaHwanqa
Uyintwasahlobo njalo . . .
(And you daughter of Hwanqa
You are always spring. . .)*

It is not clear to the reader today to whom he is referring, but Ntuli (1984:75) comments:

"Even if we do not know exactly who the daughter of Hwanqa was, the poet indicates that somehow she brought new life and hope to the people. The metaphor of spring has been used beneficially."

4.14.8 Colours

Colours also form a category which serves as a source domain for metaphor in Zulu. In line with the findings of Berlin and Kay (1969), Zulu has the following basic colour terms, which name colour categories, the best examples of which are the focal colours named by the English equivalents: *-mnyama* (black); *-mhlophe* (white); *-bomvu* (red); *-luhlaza* (blue, or green). Berlin and Kay claim that the best example of the latter, for which they coin the term "grue", will not be turquoise, which is in the middle of the blue-to-green spectrum, but will be either focal green or focal blue.

In addition to these basic colour terms, Zulu has a number of further terms which refer to a specific shade of a colour, such as *-nsundu* (dark brown); some which also name an animal, such as *-mpofu* (eland; grey-brown); or some which are restricted in use as are the large number of terms which are used to describe cattle, a list of which is given in Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966:54-62).

Commenting on the metaphorical use of colour terms in Zulu riddles, Khumalo (1974:198) says:

"Although Zulu has the colour stems -luthuthuva (cream-coloured), -mdaka (mauve), -mdubu (light-mauve), and -phuzi (yellow) they are seldom found in riddles. Even in general speech, -phuzi is the only one of these stems that is commonly used. The colours generally used are -mhlophe (white), -mnyama (black), -bomvu (red), -luhlaza (green or blue), -mpunga (grey), -nsundu (brown) and -mpofu (dun, tan). Of these colours the ones which present the greatest difficulty to non-Zulu speakers are -mhlophe (white), and -

bomvu (red). Under 'white', the Zulus include 'cream-coloured, silver, light-greyish' and even 'colourless'."

It seems that even the uncommon stems can be used to describe various different shades. *-luthuthuva* (cream-coloured) is described as "sandy-coloured" in Doke and Vilakazi (1949:471) and "dirty-white, dusty tint" by Bryant (1905:667). Doke and Vilakazi also have the stems *-luthuqasana*; *-luthuqasana* "dust coloured" and *-luthuthu* "smoky, greyish". Bryant has *-thuquza* "dusty or dirty brown colour, or of a pinkish brown, as Kaffir-beer [sorghum beer] or any pink thing". To Doke and Vilakazi *-mdaka* (mauve) is "dark brown", *-mdakana* is "brownish" and *-mdakazi* is "intensely dark brown, whereas *-mdaka* (mauve) to Bryant is "Colour of mud or of old penny piece, dark brown". To Doke and Vilakazi *-mdubu* (mauve) is "drab, dusty brown", to Bryant it is "pinkish-grey, light dusty brown, lighter than *-nyawothi*, whereas to Colenso (1905:344) it is "yellowish". Mauve in Doke and Vilakazi (1958:231) is *-nyaluthi* or *-nyawothi*, which are both defined by them as "muddy-coloured, light mauve" (1949:618, 622), by Bryant as "ox of light brown, light muddy colour" and by Colenso as "grey, used of cattle only". The stem *-phuzi* (light yellow) refers basically to a certain light yellow coarse pumpkin and metaphorically to a light yellow bead and may also then be used to describe other yellow objects.

Nyembezi (1958:8), referring to lines in the praises of Dingiswayo, says: *Izimbongi zazikuthanda ukuchaza amakhosi ngokuthi anamabala*. (The praise-poets liked to describe the kings as having spots.)

Ungqwashi obomvu

Omabal' azizinge sengath' abekiwe.

(Red rope, having spots which look as if they have been placed.)

Informants consulted were unable to say what the metaphorical significance of spots is.

-mhlophe (white) Berglund (1976:51f.), states:

"Zulu informants are emphatic that everything in the sky is white. The Lord-of-the-Sky himself is regarded as being white, some informants saying that 'perhaps he is white like water (i.e. transparent) but we do not know because he has not been seen by anybody.'"

He later says (1976:364):

"Secondly, there are opposites related to ethical values. Evil, and associated things, are generally related to dark and the left side, while good things are spoken of as ezimhlophe, the white ones."

Dingane is praised:

Umhlophe' owakhany' ukusa kwadabuka

(White one who shined and the dawn broke through).

Nyembezi (1958:53) comments on this:

Kubantu ababelokhu behlezi phansi kwethunzi lokufa kuShaka, ukungena kukaDingane ebukhosini kwafana nokungena kokusa emva kobusuku obumnyama. (To people who

were living continually under the shadow of death under Shaka, Dingane's entrance into kingship was like the entrance of the dawn after a dark night).

-mnyama (black): The metaphorical significance of black has already been discussed in 4.8.1.

-bomvu (red): Mashezi describing Ndawonde's anger in *Inkinsela YaseMgungundlovu* (1970:17), says: *uwotha ubomvu* (he is burning red), while Diliza also says: *Phela isalukazi siwotha ubomvu* (For the old lady is red hot with anger) (1970:111). In both cases, red, the colour of fire, and of a light-skinned person when he is angry, is used to intensify the metaphor **Anger is Heat**, it being the experience of people that they feel hot when they are angry.

-luhlaza (green; blue): Nyembezi (1970:24) describes Ndebenkulu by saying: *Ibala lakhe liluhlaza*, which Ngcongwane (1981:96) translates "*Hy het 'n donker vel*" (He was dark-skinned). This shows that metaphorically, the stem *-luhlaza* has an even wider range than the blue-green sector of the spectrum.

When Diliza says to Themba regarding Ndebenkulu: *Ubaqedile nya abantu lomfokazi ngoba ubabonise nemali, isheke eliluhlaza cwe, athe kufanele alithumele kumuntu abekade emthengisela izinkomo*. (He took the people in completely by even showing them money, a bright green cheque, and saying that he must send it to a person for whom he had sold cattle) (1970:111), he is invoking an extension of the conceptual metaphor **Life is a Year in which Birth is Spring, Spring is New, and New is Green**. The cheque is new, attractive, and intended to tantalize the people.

Nyembezi (1958:8) says of Dingiswayo: *Izitha zakhe zazifuna ukumudla luhlaza*. (His enemies wanted to eat him green, i.e. before he was ripe.) This is because he is referred to as: *UNofukuthwayo* (The One eaten raw or unripe). There is interesting metaphorical extension here. Unripe fruit, i.e. before it is ready to eat, is usually green, i.e. *-luhlaza*. By metaphorical extension, uncooked meat, i.e. before it is ready to eat, is also referred to as being *-luhlaza*, i.e. raw. Eating either unripe fruit or raw meat is described by the verbal stem *-fukutha*, and when fruit is ripe and meat is cooked, i.e. ready to eat, it is *-vuthiwe*. This concept is used in connection with people, so to say about someone: *Akavuthwanga* (He is unripe or raw) would indicate that he is still immature or has not yet completed his necessary training.

Msimang (1980:237) says: "*In Zulu, dark brown complexion is -luhlaza, i.e. green,*" and he regards this praise name as referring to Dingane's skin colour. Commenting on Dingane's praises, Rycroft (1988:112) says:

"In line 25, Dingane is likened to the colour of gall (or bile) of a wild animal. But in addition to the allusion to the dark green colour of gall, inyongo also means 'personality, dignity'. The gall bladder of an animal was regarded as important in purification rites. Doke and Vilakazi, under their dictionary entry for u(lu)hlaza. cite a line, reputedly from 'Dingane's praises', which differs slightly from the present one and does not occur in other versions so far consulted: 'Uhlaza olwanga imamba yehlathi, (Freshness that approaches that of the bush mamba)'. Shaka has a similar 'green' praise but he is likened to goat's gall (or bile): 'Uhlaza oluyinyongo yembuzi (He who is dark as the bile of a goat)'."

-mpofu (Tan, tawny, dun-coloured): In *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa* (Nyembezi, 1974:6), a lady is described: *Emuhle umuntu lo, empofu thunqu*, translated by Ngcongwane as "*Sy was 'n mooi dame, met 'n bruin kleur*" (1981:245) (She was a beautiful woman, brown in colour)

Jabulile is described in *Ubudoda abukhulelwa* (Nyembezi, 1953:81) as *Lentombazana yayimpofana*, translated by Ngcongwane as: "*Sy was lig van kleur*" (She was light in colour).

4.14.9 Life and Death

Life, with all that it means, is most important to us all and, together with Death, an extremely traumatic part of life, is often spoken of metaphorically, being mapped upon a number of different source domains.

Nxumalo (1994:1) mentions her grandmother asking the question of a child who had been punished: *Ukhalelani? Konje wena uyidlozi, awuthintwa?* (Why are you crying? By the way are you an ancestor, are you untouchable?) By crying, the child was seen to be complaining against punishment and so making out that she was beyond punishment, whereas the only one who is in that position is one who is an ancestor who has joined the shades.

Seeing that a life has a beginning, spans a certain amount of time, and has an end, it maps very successfully onto source domains with a similar well defined time-span, evoking conceptual metaphors such as *Lifetime is a Day* and *Lifetime is a Year*. In *Sengiyakholwa* (Now I am Satisfied) (1970:66), Vilakazi's lament on the death of his father, he describes the death of his own wife invoking the conceptual metaphor *Lifetime is a Day*, with the gradual waning away of life corresponding to the disappearing of daylight, followed by dusk.

NangoNomasomi kwabanjalo
Izinkanyezi zamehlo zacimeza
Waband' wehlulw' ukuzifudumeza.
Mina ngema ngaqhaqhazela izingalo
Ngilunguz' ubuso bakhe buhwelela,
Nobuhle benqaba bangifiphalela.
 (It happened like that also with Nomasomi
 The stars of her eyes went out,
 She became cold and could not warm herself.
 I stood, my arms trembling,
 I glanced at her face becoming dark,
 And its beauty faded away.)

Coupled with this metaphor is another, *Life is Stars*. As the light of the stars goes out, so too does life. This metaphor seemingly clashes with the other, as stars fade before the dawn, whereas, coupled with the metaphor *Lifetime is a Day* and its entailments *Dying is the End of the Day* and *Death is Night*, the logical expectation would be for stars to shine as darkness falls. Perhaps the fact that the stars in the eyes have been extinguished reinforces the darkness of death in the metaphor *Death is Night*. There is yet another conceptual metaphor in this stanza, viz. *Death is Cold*, for although the Zulu have conceptual metaphors, *Illness is Hot* and *Health is Cool*, drawn from the physical experience of seeing the temperature of someone with a fever going down as he recovers, so that they say: *Uyaphola* (He is cooling down, i.e. recovering), they have also experienced that a corpse cannot maintain normal body temperature, but becomes cold.

Another very common mapping for life is onto the source domain of a journey, for as in a journey one makes progress, so also in life, one does not remain static. This evokes the conceptual metaphor *Life is*

a Journey, where life is seen as a journey beginning at birth and continuing on over a period of time with rough and smooth patches along the route to death and beyond. So also, incidents within life are also perceived as being separate journeys, with similar beginnings, routes, and destinations. One of these metaphors entailed by Life is a Journey, for example, is Education is a Journey. In Msimang's poem on the centenary of the University of South Africa (1980:2), he sees the university as a road along which one may travel to reach one's destination in academic achievement. Here he invokes another conceptual metaphor, Achievement is Up. The way is difficult, an uphill struggle, which causes the lazy and weak to slip and slide, but which can be climbed successfully by the industrious who perspire and persevere.

UNdlela ziyaqonsa zifuze ezentab' iEverest.

UMzila ungushishiliza ngokubashelelisa,

ngokushelelisa oNomavila nawoBhocobala.

Ummango okhwelwa kuphela ngezikhwepha,

ngokukhwelwa uSikhuthali noSikhuthazeli,

nabo bathi bethi congco bebe bejuluke phici

(Road they climb a steep ascent resembling those of Mount Everest. Slippery and sliding pathway, causing those who are lazy and weak to slide. Steep ascent which is climbed only by those with ability, climbed by those who are industrious and persevere, and those who stay on top and are bathed in perspiration).

Life is a Possession, so the Zulu Christian can affirm: *Sinokuphila okungunaphakade* (We have eternal life) while many complain: *Kunzima lapha emhlabeni* (it is heavy here on earth), invoking the metaphor Life is a Burden. It is also true that Life is Presence Here for, in response to the greeting: *Kunjani?* (How are you?), the Zulu may reply: *Ngisaphila* (I am still living), or he may say: *Ngikhona*, (I am here) or *Ngisekhona* (I am still here), while the contrasting metaphor Death is Absence Here is invoked when it is said euphemistically of one who has died: *Akasekho* (He is no longer here).

Death is often personified, as can be seen from the various entailments of the conceptual metaphor, Death is a Person. For example, Death is a Woman. Ntuli (1984:111-113) states that most poets personify death, but he finds it remarkable that Vilakazi presents death as a female, giving Death the female name *UNokufa* both in the poem by that name (1965:72), and also in *Okomhlaba kuyadlula* (Earthly things pass away) (1970:4). In the former, Death is depicted as sitting in the dark with her two daughters, *Khalisile* (Causer-of-Weeping) and *Mzondwase* (The Hated), who are supporting their cheeks with their hands, as a sign of mourning. Ntuli feels that Vilakazi's woman acts out of character, seeing that we normally associate women with charm, love and tenderness, and a woman with grown-up daughters should be more motherly and sympathetic. It is interesting, however, that it is not only Vilakazi, and not only Zulu, that uses the conceptual metaphor Death is a Woman, for it occurs in English as can be seen from the book, *Death is the Mother of Beauty* (Turner, 1987). Although Ntuli does not feel that Vilakazi's portrayal of Death as a woman clarifies the picture much, and suggests that this may be because death has no definite features, the fact that Vilakazi personifies two of the features related to death, namely, weeping and hate, as two daughters of the mother, shows that he has exploited the conceptual metaphor in a most natural way, within the framework of the Link Schema. He also refers to *Ntombi kaKufa* and *Ntokazi kaKufa*, both of which could be translated as Daughter of Death.

As a person, Death is a Devourer, and the praise poems contain line upon line where the one praised is said to have eaten, i.e. killed an enemy. Then too, Death is an Adversary. Vilakazi (1965:74) depicts

death, not only as an adversary, but also as a cowardly adversary, hiding when armies are marshalled, and stabbing those who have no place of refuge as well as his own kin.

Mamo, uligwala weNokufa!
Ith' imp' iphakwa wen' ub' uhoxa
EsikaMhlangana noDingane.
Ugwaz' abangenasiphephelo,
Ugwaz' abobambo lwakho —
(What a coward you are, Death!
Like Mhlangana and Dingane,
You withdraw when the army is arrayed.
You stab those who have no refuge,
You stab your own kin —)

Vilakazi (1965:77) also says that Death is a Destroyer.

Waboph' ifindo ngasokhalweni,
Wagwegwesa wathint' izinwele
Zafongqeka..
(You tied a knot at the waist
You went round and touched the hair
And it was crumpled up..)

Then, Death is a Workman, for in *UNokufa* (1965:77), Death is described as a workman proud of his work.

Was' uqhela uya kud' ubuka
Wenamile ngomsebenz' omkhulu..
(Then you moved away and looked,
Rejoicing at (your) great work)

Death is not only personified, however. As an entailment of the metaphor Life is a Journey, Death is Departure, or Death is the End of Life's Journey: *Uhambile* (He has gone); *Akasekho* (He is no longer here). As a entailment of the metaphor Life is a Day, death, the end of life, is the end of the day, i.e. Death is Night, so the Zulu, using the verb used also to describe the sun setting at the end of the day, say: *Ushonile* (He has disappeared from view). At the end of a hard day's work there is rest and sleep, so also, Death is Rest: *Phumula ngoxolo* (Rest in peace); and Death is Sleep, so the deceased is told to *Lala ngoxolo* (Sleep in peace), as Vilakazi (1965:38) says: *Lala sithandwa, lal' uphumule* (Sleep beloved, sleep and rest).

Night is a time which is both looked forward to and feared. It is looked forward to as a time of rest, so Night is a Refuge, which may be personified as Msimang does, invoking the metaphor Night is a Nursemaid, when he says (1980:20):

Mangiphephele kuwe Busuku,
Ngigone ngezingalo zokuthula,
Wena mzanyana wezintandane,

*Mangiphumule esifubeni sakho.
(Let me find refuge in you, Night,
enfold me in your peaceful arms,
you, the nurse of orphans,
let me rest upon your bosom)*

Later in the same poem, he calls night: *mhlomisi wami, ngivukele kuzo izitha zami* (the one who arms me, so that I may wake and face my enemies), invoking the metaphor **Night is a Re-armed**. This is the interpretation given by the poet himself in a personal communication, as it was suggested by one who read a draft of this thesis that the word *ngivukele* could be a misprint for *ngivikele* (protect me). This, however, is not so.

Vilakazi (1970:58) invokes the metaphor, **Night is a Bird**, depicting dawn breaking as a bird flying away from the earth:

*Amaphik' omnyama ebaleka eshiy' umhlaba
(The wings of darkness fleeing leaving the earth).*

But then also, **Night is a Consuming Fire**, for in *Imbongi* (The Poet) (1970:2), Vilakazi describes the sunset in the west with the flaming rays of the sun giving way to darkness, which he also sees as consisting of flames causing things to disappear into the unknown.

*... entshonalanga
Laph' imililw' ebomv' iqhamuka khona,
Nalapho kungephuzela khona
Amalangab' omnyama nokwesaba
(In the west
Where crimson fires are glowing
where flicker too,
flames of darkness and fear)*

4.14.10 Time

It is often claimed that the African concept of time differs greatly from that of the West. Mbiti, (1990:15-28) says that traditionally time for the African is simply a composition of events which have occurred, those which are taking place now and those which are inevitably or immediately to occur. Time has to be experienced in order to make sense or to become real. What has not taken place or what has no likelihood of an immediate occurrence falls in the category of "No-time". What is certain to occur, or what falls within the rhythm of natural phenomena, is in the category of what he calls inevitable or potential time. Time then, is a two-dimensional phenomenon, with a long past, a present, and virtually no future. When a paper was read on the naming of months in Xhosa at a Western Cape Regional meeting of the African Languages Association of Southern Africa in 1994, Prof. S C Satyo disagreed with Mbiti's analysis of the African concept of time, and pointed to the complicated system of tenses to indicate that it is rather more complex than Mbiti seems to convey.

Metaphorically, the Zulu concept of time shows many similarities to that of English, and it is difficult to determine how far this can be attributed to language change in modern industrialised South Africa,

except perhaps where foreign acquisitions, such as the verbal stem *-mosa* (waste < Afr. *mors*) are used in an expression such as: *Wamosa isikhathi sakhe ngokudlala* (He wasted his time playing).

Some of the Zulu conceptual metaphors with time as the target domain are: Time is a Limited Resource. *Anginasikhathi* (I do not have time); *Wahlala isikhathi eside* (He sat for a long time); *Lo msebenzi uzothatha isikhathi esincane kuphela* (This job will take only a little time); *Unesikhathi esingakanani?* (How much time do you have?) *Isikhathi sesiphelile* (The time is already finished).

Because it is limited, it follows also that Time is a Valuable Commodity: *Ungachithi isikhathi sakho* (Do not waste your time); *Gcina isikhathi kahle* (Keep good time); *Ngicela uxolo ngoba ngithathe isikhathi sakho* (I apologise for taking your time); *Besinesikhathi esimnandi* (We had a pleasant time); *Ubengasebenzisi isikhathi sakhe ngendlela efaneleyo* (She did not use her time in the right way).

Time is also sometimes personified, so that: Time is a Person. *Sithini isikhathi?* (What does the time say? i.e. What time is it?); *Isikhathi asivumi* (Time does not allow); *Isikhathi sibalekile* (Time has run out); *Ngibanjwe yisikhathi* (I am held by time i.e. Time prevents me); *Ngivinjwe yisikhathi* (Time stands in my way); *Sesidlulile isikhathi* (Time has now passed by). This last metaphor also incorporates Time is Something Moving which Vilakazi (1970:11) invokes in the lines:

Zinesithunz' izinwele zakho!
Zibik' imigwaqo yeminyaka
 (Your hair has dignity,
 giving evidence of the roads of years)

Ntuli (1984:165) says of this description of the old man: "The poet has added concreteness to the movement of the years by saying that there are roads on which the old man's years have travelled." Other examples of this are: *Isikhathi sokuhlolwa siyasondele* (The time for examination is drawing near); *Sesifikile isikhathi sokusebenza* (The time to work has arrived); *Sesihambile isikhathi* (The time has gone); and *Isikhathi sempi siseduze* (The time for war is near).

4.14.11 Emotions and Characteristics

As in many other languages, Zulu has the conceptual metaphor, Human Emotions and Characteristics are Human Organs, although emotions and characteristics in Zulu may be conceived of as being seated in different organs from those in which they are seated in other languages. The Zulu says, for example: *Unesibindi* (He has liver i.e. He is brave); *Unenhliziyo* (He has a heart i.e. He is kind). The organ may be further described by means of a qualificative: *Unenhliziyo omhlophe* (He has a white heart i.e. He is honest); *Unenhliziyo ende* (He has a long heart i.e. He is long-suffering).

Other emotions map onto other source domains, for example, the physical state of feeling flushed when angry evokes the conceptual metaphor Anger is Fire. Mashezi uses a verb intensified by an ideophone in describing Ndawonde in *Inkinsela YaseMgungundlovu*, (Nyembezi, 1970:17) when he says: *Manje uNdawonye uyavutha uthi bhe. INkosi, uwotha ubomvu* (Ndawonde is now blazing — a flaming fire i.e. very angry. By God (lit. Lord), he is burning red hot). In *Ubudoda Abukhulelwa* (1974:98), Vusi's Indian employer reacts vehemently to being called a coolie: *Wowu, wavutha wangamalangabi umfo waseNdiya*, (My, tongues of fiery indignation flamed from the son of India).

Vilakazi (1965:86) describes the result of the passion with which a certain teacher at Mariannhill taught, firing his pupils with enthusiasm, showing that both English and Zulu have the conceptual metaphor **Enthusiasm is Fire**:

Wathakath' okaWeseli
Wathakath' okaGumede
Baphenduk' amalangabi.
(He bewitched the son of Weseli
and the son of Gumede
and they turned into flames.)

Ntuli (1984:76) comments:

"The effectiveness of his [Pelepele's] teaching is compared to the magical powers of witchcraft. The boys were transformed into new beings and their dynamism is metaphorically likened to that of fire. It is such skilful use of metaphor and symbolism that makes this long poem a pleasure to read even to those who do not have full knowledge of the actual facts regarding historical figures and places."

Love is a human emotion for which poets throughout the ages have exploited metaphor. Msimang (1980:8), for example, uses the *Izibongo* style to great effect when he invokes the conceptual metaphor **Love is a Mystery**, and describes love by a series of names derived in the style of traditional Zulu nicknames.

Uyimpicabadala weThabisile,
Uyinqabakayitshelwana weDuduzile;
Uyindida weBathandekile,
Uyinkinga weBazondekile;
Uyingwijikhwebu weBahlukanisile.
(You are a riddle, O you Happy-maker.
You are inexplicable, you Comforter;
You are a puzzle, you Beloved;
You are a puzzle, you Hated;
You are incomprehensible, O you Separator.)

4.14.12 The Senses

The senses may also be used as a source domain, for example, **Experiencing is Hearing**. Ntuli (1984:39) says of Vilakazi's poem *Inqomfi* (The Yellow-throated Longclaw) (1965:14):

"It is striking that Vilakazi compares good music to juice. In other words he manipulates his metaphor because normally we expect the auditory stimulus to be perceived by the auditory organ instead of the gustatory one. The poet may have felt that it would be less impressive if he had likened good music to another pleasant sound. We admire his metaphorical transformation of melody to juice and the ear to the tongue. Any incongruity is eliminated by the fact that we use the same word 'mnandi' for expressing our approval for good music and for sweet juice. The verb '-zwa' which Vilakazi uses has more

semantic overtones than 'hear' used by Keats. It can refer to the perception of sound, taste and touch. Keat's word is limited to the auditory sense."

Seeing is Touching is another example of the senses being used as a source domain. Vilakazi can see far out into the ocean because he has cast his eyes there: *Ngiphons' amehlo phakathi olwandle olumagagasi* (I cast (my) eyes into the middle of the sea with waves) (1970:17). It is by experiencing the world around us through the senses of touch, sight and hearing, that we really come to understand it. This fact evokes conceptual metaphors such as: Understanding is Grasping, *Lesi sifundo usibambile na?* (Have you grasped this lesson?); and Understanding is Seeing,

Wen' engibon' ukuth' ungomunye

Walemingcw i yamathongo..."

(You who I see [think, suspect, understand] are one
of the spirits of the ancestors) (Vilakazi, 1970:49).

Ntuli (1984:105), comments on this that there is some ambiguity in this passage, because the verbal stem *-bona*, apart from meaning "see", also means "think" and "suspect".

The expression, invoking this conceptual metaphor directly by saying: *Sengiyabona* (Now I understand) is, however, very common, as is invoking the metaphor from the sense of sound, Understanding is Hearing, as in *Uzwile na?* (Do you understand?)

4.15. CONCLUSION

From the data discussed in this chapter, it is obvious that the Zulu still continue to create and decipher new metaphors in their day to day activities as well as in the various literary genres in the language. These metaphors are usually extensions of basic conceptual metaphors by which one domain is understood and experienced in terms of another. Many of these conceptual metaphors have existed in Zulu from time immemorial, although we have suggested that others have been accepted into the Zulu conceptual domain as the Zulu have been brought into contact with other languages and cultures and have enjoyed new experiences through education, travel, and exposure to new technology. When a new conceptual metaphor is accepted into Zulu, it is possible that it will not be exactly the same as a similar conceptual metaphor in another language, however. This is because conceptual metaphors do not exist within airtight containers. Rather, they exert an influence upon one another so that they become peculiarly Zulu. Vilakazi (1938:127) said that using Western poetic form:

"does not mean to say that we have incorporated into our poetry even their spirit. If we use Western stanza-forms and metrical systems we employ them only as vehicles or receptacles for our poetic images, depicted as we see and conceive." (Underlining EAH)

In this chapter, metaphors found in the literature examined have been analysed and stated in terms of conceptual metaphors, giving some indication of certain of the source and target domains in Zulu and how they are mapped, allowing features of the one domain to be understood as corresponding features of the other domain, and also allowing words, for example verbs, usually associated with the one domain to be used to express verbal functions in the other domain. In the following chapters, after surveying the theories for the translation of metaphor from one language to another, the possibility will be investigated as to what extent the existence of a similar conceptual metaphor within a community speaking a different

language can assist in the translation of metaphor from the one language into the other. In order to do this, certain Hebrew metaphors found in the Book of Amos will be analysed and stated as conceptual metaphors and then compared with the Zulu data to see whether or not Hebrew and Zulu share similar conceptual metaphors and to what extent this may influence the translation of Hebrew metaphor into Zulu so that the implicatures of the Hebrew metaphor are conveyed to the Zulu receptor.

CHAPTER 5

Translating Metaphor

5.1. IS TRANSLATION POSSIBLE?

The question: "Is translation possible?" has been asked repeatedly of all kinds of utterances and texts, and particularly in the case of metaphor. Whether the question is answered in the negative or the affirmative, depends largely on the theory of translation and the theory of metaphor the person answering has.

5.2. FORMAL TRANSLATION OF BIBLES IN SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Early Bible translations in the languages of Southern Africa, as in many other languages, were formal translations. The aim of the translator was to match the words and grammatical structures of the languages into which they were translating the Scriptures as closely as possible to the Hebrew and Greek words and grammatical structures of the Biblical text. The result was a translation which, although it used the words of the receptor language, did not always sound as the natural language should. In many cases, although the words of the receptor language matched those of the source language, the resultant message they conveyed was totally different from the message intended by the original text, and thus also totally different from that which was conveyed to mother-tongue speakers of the source language. Sometimes a translation has been accepted by speakers of the receptor language even although it has sounded different to the people from the way in which they normally speak. It has been accepted, even when there have been passages which they have found difficult or impossible to understand, for they have accepted it as the Word of God, and therefore as somehow mysterious. This "mysterious" factor can also lead to people holding on to formal translations of the Bible which they find difficult to understand, even once clearer, more intelligible translations have been produced in their language.

5.3. DYNAMIC EQUIVALENT TRANSLATIONS

During July 1967, Dr Eugene Nida conducted a translation seminar at the University of the North at Turfloop (Nida, 1974:181). At that seminar, the principles of dynamic equivalence translation were expounded. These principles are summarised by Nida (1974:12) as follows: *"Translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style."*

After that seminar, the Bible Society of South Africa investigated the need for dynamic equivalent translations in the languages of South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia), and assisted in the setting up and training of translation teams, and in supplying them with the necessary tools in the form of literature, and exegetical and linguistic consultation services. At one time there were Bible translation projects in approximately 20 languages in the region, using dynamic equivalent principles to a greater or lesser extent. In South Africa, this has resulted in the publication of new translations of the Bible in Afrikaans (1983), Southern Sotho, in the orthographies of both Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa (1989), and Tsonga (Mahungu Lamanene) (1989). First translations of the New Testament have been

published in Swazi (1981) and together with Psalms (1986); and in Southern Ndebele together with a selection of thirty Psalms (1986). A new translation of the New Testament has been published in Xhosa (1980) and together with Psalms (1987); and the New Testament and Psalms in Zulu (1986) and in Venda (1988). Old Testament translations are continuing in Swazi, Venda and Xhosa, whereas a translation of the complete Bible is in progress in Northern Sotho.¹

In the dynamic equivalence theory of translation, meaning is given priority, for it is the content of the message which is of prime importance for Bible translating (Nida 1974:13). The focus is on the receptor. The translator's primary task is to reproduce the message contained in the text in the source language, in such a way in the receptor language, that it will not only be understood, but that it is also very unlikely to be misunderstood, by the receptor. This was a good emphasis to make after the years of formal translations which concentrated on reproducing the words and structures of the message and often resulted in a translation which could either not be understood, or was totally misunderstood by the receptor.

Over the years, however, with the greater realisation that translating cannot be isolated from the total communication act (de Waard & Nida 1986:45), and the fact that the term "dynamic equivalence" has tended to be understood merely in terms of something which has impact and appeal, the term "functional equivalence" has taken its place. De Waard and Nida say that this is particularly because the twin bases for effective translation seem to be best represented in a sociosemiotic and sociolinguistic orientation, in which the focus is upon function (1986:36).

5.4. NEGLECT OF METAPHOR IN TRANSLATION THEORY

De Waard (1974:107), points out that, in spite of the importance of metaphor, and the problems involved in its translation, Nida gives very little formal attention to it in his published writings. Dagut (1976:21) states that metaphor *"is a phenomenon which is both central to all forms of language use (and particularly to creative writing, whether in verse or prose) and at the same time is also one of the main points in which interlingual incongruence manifests itself ("there is no bilingual dictionary of metaphors"). This being so and translation being the active exploration of, and struggle with, discrepancies between languages, it could be expected that 'metaphor' would occupy a prominent place in all attempts to establish the theoretical bases of translation. Yet such a reasonable expectation remains almost wholly unfulfilled."* He reviews the space allotted to metaphor in the main literature on translation in English, French and German in contrast to the close attention paid to it by rhetoricians and literary critics, and comes to the conclusion: *"There is thus an almost grotesque disproportion between the importance and frequency of 'metaphor' in language use and the very minor role allotted to it in translation theory."* Therefore, he says: *"It is high time for translation theory to make a start on a thorough and systematic discussion of the translation implications of 'metaphor'."*

5.5. METHODS USED FOR TRANSLATING METAPHOR

Although the translation theorists may have little to say about the translation of metaphor, others involved in training of translators for "dynamic equivalence" or "meaning based" translations of the Bible do have suggestions as to how metaphor should be translated. It seems, however, that they tend to follow the Aristotelian view of metaphor. Beekman and Callow (1974:127) define simile and metaphor almost

¹ These Bibles have since been published Swazi and Xhosa (1996), Venda (1998), Northern Sotho (2000).

identically, a simile being an explicit comparison and a metaphor being an implicit comparison. So, *"A metaphor is an implicit comparison in which one item of the comparison (the 'image') carries a number of components of meaning of which usually only one is contextually relevant to and shared by the second item (the 'topic')."* They explain that the *topic* is the particular item or event under discussion, or it may be the people addressed. The *image* is that part of the comparison which is intended to illustrate the subject under discussion. It follows that it is essential that the image be expressed explicitly. The *point of similarity* states what the comparison or resemblance between the topic and the image is. Like the topic, the point of similarity may or may not be stated explicitly. If it is not stated explicitly, it has to be inferred from the context. This requires a careful study of the context since the same image may be used with different points of similarity in different contexts. Any image carries a number of components of meaning and, in different contexts, different components of the image may be relevant (1974:128).

5.5.1 Direct word for word translation

Firstly, one of the ways used for translating metaphor, is word for word from the source language into the receptor language. This is what was done in the past by those who translated the Bible by formal equivalence, believing that the metaphor in the receptor language would automatically convey the same meaning as the metaphor in the source language. However, Beekman and Callow (1974:143) warn that, as metaphor may be language-specific in meaning, a source language metaphor translated word for word may convey zero meaning, or a wrong meaning in the receptor language. They therefore stress that it is important that the translator clearly understand the pitfalls associated with metaphor, and know how to handle them so that the meaning the metaphor conveyed to the original readers is faithfully transmitted to the receptor language readers. They state, for example that if new metaphors are not being created in a language, the metaphors of Scripture are likely to prove a real hindrance to understanding if retained in the form of a metaphor. However, even in languages where metaphors are regularly being coined, as has been shown to be the case in Zulu (see chapter 4), and where the translator may reasonably expect that receptor-language speakers will offer no resistance to the metaphors of Scripture, this does not guarantee that they will decipher the metaphors of Scripture in the way in which the author intended, that is, that they will be able to ascertain the intended points of similarity or the right topic. For example "horn" is sometimes used in the Old Testament as a symbol of might and power (cf. Jer. 48:25; Zech. 1:18ff; Ez. 29:21), whereas in some languages "horn" contains implicatures of sorcery, and in others of sex.

5.5.2 Reducing metaphor to simile

Secondly, it has been claimed that one of the simplest adjustments that can be made is to translate the Biblical metaphor in the form of a simile, thus making it explicit that a comparison is intended. If the translator believes that the comparison is still not clear, the point of similarity may be added, so that the simile will include the topic, the image and the point of similarity. In 1951, in answer to the question: *"Can one substitute similes for metaphors?"* Nida answered: *"The answer to this question is a hearty 'Yes'. The substitution of similes for metaphors is often the best solution to an otherwise hopeless predicament."* (Nida, 1951:95).

It is understandable that, if a language does not use metaphor, but does use simile to serve a similar function, reducing a metaphor of the "A is B" type to a simile "A is like B", could be legitimate. Where a language uses both metaphor and simile, it is doubtful whether making explicit the fact that a comparison is intended, will really aid the receptor to grasp the meaning intended, or whether the only result will be a simile which is less expressive than the original metaphor.

A further problem arises when the translator seeks to supply *the* point of similarity. Some metaphors contain some indication of the point of similarity. For example, when one says: "*That child is a greedy little pig*", the tenor is *child*, the vehicle is *pig*, and the point of similarity is obviously that of *greed*, and it is not likely that the speaker intended anything more, nor that the hearer will attempt to process the metaphor further. However, when one says "*He is a ferocious lion*", the vehicle could be *lion*, and the point of similarity *ferocious*, or the vehicle could be the NP, "*ferocious lion*", in which case the hearer could continue to process the metaphor, looking for further points of similarity.

Consider the metaphor "*that fox*" referring to King Herod in Luke 13:32. What was *the* point of similarity which Jesus was drawing between a fox and Herod? Reiling and Swellengrebel (1971:517) in the United Bible Societies' Helps for Translators Series say: "*crafty, or, cunning man*". Loewen (1973:56), a former United Bible Societies translation consultant in Africa, says: "*The basis for calling Herod a fox comes from a supplementary component, which in European languages means: sly, cunning, or cheating. In fact, most readers of the New Testament (underlining EAH) will assume that Jesus called Herod a sly, cheating individual when in actual fact this is probably not the supplementary component on the basis of which Jesus used the word. The Bible speaks of foxes as being destructive, and many commentators feel that the real supplementary component here is destructiveness.*" Loewen then says that a German translation is the only one of which he is aware which has what could be translated into English as "Go tell that fox, that destroyer". He is probably referring to the translation by Jörg Zink (1965), which has "*Sagt diesem Fuchs, erwiderte Jesus, diesem Verderber*". In Loewen's figure 27 in the accompanying Handbook of Diagrams, "destructive" is the only point of similarity he gives between what he calls the literal and figurative meaning of fox.

Beekman and Callow (1974:129) give a different list of the characteristics of a fox from those given by Loewen and identify "*sly*" as the point of similarity, although they admit in parentheses "*(It is assumed here that the point of similarity is "slyness". This is not overtly stated in the metaphor.)*"

McArthur (1992:16), commenting on the mistranslation of this verse in the Aguacatec language of Guatemala, says: "The helps we had at that time told us that the point of comparison was that Herod was a cheater. We have since come to understand from the use of the word fox in many other Biblical passages that Jesus was calling him a small or inconsequential man". He then adds, "a better rendering would be 'go tell that poor benighted soul...'" Whether this is a better rendering, or a further interpretation from the translation consultant's own cultural and linguistic background, is open to question.

Geldenhuys (1961:382, 384) says: "He bids them tell Herod — 'that fox (a cunning but weak ruler)', and in a footnote quotes T W Manson (1930:568) "'Fox' in Jewish use has a double sense. It typifies low cunning as opposed to straightforward dealing, and is used in contrast to 'lion' to describe an insignificant third-rate person as opposed to a person of real power and greatness. To call Herod 'that fox' is as much to say he is neither a great man nor a straight man; he has neither majesty nor honour."

The fact that different commentators understand the metaphor of the fox referring to King Herod differently, highlights the problem with attempting to reduce a metaphor to a simile, and to make explicit what the text intended to be implicit. This method focuses on one point of similarity, which may have been chosen arbitrarily by the translator, or a third-language exegete (cf. Schneider, 1992:8-9), often on the basis of his own cultural and linguistic background, to the exclusion of any other possible point(s) of similarity contained in the original metaphor and which may have been understood as being implied by the intended hearer in the source language. When the New Testament was translated into Swazi, for

example, it seems that the translators were over-influenced by the Western explanation of the *fox* metaphor in the commentaries as referring to one who is sly and cunning. They therefore substituted another animal metaphor, *snake*, and translated: "*Hambani nitjele leyo nyoka nitsi:*" (Go and tell that snake). This change, rather than eliciting the implicatures contained in the original utterance, weighted it rather to suggest that Jesus was calling Herod even more of a twisty schemer than is indicated when fox is used as a metaphor in English.

The metaphor of the fox in Luke is interesting, because it was spoken by Jesus, probably in Aramaic and with his Jewish background, but it is recorded in Greek. The fox in the Greek Aesop's fables is a sly, cunning character and this is how the concept is used metaphorically in some Western languages such as English. It appears, however, that the Hebrew metaphorical use of *fox* is more in line with the explanation given by Manson and "*used in contrast to 'lion' to describe an insignificant third-rate person as opposed to a person of real power and greatness.*" Hope (1992) points out that the Hebrew word נִינְעִל and the Greek equivalent ὄλῳπηξ can refer either to any of the three types of foxes or the jackal found in Palestine, and that נִינְעִל "*occurs in Semitic non-Biblical literature as a metaphor referring to an insignificant but self-important leader.*" In Zulu, and other African languages, *impungushe*, the jackal, is also seen as an insignificant animal, and, referring metaphorically to a king as *impungushe*, instead of as *iSilo* or *iNgonyama*, the lion, the normal praise-names of a paramount chief (Doke & Vilakazi, 1972:557), has the same effect which Manson suggests was intended by Jesus. It is interesting to note that, in revising the New Testament translation for publication in the first complete Bible in Swazi (in publication, 1995), the translators decided also to use the jackal metaphor in place of the snake metaphor they had used previously, and to translate: "*Hambani nitjele leyo mphungutja, nitsi:*" (Go and tell that jackal).

5.5.3 Reducing metaphor to non-figurative language

Thirdly, the translator may give the meaning of the Biblical metaphor in a non-figurative form. Within this possibility, the translator may choose to retain the image used in the original, or he may not (Beekman & Callow, 1974:148).

This option follows the literal-core substitution and comparison theories which suggest that metaphor can be reduced to literal usage. However, according to interactive and recent cognitive theories, metaphor has been shown to be irreducible to literal usage (Kjærgaard, 1986:104-105; Kittay, 1987:22). While it is possible to paraphrase metaphor, it cannot be done without loss. For example, reducing "*tell that fox*" to "*tell that sly man*" (Beekman & Callow, 1974:149) loses all the force contained in the potential implicatures of the metaphor, while at the same time restricting it to only one meaning which may or may not have been intended by the speaker as discussed in paragraph 5.5.2.

It must be admitted, however, that Bible translators are very aware of the problems entailed in feeling forced to reduce certain metaphors in the source language to non-figurative language in the receptor language. For this reason, they are often advised to try to restore the balance by translating an equal amount of non-figurative language in the source text into metaphor in the receptor text. The question arises as to how this balance is perceived. It would appear that in this view metaphor functions mainly as a decorative rhetorical device. So, just as it is possible to replace a picture on a wall with another picture in a different position, so it is possible to replace a metaphor in one position in the text with a totally different metaphor in another position in the text and maintain the same effect or balance. This may be possible, if the author intended the metaphor as a decorative rhetorical device. However, metaphor is more often used because it is the most precise way in which the author can express what he wants to

say, and he wished to say it like that, not for rhetorical effect, but because it contains exactly the implicatures he intended. Reducing the author's metaphor to literal paraphrase in one part of the text, thus eliminating his intended implicatures, and then introducing a different metaphor with different implicatures in another part of the text where the author did not intend them, rather than restoring balance, will surely produce a different emphasis from that which the author intended.

5.5.4 Combining metaphor with other language structures

Fourthly, a metaphor may be combined with a metaphor, a simile or a non-figurative form of language (Beekman & Callow, 1974:149). In Matthew 3:10, where impending judgment is stated metaphorically as an axe being laid at the root of trees, ready to chop down the fruitless ones, the tenor could be stated first as a metaphor, "*you are trees that do not bear fruit*", or a simile "*you are like trees that do not bear fruit*", followed by the original metaphor. Another example would be the possibility of using the metaphor together with a qualificative, such as "*Go and tell that insignificant fox*".

5.5.5 Replacing source metaphor with similar receptor metaphor

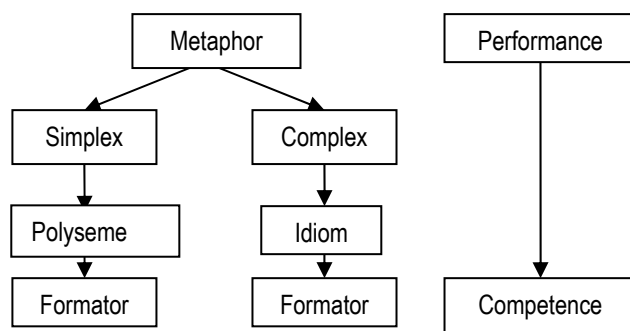
A fifth possibility, is to replace the Biblical metaphor with a receptor language metaphor of similar meaning i.e. which will evoke similar implicatures (Larsen, 1984:253-4). This is what was attempted in the original Swazi translation of Luke 13:32, where the metaphor *fox* was replaced by the metaphor *snake*. As mentioned above (5.5.2.), the implicatures of the fox metaphor in Aramaic, Hellenistic Greek and even English, do not correspond very closely to those of the *snake* metaphor in Swazi. In fact, it may be questioned whether or not two different metaphors, one in the source and the other in the receptor language, really can have the same implicatures. In a language there may be a number of metaphors drawn from different source domains, mapped onto the same target domain and evoking different implicatures. For example, in English, Life is a Journey, and Life is a Theatrical Production, evoke different implicatures, as do Argument is War and Argument is a Game. It is therefore most likely that replacing a metaphor from the source language with a different metaphor from the receptor language will also result in different implicatures being evoked by the receptor than were intended by the author.

5.6. METAPHOR, IDIOM, POLYSEMY

The question "Can metaphor be translated?" evokes another question "What do you mean by metaphor?" Theorists differ in their answer to this question. Newmark (1980:93-100), for example, has a very wide definition and divides metaphor into five types: dead, cliché, stock, recent and original. Dagut (1976:21-33; 1978:91-120; 1987:77-83), on the other hand, distinguishes between metaphor, and metaphorical derivatives, such as idiom, polysemy and proverb, and eventually what he calls syntactical words, connectors or formators. Whereas the translation theorist will need to accommodate all types, it may be that different types of metaphoric language require different solutions for their translation.

Dagut (1987:77-78) believes that it is most important "to distinguish clearly between metaphor proper and such metaphorical derivatives as polysemes, idioms and proverbs, since this distinction is essential for a proper understanding both of metaphor itself and of the translation problems arising from it. It may seem that Newmark and Mason (and other writers on the subject) are making this same distinction by their use of such qualifying epithets as 'original' or 'live' metaphors (= metaphor *stricto sensu*) and 'dead' or 'permanent' metaphor (= polyseme or idiom), but this is really a confusing illusion. What such qualifiers do is to give the impression of a single metaphorical *continuum* made up of differing *quantitative* degrees

of one and the same linguistic phenomenon. Whereas, in actual fact, metaphor proper is *qualitatively* distinguished from its derivatives in the following way. Metaphor ("the mark of genius" as Aristotle called it, (Poetics 1459a)) is an individual creative flash of imagination fusing disparate categories of experience in a powerfully meaningful semantic anomaly; whereas metaphorically derived forms and collocations (polysemes, idioms, proverbs) have lost their creative anomalousness and come to be part, indeed a central part, of the lexical system of the language in question. Hence, while a dictionary (which by definition, codifies 'institutionalized' lexis) would be woefully incomplete without the polysemes and the idioms of the language(s) concerned, it cannot possibly contain metaphors (which by definition are not part of the 'institution'). Which amounts to saying that, in the terminology of contemporary linguistics, metaphor belongs wholly to the speakers' 'performance', its derivatives to their 'competence'."



The following diagram, adapted from Dagut (1976:24; 1978:99) illustrates the process:

In defending the relevance of this qualitative distinction to translation theory and practice, Dagut says that translation, in general, involves the comparison of two language systems and the choice of the parts (phonological, syntactic, lexical, pragmatic) of the TL (target language) system which seem to the translator to be most nearly equivalent, in context, to the parts of the SL (source language) system instantiated in the particular source text. Thus, translating a given SL polyseme, idiom or proverb, into the TL, is achieved by the selection (where possible) of an equivalent polyseme, idiom or proverb in the TL and the translator's competence is measured here by the extent to which he controls the relevant systems (loosely described as his *Sprachgefühl*). The competent translator will only be really put to the test in those cases where the TL system affords no equivalent to the particular ST (source text) item and the translator is therefore forced back on various substitution procedures, rendering the sense, but not the form of the ST item. Hence, translation of the metaphorical derivatives is essentially the same process as the translation of any other component of the SL system.

The special problem of translating metaphor proper (Dagut refers to the term "original metaphors" as a pleonasm, mere tautology, and "dead metaphor" as a contradiction in terms) can be formulated as follows: the metaphor in the ST, being by definition a creative violation of the SL semantic system, has to be created in the TT (target text), since its equivalent obviously cannot be found in the TL system. Dagut rejects the idea that the already created metaphor can simply be transferred from the ST to the TT by translating it word for word, because he says that this would make one of the most complexly creative uses of language ("the mark of genius") the easiest of all to translate, and also requires us to accept the untested and improbable assumption that all metaphors are universal, and that it is therefore sufficient for a metaphor to be acceptably and effectively used in one language to ensure its equal acceptability and

effectiveness when literally transferred to any other. This would have us conceive of language as differing multifariously at every level (phonological, syntactic, lexical, pragmatic) yet mysteriously and miraculously uniform in their metaphors. Just how implausible this is, can be seen in the striking differences frequently found between the idioms (themselves originally metaphors) in various languages. Moreover, metaphorical universalism of this kind would imply that any metaphor becomes acceptable and effective by the mere fact of being used. But this is patently not the case.

Dagut (1987:82) says:

"A 'theory' of the translation of metaphor, then, consists of two parts: (1) the establishment of the general principle that, in relation to the TL, every ST metaphor occupies a position on a gradient of translatability (ranging from completely untranslatable to literally translatable) determined by its cultural and lexical resonances and the extent that these can be reproduced in the TL; and (2) a close investigation of these resonances and the possibility of reproducing them in every particular case."

Mason (1982:149) says:

"There are metaphors and words and expressions which are not at all, or not directly translatable. This state of affairs is brought about, not by the nature of metaphor, but by the problems of translation in general, problems which are posed by cultural differences. Each occurrence of a metaphor for translation must therefore be treated in isolation; each of its components must be dealt with in the light of its cultural connotations before a translation of the whole can take place, and account must also be taken of the textual context in which a metaphor is used. There cannot be a theory of the translation of metaphor; there can only be a theory of translation, and that theory has to allow for the notion of the purpose of translating each new text."

Dagut (1976:28) from actual examples finds that some metaphors are more easily translated than others.

"What emerges is a picture of metaphor as governed by a subtle interaction of cultural experience and semantic associations; so that what determines the translatability of a SL metaphor is not its 'boldness' or 'originality', but rather the extent to which the cultural experience and semantic associations on which it draws are shared by speakers of the particular TL."

5.7. WHAT PROBLEM DOES THE BIBLE TRANSLATOR HAVE WITH METAPHOR?

Firstly, he must seek as far as possible to understand the source message, be it literal, non figurative, or figurative, such as metaphor, in the way in which the author intended it to be understood.

As his source, the translator has the Biblical text, written mainly in Classical Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek, which he believes to be God's revelation of Himself and His message of salvation to His creation. Whether or not the translator holds the conservative evangelical position that the original documents were given by God by plenary verbal inspiration, or whether he holds a more liberal position, he believes that the Scriptures are relevant for today. Just as the Scriptures were relevant to the people living in the socio political, religious, cultural and historical setting in which they were written, so they are equally

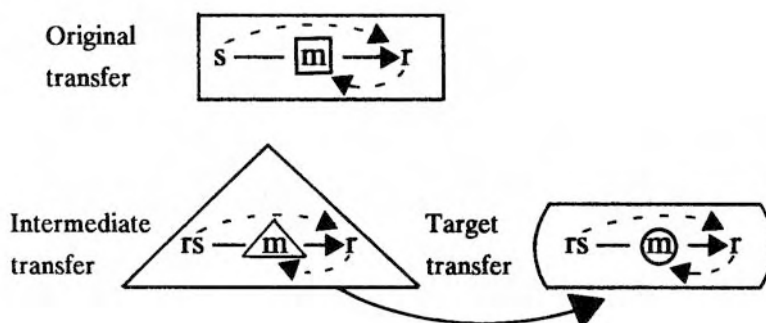
relevant as God's message to the people in the world today, no matter how different their culture and situation may be. The message is from God and, just as it was meant to communicate clearly and directly to those to whom it was first given, so it must communicate to those for whom it is translated today. The goal of Scriptural translation is to ensure that modern men and women hear God speaking to them clearly and fluently in their own language, without distortion either of the message or of their language. As on the day of Pentecost the people who were gathered in Jerusalem testified that they heard *"them declaring the wonders of God in our own tongues,"* (Acts 2:11) so people throughout the world today should hear the same message and understand it just as clearly.

What this implies, is that the translator must understand the message of the text in the original language, and in the author's historical, political, social, religious, cultural and literary context. Basic to this understanding will be the ability to distinguish when the author is using figurative language, and discovering how and why he is using it. Much heresy has been propounded over the years by well meaning people who have interpreted Biblical metaphor and other figurative language as if it were literal.

Then, the translator must transfer the message of the text from the source language to the receptor language, in such a way that the message is communicated clearly and accurately to the modern reader of a language with vastly different phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic structures, living in a totally different historical, political, social, religious and cultural context, with another literary heritage from that of the author.

An added problem is that Bible translators do not necessarily translate directly from the Biblical language into their own. In many, and probably the majority of cases, the mother tongue members of the translation team (Nida & Taber, 1974:174-186), do not have a competent knowledge of the Biblical languages, and often also have scant knowledge of the geographical, cultural, social and political context in which the author lived. Usually, therefore, the translation team includes an exegetical resource person with training in Biblical studies, and Hebrew and Greek, who is able to help the national translators understand the source text and something of the historical, geographical, political, social and cultural background in which it was written. He also helps them to consult the available linguistic and exegetical aids written in English, French, German, Afrikaans, or some other language. These include books such as dictionaries, lexicons, encyclopaedias, Bible dictionaries and commentaries, and technical translation manuals, such as the Translators' Handbook series and the Monographs, produced by the United Bible Societies and Summer Institute of Linguistics. What this means is that a mother tongue speaker of a third language, and with a different socio cultural background from both the source and the receptor, and using materials in his own, or an acquired language, must first ensure that he understands the message of the text in terms of his own language. He must then explain it to the national translators to enable them to communicate it so that the readers of their language can understand the message of the text without distortion. Thus, says Schneider (1992:8-9), they pass the material in translation through the screen, or filter, of their own language proficiency, and the danger of a biased understanding and a distorted rendering of the Biblical message is vastly increased by such a "detour". Every such exegete knows the experience of his national colleagues misunderstanding his English explanation, and this should make him acutely aware of the possibility that he, or the writers of his books of reference, may have misunderstood the original in a similar way.

Schneider represents this translation process diagrammatically, as follows, and says: "The aim is to represent the double role of the translator as receptor and sender (or source, RS) across two distinct socio-cultural frontiers ("square" to "triangular" and "triangular" to "round"):



The outline reads as follows: A certain message is carried from a 'square' source to final 'round' receptors via a 'triangular' language in context."

This interference from an intermediate language is a very real danger, even in the translation of texts which are considered straightforward, literal and non figurative. How much more care needs to be taken then with figurative language, especially metaphor, to ensure that double distortion does not take place. This could happen if the Biblical metaphor is misunderstood in the author's context and so interpreted incorrectly in the exegete's context. The incorrect interpretation could then be interpreted "correctly" from the intermediate language into the receptor language, or a further distortion could take place, with the intermediate interpretation being misunderstood and so being translated incorrectly into the receptor language. In either case, the resultant message in the receptor language will be vastly different from that intended by the author of the text.

Not only does the translator need the tools to enable him to understand the source message clearly, as the author intended his readers to do, but he must also have the tools to enable him to communicate that message clearly in the receptor language. This implies that he know something of what has been called the "genius" of the receptor language. It is more than a knowledge of grammar and vocabulary, syntax and semantics. The translator needs to know something about the literary devices of the receptor language and how they are used. Is parallelism a feature in the poetry of the receptor language, as it is in Hebrew? Is non figurative language, such as metaphor, a feature in the receptor language and, if so, where and how is it used? It is not sufficient to know that a metaphor used in Classical Hebrew or Hellenistic Greek is also used in Zulu. On the surface it may appear that the metaphors in the different languages consist of the equivalent words in those languages, but what they convey to the speakers of the different languages may be poles apart. A literal, word for word, translation of a Biblical metaphor or other figure into Zulu, may result in a Zulu metaphor or figure, but it may signify something completely different to the Zulu reader from what it signified to the Hebrew or Greek reader when it was first written.

When Jesus told the parable of the two men who went to the temple to pray (Luke 18:9-14), he described the tax collector's remorse for his sin by saying "he beat his breast". This is in contrast to the pride shown by the Pharisee. Although their grammatical constructions may differ slightly, most Zulu translations translate the words literally. The 1959 Zulu translation, for example, has "washaya isifuba sakhe". This,

however, for the Zulu, has exactly the opposite from the meaning of "remorse" intended by the original Greek. Instead, as "ukushaya isifuba" is an idiomatic way of indicating pride in Zulu, it looks as if the tax collector was demonstrating more pride than the Pharisee whom Jesus condemned for exalting himself. For this reason, the new translation of the Zulu New Testament published in 1986 translates this "wathwala izandla wakhothama ngokwesaba" (he covered his head with his hands and bent over in fear) and adds an explanatory footnote: IsiGriki sithi washaya isifuba, okwakuyisiko lamaJuda lapho ekhombisa ukuzisola nokudabuka (The Greek says he beat the breast which was the Jewish custom for showing regret and remorse.)

5.8. THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

In discussing the adaptability of Zulu to new situations, Nkabinde (1968:11) stated that a language changes with time, and he attributed this change largely to two causes. Firstly, change emanating from within the culture of a people, through the modification or change of institutions, material objects and the world view of the people; and secondly, change from without the culture of the people through continuous first-hand contact with people of another culture and language.

Concerning the Zulu, Ngcongwane (1981:294) concludes:

"Die Zulu, soos die ander Swart volkere in hierdie land, het lank reeds hulle lewenspatroon verander. Hulle lewe reeds half of byna volkome soos die Witman. Chinua Achebe praat van 'n volk wat op kruispaaie staan. Hulle behou nog half hulle kultuur maar het grootliks ook reeds die ander man se kultuur oorgeneem. Die Witman se kultuur is, so te sê, hoër as dié van die Zulu. Hoe meer die Zulu daarvan oorneem, hoe beter vir hom — altans dis wat die Zulu self glo. Daar is ongelukkig ook wrywing wat daarmee gepaard gaan, en sommige daarvan is bitter." (The Zulu, like the other Black peoples in this country, have already long ago changed their lifestyle. They already live half or almost completely like the Whiteman. Chinua Achebe speaks of a people who are standing at the crossroads. They retain half their culture but have already adopted the other man's culture. The Whiteman's culture is, so to speak, higher than that of the Zulu. The more of it the Zulu takes over, the better for him — at least that is what the Zulu himself believes. Unfortunately there is also friction which accompanies this and some of it is bitter.)

Not only does language change in time, a living language is in the course of constant change. Furthermore, change takes place at all levels, the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. The fact that metaphor plays an important part in semantic change within a language, particularly in providing words to describe new concepts, new situations and new technology must not be overlooked.

Another most important fact which needs to be kept in mind, is that a living language is not an independent entity which exists, and which undergoes change, in isolation. A living language depends on the people who speak it. When the Zulu Language Board agreed to accept the consonant clusters [phr], [thr], [khr], [bhr] and [bhl] for the spelling of loan words (1972:17), it was not an arbitrary decision, but was because these consonant clusters had become the norm in the pronunciation of words of foreign derivation for many mother-tongue speakers of Zulu. So, for example, whereas many Zulu still follow the phonological system of Zulu which requires consonant phonemes to be separated by a vowel, and so say *ibhulashi* (brush), many others now pronounce the word *ibhrashi*.

Morphological changes have also taken place, for example, the omission of the prefix and retention of the pre-prefix in certain noun classes.

There are also syntactic changes. In examples of written Zulu, such as letters and translations, received by this researcher in recent times, the first position demonstrative pronoun for Class 7 [*lesi*], has appeared as [*le*] when prefixed to the noun, e.g. [*lesinkwa*] instead of [*lesisinkwa*]. It may be that failing to duplicate the [*s*] was simply an unintentional error on the part of the writers, and that this may be prevented in future now that, in the latest official orthography, the demonstrative is written disjunctively whether it comes before or after the noun. The fact, however, that the one [*s*] was omitted by a number of writers and in a large number of cases, does seem to suggest that it is possible that a change is taking place, particularly as this phenomenon has not been noticed in the plural, where there is a similar duplication of [*zi*] instead of [*si*]. Prof Ntuli confirmed in a personal communication that [*lesinkwa*] is found in the spoken language, but insists that in the written form it should always be [*lesisinkwa*]. More research is needed to ascertain the true position, as ordinary people usually write as they speak.

The semantic adaptations, discussed by Nkabinde (1968), and the words of foreign derivation marked with an asterisk in the *Zulu-English Dictionary* (1949), came into the language because Zulus found them necessary to communicate with one another in a changing world. They were not simply invented in an academic ivory tower. Similarly, words indicated in the dictionary as being obsolete, may occur in older dictionaries, where they were recorded by the compiler as being in use at that time, or they may still be found in folktales or praise poetry. However, they are no longer in general use by the people, either because they have no longer any use for them because they refer to some object or practice no longer in existence, or they have been replaced in everyday speech by some other word.

So, in dealing with a language, it is vital to remember that the language is spoken by people. Too often this fact is overlooked, or it is treated as if the language competency of the whole population is at the same level, that it is static, and that it cannot be increased except within the confines of the individual language itself.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Firstly, people are intelligent beings. They have a high degree of curiosity and are both willing and able to experience new situations and be exposed to new concepts and ideas and accept them into their own store of knowledge and experience. Secondly, as people within a language community differ in experience, knowledge, and skills, so they also differ in language competency. As they can have new experiences, gain new knowledge and attain new skills, so too they increase their language competency within their own language community.

This has important connotations for translation theory. Within any language community different people develop differently. Not everyone has the same experiences. This may be just because one is a man and another a woman, or that one is older than another. It may also be that one follows a particular occupation which may mean that he or she acquires a specific world view or conceptual outlook, specialist knowledge and skills with a vocabulary and language use common to his peers, but not shared by the majority of those who speak the same language. If individual speakers of a language are constantly gaining greater competency in that language and if the language is in constant change, it seems possible and even probable that where two language communities are in contact with one another, the one will adopt not only individual lexical items, but also concepts, and imagery from the other. This is particularly the case when the concept being adopted is new to the second language. What could possibly restrict the adoption of concepts and imagery from one language by another is where the

concept conflicts with an established concept in the other language and where the imagery already exists in the other language, but with a different implicature. It should also be noted that being a speaker of a language does not guarantee that one will understand everything that is said in that language. This is especially true when it comes to imagery, particularly poetic metaphor, which, although it may be an extension of a basic conceptual metaphor, often requires the reader to have a special knowledge, not only of the circumstances in which the imagery was used, but also of the background of the author, in order to grasp the meaning of the text. Some years ago, for example, at a meeting of the South African Institute of Translators in Cape Town, a lecturer discussed some six different English translations of a short Italian poem, in which the poet visited a building, now in ruins, which he had visited before with a female companion. The implicatures evoked by the once beautiful building now in ruin and the relationship between the poet and his friend were reasonably obvious to those present at the lecture, all of whom were professional translators. However, anything but obvious to the unenlightened, were certain spiritual implicatures, the lecturer claimed could be seen by some, based on their knowledge of the poet's religious views.

5.9. RELEVANCE THEORY AND TRANSLATION OF METAPHOR

In the published version of his doctoral thesis, *Translation and Relevance : Cognition and Context*, Gutt (1991:66-99) discusses what he calls "Secondary Communication Problems" in the Dynamic Equivalence Theory, represented by Nida and Taber (1974) and the Idiomatic Theory, represented by Beekman and Callow (1974) and Larsen (1984). With respect to the translation of metaphor, he finds the same shortcomings in the methods suggested by the exponents of these theories, as have been listed above (para. 5.5.0 — 5.5.5.). Commenting on Nida and Taber's assertion that only a linguistic translation can be considered FAITHFUL (1974:203 — capitals in original), and that one may make explicit in the text only what is linguistically implicit in the immediate context of a problematic passage and therefore neither simply add interesting cultural information which is not actually present in the meanings of the terms used in the passage, nor add information derived from other parts of the Bible, much less from extra-Biblical sources, such as tradition (1974:111), Gutt (1991:77) says:

"Both from the point of view of relevance theory and from common experience, it is difficult to see how such a notion of 'linguistic translation' can as a matter of general principle aim at achieving dynamic equivalence in terms of conveying the message of the original, especially in view of the fact that the translation situations that Nida and Taber have in mind span wide cultural gaps."

to which he adds a footnote:

"Nida and Taber do allow for the inclusion of explanatory notes, either in a glossary or on the page where the note is needed, but separate from the translated text (1974:111). However, because of the extra-linguistic source of such information, under their definition of 'linguistic translation' these measures must be considered to be supplementary to translation, not part of translation itself."

Gutt (1991:78) recognises that dynamic equivalence translations do tend to be more easily understood than formal equivalence translations. He suggests that a reason for this is that its orientation towards the receptor's response helps the translator avoid awkwardness in expression that creeps in easily due to

source language interference, and also that it does allow for a number of context-conditioned adaptations, though these are presented as linguistic changes. Nevertheless, he questions whether dynamic equivalence translation can achieve *"a high level of equivalence of response"* (Nida & Taber, 1974:24), as this seems unrealistic for secondary communication situations with significant differences in cognitive environment, such as are usually encountered when translating Biblical texts for present day readers.

Regarding Idiomatic Theory, Gutt (1991:92-93) concludes that:

"while idiomatic approaches recognize the importance of implicit information for translation in secondary communication situations, and allow for its explication, the solutions offered are impaired by an inadequate understanding of communication in general and implicature in particular. They give rise to theory-internal inconsistencies, and there is reason to doubt that the treatment they suggest can achieve at least in principle, if not in practice, the aim of idiomatic translations that convey the 'message' of the original consisting of both its explicit and implicit information."

Gutt then discusses the possibility of translating the same "message" by Interpretative Use so that for a translation to communicate the same interpretation as that intended in the original means that it should convey to the receptors *all and only those explicatures and implicatures that the original was intended to convey* (p. 94 — italics in original). However, he comes to the conclusion that the view that a "message" can be communicated to any audience regardless of their cognitive environment is simply false and that this is a fundamental error of all approaches that take for granted that translations should convey the "message" of the original and that the real problem is to find the right linguistic form of the "message". He points out that we know even from intralingual experience that we cannot necessarily communicate the same thoughts to just anybody, regardless of their background knowledge, but that in addressing different audiences we tend to change what we want to convey to them, not only how we say it.

As has been stated above, there is a lot of truth in this assertion. The problem, however, is how to apply this to the translation of Scripture. Gutt (1991:163) gives a definition of direct translation that is fully integrated into the relevance-theoretic framework:

"A receptor language utterance is a direct translation of a source language utterance if and only if it purports to interpretively resemble the original completely in the context envisaged for the original."

However, what this means for Scripture translation is not clear. How does one succeed in producing such a translation? As one of his conclusions, Gutt (1991:190) says:

"...the account of translation given here is neither descriptive nor prescriptive in its thrust, but explanatory. Its aim is not to give a systematic account of what people do in translation nor to tell them what they ought to do. It rather tries to understand what causal interdependencies are at work in translation, and hence to bring out what its conditions for success are."

In his chapter discussing the shortcomings of the methods used by those of the dynamic equivalence and idiomatic translation schools, he says of Matthew 2:17f. (1991:87-88):

"Here we are dealing with a rather elaborate metaphor that is very rich in a comparatively large number of weak implicatures, which together create an impression rather than convey a clearly specifiable message. Given that this metaphor relies heavily on knowledge of the Old Testament and of Palestinian geography, one would have to add a great deal of information to convey the intended interpretation to readers who lacked knowledge of both, as would be the case, say, with the average person among the Silt'i-people of Ethiopia. [About 200 000 people speaking an Ethio-Semitic language among whom Gutt and his family lived from 1976-9, studying their language. (Information given in a footnote.)] Also, to understand this passage fully, the reader would need to be acquainted with the generally accepted ways of using Old Testament texts as predictions of contemporary events."

It would have been extremely helpful if Gutt had indicated how this passage could be handled to produce what he would consider to be a successful translation from the point of view of relevance theory for the average Silt'i person. To what extent would it have supplied the contextual information necessary for understanding the passage as in the case of the Ifugao example (p. 171), or have condensed the information as in the case of his German example (p. 178), and how would it make the meaning of the original text and the expectation of the average Silt'i receptor meet (p. 180 ff.)? Gutt (p. 188) states that he has not attempted to show how all translation problems should be analysed or solved, as they are as varied as the languages, intentions and informative contexts which give rise to them. However, having shown the shortcomings of the practical solutions offered by other theories, and having given an example of a metaphor within a Scriptural context and mentioned a potential receptor, it seems reasonable to suppose that he would demonstrate the practical outworking of the theory he propounds so as to show how it overcomes the problems he has highlighted.

In a personal communication to this researcher (letter 2-03-93) Gutt stated reasons for his scepticism against the idea that a general standard could be stated whereby all (Biblical) metaphors in any (even African) language could be assessed, as follows:

- 1) metaphors vary enormously in the range of implicatures they have;*
- 2) metaphors are more highly context-dependent than most other uses of language; hence to formulate a standard to be observed across language groups with again highly varied contexts seems rather ambitious; in some situations a translation may be judged very successful if it offers an expression that conveys at least some of the strongest implicatures; in other situations such a translation would be judged inadequate because existing cultural parallelisms could have been used to achieve a much higher degree of resemblance;*
- 3) the communicative success of any translation crucially depends on how well the intentions of the translator and the expectations of the audience meet; while Christians worldwide do hold certain values and norms in common with regard to what they expect of the Scripture (and of translations of the same), there seems to be quite a wide range of variation between different parts of the Christian audience, in different countries, denominations and other subdivisions. (Also metaphors in the Bible vary enormously in their significance for the Christian faith as well.) In view of this, it seems again rather precarious to look for some general standard for assessing metaphors.*

4) Very much depends on the general framework within which a translation is to be used; as I try to point out in my various writings, given the cultural gap between Biblical culture(s) and most present day target cultures, it seems necessary that Biblical translations be embedded in a wider framework of communication that helps bridge the contextual and relevance gaps between original and any particular target audience. The nature and extent of this framework may again have a bearing on how particular metaphors are rendered in the translation itself.

Later in the same letter he says: "Basically, the issue is that of 'close enough resemblance in relevant aspects', which applies equally to metaphorical and non-metaphorical speech." The question remains: How does one gauge "close enough resemblance in relevant aspects"? Gutt stresses the importance of how well the intentions of the translator and the expectations of the audience meet. At the same time he also makes the point that there is a wide variation between different parts of the Christian audience and he gives the example of the failure of the draft idiomatic translation of the Guarani New Testament in Brazil, apparently because the church felt that it should be clearly seen as a faithful translation of the high-prestige Portuguese version (1991:183-184). It is obvious that the more homogeneous the audience, the easier it is for the author's, or translator's, intentions and the audience's expectations to meet. So, interpreting a speech from one language by giving the gist of what is being said to a homogeneous group in another language may be completely relevant and meet the expectations of that group satisfactorily (Gutt, 1991:100f.). Similarly, it is understandable that in translating a travel brochure which will have a limited period of usefulness, for people of another language, cultural and possibly economic group, one would be entitled to make changes in the actual text so as to convey the meaning of the text in the original context with a high degree of relevance which would meet the audience's expectations admirably (Gutt, 1991:49ff.). However, certain texts, such as the Bible, seem to be at a different level. Christians believe the canon of the Bible to be closed. For Bible translators the canon of Scripture is in itself a context. Although many translators begin by translating a Gospel and then different books until they have completed the New Testament and then the Psalms, and only eventually translate the Old Testament, nevertheless, the New Testament books were written in the context of the interpretation of the Old Testament of the time. So, the translator must translate them in that context, even although the potential audience may not yet be aware of the Old Testament context, and this will therefore make the text more difficult for them to process. Two things need to be borne in mind here. Firstly, Bible translation does not take place in a vacuum, but within the context of a church community, in which regular teaching takes place through preaching, Bible study and Sunday School classes. It is most likely that it is the missing Old Testament context which is the very thing which those involved in the teaching ministry would explain, and thus they would provide the information to help the readers to process the text when they read it for themselves. Secondly, the Bible translator's aim should be to supply the complete Bible and thus supply the readers with the complete context so that they may discover the tools to help them process the text for themselves. When the Bible is complete, each book must be seen by the reader to be part of the whole.

Whereas it may be possible for the translator to ensure that the meeting of the original text and the audience's expectations meet successfully when translating for a homogeneous audience, this is virtually impossible when translating for a diverse audience. The subject matter of a book is often that which restricts the size of its potential readership. A book on linguistics, for example, will most likely be read by linguists, or those who wish to know something about linguistics. The author, or translator, therefore

assumes that his potential audience will either understand the terminology and imagery used by linguists, or is sufficiently interested in the subject, and finds it relevant enough, to exert the necessary processing effort in order to learn it. However, the Christian believes that the subject matter of the Bible is relevant to all mankind and therefore that everyone is a potential reader. But, as Gutt has pointed out, there is a wide range of variation even between different parts of the Christian audience, let alone among those who are not Christians, but who are nevertheless potential proselytes. The obvious implication of this is that although every Christian is a potential reader of a translation of the Bible, such a translation may adequately meet the expectations of one section of the Christian community and fall far short of the expectations of another section of the Christian community. A good example of this is the 1983 translation of the Bible in Afrikaans. Whereas it adequately meets the expectations of a large section of the community — even although some may have certain reservations about certain passages on linguistic or theological grounds — and has thus been given official recognition by some churches, it is not used officially by other churches which still prefer the 1933 literal equivalence translation, and some groups and individuals have gone so far as to condemn it outright. This is nothing new, for in the late fourth century, when Jerome's Latin Vulgate was at first not accepted by the Church Fathers, he wrote: "They attacked it in public, but they read it in secret."

The potential audience for a Bible translation in Zulu is approximately 8 million people who have been under the influence of Christianity for over 160 years, and among whom the complete range of Christian belief and practice is represented. Whereas a large section are completely rural, another large number are completely urban, whereas others are at home both in the rural and the urban communities. There is an equally wide standard of education, some being totally, or functionally, illiterate with possibly no, or only a primary school, education, while others have tertiary education and have doctorates in a wide range of fields including linguistics and theology. Linguistically, while some are unilingual, others are bilingual with English or Afrikaans, or even multilingual with one or more of the other local African languages. Who then is the average Zulu whose expectations must be met? The popular answer has been: A woman of child-bearing age. The reason for this is that women are believed to speak a language which is purer than that of men who often come into contact with other languages at work, and also that it is they who are in closer contact with their children and teach them to speak — hence the concept of "mother-tongue". Women of child-bearing age also may be aware of archaic words which may still be in the vocabulary of the older women, but which are becoming obsolete, and they are also aware of the new words and concepts being used by their children, and which may be gaining more acceptance. Still, in the case of the Zulu, there is a vast difference between the average rural woman of child-bearing age and the urban woman of child-bearing age. In order to find the greatest level of acceptance therefore, it is advisable to test the translation at every stage by submitting it to reviewers and consultants drawn from the widest possible spectrum of the Christian church and educational level, and from rural and urban communities. Assessing the level at which the potential audience's expectations are being met, as part of the translation process, will increase the likelihood that these expectations will be met, although unfortunately it does not guarantee it.

5.10. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY AND TRANSLATION OF METAPHOR

In explaining what he calls "poetic effects", Gutt (1992:52-54) takes the words ἦν δὲ νύξ (and it was night) at the end of John 13:30 which, he says: *"communicates more than the time of day. It is a very rich final chord at the end of this dramatic section."* He then shows how John, having promised his readers

adequate contextual effects, without giving them particular guidance as to what they might be, invites them to explore and exploit the richness of the cognitive environment he shared with them. Gutt then sketches part of that cognitive environment, listing items of what he refers to as encyclopaedic information concerning the concepts **Night** and **Dark**. In line with conceptual metaphor theory, although this is primarily a time reference of the type favoured by John in his Gospel, it could also be stated as **A Situation is Night**. Understanding it as such, the same implicatures could be drawn from the word: *kwakusebusuku* (1959 Zulu) as from either the Greek or the English, and this suggests that the conceptual metaphor exists in all three languages.

Conceptual metaphor theory can assist the translator to discover the meaning of the original text when the metaphor in the source text is stated as a conceptual metaphor and then analysed within the original context in order to discover the intended implicatures. The translator then needs to discover whether or not the target language has the same conceptual metaphor and, if so, whether or not the reader will be able to recover the implicatures of the original text from the use of that conceptual metaphor in that context in the target language. Where the language has a body of published literature, like Zulu, this is a great help in indicating how conceptual metaphor functions within different genres and different contexts in that language, and how it is used by the authors and poets of the target language. Where a language does not yet have a published literature, it would be necessary to determine how the people use conceptual metaphor in their oral literature. If it does not seem possible for the implicatures of the original metaphor to be recovered by the receptor through the use of the same metaphor in that context, a way will need to be found which will best enable him to do so, possibly by the use of a different conceptual metaphor, or a different extension of the same conceptual metaphor. For example, the basic conceptual metaphor **Human Emotions and Characteristics are Human Organs** occurs in both Hebrew and Zulu, but whereas Hebrew sees bravery as seated in the heart, **Bravery is a Strong Heart**, Zulu sees bravery as seated in the liver, **Bravery is Liver**. According to conceptual metaphor theory, basic conceptual metaphors are extended, or a previously unexploited sphere of source-target domain mapping is used, to produce poetic effect and also new terminology. As this happens intralingually, it should also be possible interlingually. This means that where a conceptual metaphor exists in two languages, it should be possible to extend it in the one to cover an extension which exists in a certain context in the other, but which apparently has not yet occurred in that context in the target language previously. In each case the resultant metaphor will need to be checked with potential readers of the text who are mother-tongue speakers to ensure that the intended implicatures will be recoverable with reasonable ease. The addition of a footnote may enhance the ease with which a reader will be able to recover the implicatures. The fact that the metaphor producing the same implicatures already exists in another dominant language in the area may also help the readers who are acquainted with that language to understand it, accept it, and introduce it into the language. It must be borne in mind that the language competency of Zulu-speakers, as with speakers of other languages, varies widely, and that many are bilingual or multilingual. In addition to this, the Bible is read and used within the context of the Christian community. Just as members of other groups and sub-communities within language communities have their own vocabulary and imagery, which nevertheless can be picked up and used by other members speaking the same language, so the Christian community has certain vocabulary and imagery, which is not for their exclusive use, but is also available to others. Whereas the translator strives to make the translation as intelligible as possible, so as to meet the expectations and be accepted by as wide a population as possible, he will never succeed in making it intelligible to everyone. However, those within the Christian community for whom it is intelligible

may become the vehicle by which a new conceptual metaphor enters the language from another language and eventually becomes generally accepted.

5.11. CONCLUSION

Can metaphors be translated? As has been shown in this chapter, various methods are used to attempt to translate metaphors successfully, and while each method has its place it also has its shortcomings. In the recent past, the focus has been on the receptor. Relevance theory has helped to restore the balance by stressing the need to understand the implicatures of the text in the original context. It is the contention of this thesis that analysing metaphor in terms of conceptual metaphor theory in both the source and receptor language will help to determine the implicatures of the metaphor in the source text and to convey them interlingually so that they become apparent to the receptor. In the next chapter an attempt will be made to show how conceptual metaphor theory can be used together with the exegesis of the Book of Amos in its historical and socio-political setting to discover the implicatures of selected metaphors and then to produce a text in Zulu which will enable the reader to recover the prophet's implicatures as found in the extant Hebrew text.

CHAPTER 6

The History of Bible Translation in Zulu

6.1. BIBLE TRANSLATIONS IN ZULU

6.1.1 The First Publication in Zulu

In December 1835, Dr Newton Adams, George Champion and Aldin Grout, missionaries of the American Zulu Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, arrived at Port Natal to establish mission work among the Zulu, the "Maritime Zoolahs", as they were referred to in documents of the time (Booth, 1968:viii).

The first booklet published in Zulu appears to have been *Incuadi Yokuqala Yabafundayo* (The First Book for Readers), published by the missionaries of the American Zulu Mission between June 1837 and February 1838 (Hermanson, 1992:77-81). Intended primarily for use in teaching the Zulu to read, it contained eight spelling lessons, nine lessons on Old Testament history, two Psalms, and three other lessons.

6.1.2 The First Published Gospel

The first publication of a complete gospel, the Gospel of Matthew, a revision of an unpublished translation by the Rev. George Champion, was printed in 1848. In 1855, Bishop Colenso reprinted this in England with some alterations (Schutte, 1971:351).

6.1.3 The First Published New Testament

The New Testament, translated by missionaries of the American Zulu Mission, appeared in 1865; with the first edition of the New Testament translation by the Anglican, Bishop J. W. Colenso, probably at the end of 1876, although the copy in the South African Library is undated (Hermanson, 1992:80).

6.1.4 Publications by Bishop Henry Callaway

There were various books of the Bible published by the Anglican Bishop Henry Callaway, who originally worked with Bishop Colenso, and who is best known for his recording of Zulu religion and folklore. Doke considered his to be good translations (Doke, 1958:89). The claim, found in some sources, that he was largely responsible for the first complete translation of the Bible in the Zulu Language, which appeared in 1883, is incorrect (De Kock, 1976:157; *Grace Abounding*, 1994:21). This Bible was the work of the missionaries of the American Zulu Mission.

6.1.5 The First Complete Bible

The first complete Bible in Zulu, translated by missionaries of the American Zulu Mission, was published by the American Bible Society in 1883. A facsimile of the revision of this translation, published in 1893, is still produced by the Bible Society of South Africa, and proves popular especially among older readers.

6.1.6 The Dexter Taylor Revisions

The revised translation undertaken by missionaries of the American Zulu Mission, of the New Testament, published in 1917, and the Bible, published in 1924, by the American Bible Society, found little acceptance, and were discontinued. In reaction, missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission, published their own translation of the New Testament and the Bible in 1924. This too is now out of print.

6.1.7 The Rev Fred Suter

Other translators also made translations. The Rev. Fred Suter of the South African General Mission at Dumisa and later Principal of the Union Bible Institute, Sweetwaters, had translations of Psalms published in the *Native Teachers' Journal*. He also translated certain books of the Old Testament and completed a translation of the New Testament, but it was never published. His manuscripts are housed in the Strange Library of Africana at the Johannesburg Public Library, but do not include a translation of the Book of Amos.

6.1.8 Roman Catholic Translations

The Roman Catholic Mission at Mariannhill, published a New Testament, translated under the leadership of Fr. Rafael Studerus, OSB, in 1955. Fr. Studerus also produced a translation of the Psalms, which was published by the Mariannhill Mission Press in 1973.

6.1.9 The 1959 Sarndal Translation

The Bible currently in popular use in Zulu, was first published in 1959, the year when the new orthography became compulsory for use in schools (Doke, 1958:xii). In 1944, the Natal Missionary Conference resolved that a new translation should be made of the whole Bible (Smit, 1970:215 f.). A committee, at first under the leadership of the Rev T Liesegang, and later Dean O Sarndal, a Swedish Lutheran, was appointed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and included J Astrup, G Krause, H Filter, S Dahle, M J Mpanza, G Liserud, B Schiele, W Weber, M C Haldorsen, A Hlongwane, S Sikakane, E Madondo, J Mbatha and S S Ndlovu.

It seems that the tendency in all these translations, has been to translate Hebrew metaphor literally into Zulu, as will be seen later on in this thesis when specific metaphors are discussed.

6.1.10 An Attempt at Paraphrase

In 1967, the Word of Life Publishers, published a New Testament translation, *Amazwi Okuphila — ITestamente Elisha Ngolimi Lwanamhlanje* (Words of Life — The New Testament in the language of today) based on the paraphrase by Dr Kenneth Taylor, The Living New Testament. Its aim is stated as follows: *Injongo yalo akusikho ukuqugula iBhayibheli, kodwa ngalelihumusho kuhloswe ukuba iZwi likaNkulunkulu lizwakale kangcono nangendlela echachileyo kulowo nalowo olifundayo.* (Its aim is not to change the Bible, but by this translation it is intended that the Word of God should be better understood and in a clear way by each one who reads it.) Unfortunately, although the aim was to make the Word of God clear and to increase the desire for Scripture reading, the translation was extremely literal, and failed in its intentions.

6.1.11. Dynamic Equivalent Translation

Following a translators' seminar, held at Turfloop in July 1967, a beginning was made to translate the Scriptures into Zulu, using the principles of dynamic equivalence, as set out in Nida and Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (1974). Starting on 1 April 1975, the translators, Mr. Bethuel Blose Ndelu, a Lutheran school teacher and Zulu poet, his brother in law, the Rev. Ernest H B Mkize, an Anglican clergyman, and the project coordinator, Dean Nils Jonathan Joëlson, a Swedish Lutheran, set out to render the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament and the Classical Hebrew of the Psalms, into the "closest, natural, equivalent" in Zulu. This resulted in the publication of *"Indaba Enhle kaNkulunkulu"*, a translation of the Gospel of Mark, the Book of Acts, the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the Psalms, in 1979.

The Rev. E H B Mkhize resigned in 1977 and was replaced by Mr. D T Maseko, while Mr. B B Ndelu resigned in 1980 and was replaced by Mr. K Magubane.

The complete New Testament and Psalms was published in 1986 (Hermanson, 1991:122 123).

These translators also made draft translations of some of the other Old Testament books, but these remain unpublished in the Information Centre of the Bible Society of South Africa in Cape Town. The Bible Society suspended the translation project when Dean Joëlson retired to Sweden. The draft translation of the Book of Amos, is unfortunately incomplete. While the translators were working on it, an outline for a condensed Bible was suggested by some in the United Bible Societies. Known as the *Biblia* Project, this was intended as a start, to give readers the main message of the Bible in languages which as yet did not have a Bible. Although there were already a number of translations of the Bible in Zulu, two of which were readily available, the translators were encouraged to complete the *Biblia* passages first, and fill in the rest later. Unfortunately, the project was suspended before this was done.

CHAPTER 7

Translating Hebrew Metaphors from the Book of Amos into Zulu

7.1. RECOGNISING HEBREW METAPHORS

From the literature consulted, it appears that although the writers have much to say about metaphor in the Bible, they have little, if anything, to say about how Hebrew metaphor may be recognised.

7.1.1 Metaphor affirms one thing "to be" another thing

Bullinger (1898:735) says:

"Let it then be clearly understood that a Metaphor is confined to a distinct affirmation that one thing is another thing, owing to some association or connection in the uses or effects of anything expressed or understood. The two nouns themselves must both be mentioned, and are always to be taken in their literal sense, or else no one can tell what they mean. The figure lies wholly in the verb, or copula, which, in English, must always be expressed, and never understood by Ellipsis."

He goes on to say about Hebrew:

"It should be observed that the Hebrew has no verb substantive or copula answering to the Greek and English verb 'to be'. Consequently the AV generally puts in italics the verbs 'is', 'are', 'were' etc. The verb 'to be', though it is not necessary to be expressed in Hebrew, is yet so really there that the RV has abandoned its use of italic type with regard to it in the Old Testament, and so the Revisers state it in their preface. We prefer the practice of the translators of the AV, and believe it is more correct."

According to Bullinger therefore, a metaphor must have the formula A is B, otherwise it is not a metaphor. Obviously this view is too restrictive, for it does not allow for metaphors signalled by verbs other than the verb "to be", which he states does not occur in Hebrew, but which would be supplied in English. By his criteria, therefore, it would not be possible to recognise the verse: *"Yahweh will roar from Zion and utter his voice from Jerusalem"*, as a metaphor, and specifically the conceptual metaphor Yahweh is a Lion, because neither is the word "lion" mentioned, nor is the verb contained in the verse the verb "to be".

7.1.2 Hebrew metaphor is a simile without the comparative particle –o

Kruger (1983:1ff.) states that the primary concern of his study is to look at the metaphors and similes in the Book of Hosea. He says that some of Hosea's images are worked out in finest detail, with one metaphor/simile succeeding another, as if the prophet is stringing beads; that they form a certain structured whole, a metaphorical field, where one image gives rise to the next one or is closely related to it. He lists some of these metaphorical fields, e.g. marriage and the family; plant life; agricultural life;

animal and bird life, and he mentions the important role of word play, but it appears that he simply accepts that there are metaphors and does not give any criteria for how they are recognised, except to say that Hosea avoids the metaphor when comparing Yahweh with something else, employing rather similes, using the comparative particle -ɔ. This would seem to imply that Kruger recognises a Hebrew simile by its being a comparison which differs from the Hebrew metaphor in that the simile uses the comparative particle -ɔ. Although he discusses the careful and circumspect manner in which Hosea chooses an image, for example the marriage image, he does not give the criteria by which he recognises the marriage image as the marriage metaphor (1983:10). He simply accepts it as such, and goes on to discuss how the metaphor unfolds through numerous entailments in Hosea 2-14 (1983:10-136). In discussing Hosea's use of figurative language, he states: *"In the book of Amos which is written in a style rich in metaphor, twelve similes were counted"*. Unfortunately, for this present study, no indication is given as to what metaphors or similes were found in the book of Amos, as this might have given some indication as to how Kruger believes Hebrew metaphors may be recognised.

7.1.3 Metaphor is a literary genre

Paul (1991:4-5), describes the literary style of Amos, by saying:

"Amos blended his new teaching with time-honoured traditions in a very polished and artistic fashion. His extensive array of literary genres includes judgment speeches, dirges, disputation sayings, exhortations, admonitions, vision reports, and eschatological promises. He exhibited a great finesse in rhetorical forms and dynamic oratory skills. His rich imagery was influenced by his profession and his acquaintance with nature (2:13; 3:4-5,8,12; 4:1; 5:11,17,19; 6:12; 7:1-2,4,14; 8:1; 9:9). His metaphors and similes are abundant (2:9; 3:12; 5:2, 7, 19, 24; 6:12; 9:9), and he had a penchant for paronomasia (5:5b; 6:1, 6, 7; 8:2). He also adeptly and effectively employed the literary convention of irony (5:20; 6:12; 9:4, 7) and sarcasm (3:12; 4:4-5; 6:1). He skilfully polemicized against popular concepts by personally confronting his audience and citing their own words as self-accusations (2:12; 4:1; 5:14b; 6:13; 7:16; 8:5, 14; 9:10). He also favoured rhetorical didactic questions (2:11; 3:3-6, 8; 5:18, 25; 6:12; 8:8)."

He gives references for verses in which similes and metaphors are found, but gives no criteria for distinguishing the one from the other. Examining the verses, it would seem that 2:9 contains both simile and metaphor, based on the conceptual metaphor *People are Plants*, 3:12 contains simile based on the conceptual metaphor *Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites*, 5:2 is metaphor based on the conceptual metaphor *Nations are People*, 5:7, 24; and 6:12 is metaphor, based on the conceptual metaphor *Abstract Qualities are Concrete Entities*, 5:19 is simile based on a similar conceptual metaphor *An Unknown Event is a Known Event*, 9:9 is metaphor and simile, based on the conceptual metaphors *Nation is a Building* and *People are Plants*. Mays (1969:6) recognises metaphor in some other verses too, and says: *"Many of his metaphors come from observation of the country life which he knew as shepherd and farmer (1:3; 2:13; 3:12; 4:1; 9:9). But countryman from Tekoa though he was, his rich and polished speech warn that he is not to be taken for a simple and uncultured person. No prophet surpasses him in the combination of purity, clarity and versatility that characterize his language."*

7.1.4 Metaphor is an individual flash of imaginative insight

Dagut (1978:97ff), writing on the metaphor in modern Hebrew, is very restrictive in what he recognises as metaphor. He says that a terminological distinction needs to be made:

"between a new and surprising (though immediately understood) dynamic transfer, and one that is such a well-established part of the language as to pass virtually unnoticed. It is to the former that the term 'metaphor' should be restricted, since this, and only this, is the genuine act of semantic extension. Every metaphor, in the proper, narrow sense proposed here, is an individual flash of imaginative insight, whether in the known creative writer or in the anonymous creative speaker (as in humour and slang), a sudden inspired 'observation of affinities/In objects where no brotherhood exists/To passive minds,' which transcends the existing semantic limits of the language and thereby enlarges the hearers' or readers' emotional and intellectual awareness. It is thus par excellence an act of language 'performance' (however related to the existing language 'competence'); hence the extreme difficulty that it presents in translation, on account of the unique position that it occupies at the frontier of linguistic change.

"Thus identified, every metaphor is by definition 'live' and 'original'."

In his view, a metaphor comes into being as a breach of the system and then either quickly disappears without trace, or is gradually assimilated into the system by the language expanding to accommodate it. This happens as an increasing number of speakers take it up and it eventually finds its place in the lexicon of the language, either as a polyseme, if the original metaphor was "simplex", i.e. consisted of one word, or as an idiom, if the original metaphor was "complex", i.e. consisted of more than one word.

Contrary to Dagut's position, it is not only *"an individual flash of imaginative insight"* which constitutes metaphor, nor is this kind of metaphor the only kind of metaphor which causes the translator problems. Just because a metaphorical item, through increased use, finds itself in the lexicon of one language as a polyseme or idiom, it does not necessarily mean that the same item will be found in the lexicon of another language, nor that it will be a simple matter to translate it from one language to another, just because it is in general use in the source language. Dagut does not really explain how one has *"an individual flash of imaginative insight"*, nor how other members of that linguistic community understand it so that it *"enlarges the hearers' or readers' emotional and intellectual awareness"*.

Dagut's study is on the translation of metaphors in modern Hebrew, of which he is presumably a mother-tongue speaker, conversant with a large body of modern Hebrew literature. With the small corpus of Biblical Hebrew literature available, and with no mother-tongue speakers, it is impossible to tell whether a particular metaphor, used in a specific text, represents a new creation, or whether it is a stereotype, well known to the speakers of the language, but which, just by chance, does not occur in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. It should be remembered that the comparatively few pages of Hebrew writing we possess is but a minute sample of what would have been said in the language by millions of people over a period of a thousand years. Dagut's definition of a metaphor therefore is of little help to the translator of the Old Testament.

7.1.5 Metaphor is an unconscious synopsis of similar phenomena in the perceptible and imaginative spheres

Although König begins his discussion of metaphor according to comparative theory, he later hints at the importance of the cognitive aspect when he states: *"Vielmehr dürfte nach meiner Ansicht die Metapher der Reflex einer unbewussten Zusammenschau ähnlicher Phänomene der sinnlich wahrnehmbaren und der ideellen Sphäre sein."* (In my opinion a metaphor might be the reflex of an unconscious synopsis of similar phenomena in the perceptible and the imaginative spheres.) (1900:94) Although his various categories of metaphor are not well developed, he illustrates them from Scripture, including the Book of Amos.

His first category is Inanimate is Inanimate. Here he discusses the metaphors Light is Gladness and Darkness is Suffering, citing Amos 5:18 as an example. Within the scope of this mapping he cites Midday is Utmost Joy. Then also, Perdition is Fire Amos 1:4 and Perdition is Storm in Amos 1:14). Under this general category, he includes plant life, mentioning the Amorites root and fruit of Amos 2:9, and Pain is Threshing in Amos 1:3.

His second category is Inanimate is Animate. Here he discusses Floods of Water are Crowds of Enemies, which he says is not the meaning in Amos 9:6. He also lists Dripping is Speech in Amos 7:16, Road is Direction in Amos 8:14, and Root is Originator in Amos 2:9.

His third category is Animate is Animate. Although he mentions the lion as the king of the beasts, he does not make any reference to Amos. He, however, lists Cows of Bashan are Full-figured, Dominating Ladies in Amos 4:1, and also mentions the use of horn in Amos 3:14, fishing in Amos 4:2 and threshing in Amos 1:3.

He lists no examples from Amos for his fourth category Animate is Inanimate, and only Amos 7:1 for his fifth category Personification, although it is not quite clear why he does so.

König's classification is useful in giving the general categories for metaphorical mapping. Unfortunately, he appears to have failed to examine the individual metaphors within the textual context in which they occur and this has led to his being able to list some of them under more than one heading.

7.1.6 Metaphor is understanding or experiencing one thing in terms of another

Recognising Hebrew metaphor is not always easy. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) say: *"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."* Reading through a given text, metaphors may be recognised when one thing is said to be another in the formula A is B, or even understood to be another, where only B is mentioned. They may also be recognised by the use of verbs, which describe an action not normally associated with the subject or the object, thus suggesting that the subject or object in the sentence is being understood as the subject or object which is normally associated with that verb, i.e. Normal Subject or Object of the Verb is Unusual Subject or Object of the Verb, which, through a process of logical reasoning, can also be reduced to the formula A is B. By doing a semantic analysis of the subject nouns and the verbs and object nouns and the verbs, it becomes apparent whether or not the noun is the usual or an unusual noun as the subject or object of that verb. Metaphors may then be detected by the semantic incompatibility of the verbs and nouns, whether subject or object, within a particular syntactic combination.

e.g.	<i>Yahweh</i>	<i>roars</i>
	+ <i>personal</i>	- <i>personal</i>
	<i>threshes</i>	<i>(people of) Gilead</i>
	- <i>personal</i>	+ <i>personal</i>

Metaphors may further be recognised where there is structural correlation in our daily experience, such as in the corresponding image-schematic concepts More is Up/ Less is Down, and the concept Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites.

7.1.7 Recognising and selecting Hebrew metaphor in this study

Because the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:6), and because cognitive models are acquired both by our own direct experience and through our culture (Turner, 1987:66), metaphors in a language can usually be recognised and understood by competent mother-tongue speakers of that language. Poetic metaphors may be more difficult to recognise and understand, even for competent mother-tongue speakers, for although these metaphors use the mechanisms of everyday thought, they extend them, elaborate them, and combine them in ways that go beyond the ordinary (Turner 1987:67). Recognising and understanding metaphor in a language for a person who has not had the same direct experiences or been intimately part of that culture, is more difficult. It may require that person to acquire more knowledge and experience in order for the meaning of certain metaphors to become clear. Unfortunately, there are no mother-tongue speakers of Biblical Hebrew, from whom first hand information may be obtained. In order to gain the necessary knowledge and imbibe as much of the culture as possible therefore, it is imperative to study both the Biblical text, and other contemporary documents, taking care to remember, however, that the languages, thought patterns, and cultures of the surrounding nations may be similar, but are not necessarily identical, to those of the Hebrew people of the Old Testament. Comparatively few outside of academic circles have the ability, privilege and opportunity to gain a completely competent reading fluency in Biblical Hebrew and an in depth understanding of the culture of Israel and the other nations in the Near East. Therefore, to supplement their knowledge of the Biblical languages and culture, many Bible translators rely heavily on the translators' handbooks, published by the United Bible Societies, and on other textual and exegetical commentaries and related reference material. This is the method used in this present study. The text of the Book of Amos in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1977), has been examined with the help of the *Translator's Handbook on the Book of Amos* (de Waard & Smalley, 1979), and textual and exegetical commentaries on Amos. The commentary on Amos by Paul (1991) was found to be particularly helpful, both because it gives a well documented account of the various interpretations of difficulties in the Hebrew text, and also because it tends to favour the reading of the Masoretic Text, rather than emendations suggested by other scholars.

To recognise and select metaphor in this study, the text has been examined, applying the criteria set out in paragraph 7.1.6. Special attention has been given to those verses which are identified as metaphor in the handbook and the commentaries consulted, and also to those which have been translated as metaphor in the Zulu translations examined.

7.2. METHOD

In this chapter, the verses containing the selected metaphors are discussed in chapter and verse sequence, and sometimes together with other verses which are similar. To aid the reader, the text under discussion is given in English at the beginning of each section, usually from the Revised Standard Version (RSV), but sometimes with slight adaptations. Where the verse numbering in the Masoretic Text differs from that in the English and Zulu Bibles, it is given in square brackets.

7.2.1 Zulu orthography

Bible verses in Zulu are written exactly as they appear in the publications from which they are taken. This means that there is no consistency in the spelling of the words, but that the orthography used by the translators at the time the translation was published is reflected, rather than being brought into line with the latest official orthography adopted by the Zulu Language Board in September 1989 and amended.

7.2.2 Hebrew orthography

The Hebrew script is that which is generated by the word processing program and printer used. As some of the letters print so that they look very similar, the complete alphabet is given in an appendix.

7.3. AMOS' CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

Paul (1991:11-12), asks whether the first six oracles against the foreign nations are ordered in any recognizably logical fashion. If they are, this could suggest some image schema based on how the prophet and his audience viewed the surrounding nations, and this could have metaphorical significance. For example, the constant order in the Egyptian execration texts is firstly, south (Nubians), then north (Asiatics), then west (Libyans), and lastly Egypt. This is not unique to these texts but is the conventional sequence in which these nations are listed in all Egyptian documents, magical or otherwise. This fixed order was not due to *"any inherent magical design but to the fact that it was the natural expression of the Egyptian outlook,"* (Weiss, IEJ 19 (1969)150-157) that is that Egypt was south oriented because its whole existence was dependent upon and influenced by the course of the Nile which flowed from the south to the north. The directional order of the nations in Amos — northeast (Aram), southwest (Philistia), northwest (Tyre), southeast (Edom, Ammon, Moab), and finally Judah and Israel — is entirely different from the Execration texts — south, north, west and then Egypt. It is therefore not based on the Egyptian orientation. Rather, starting with the most threatening power, it could be based on the conceptual metaphor Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites, coupled with the conceptual metaphor Most Important is Last. The climax, the main and most important point of his message is aimed at Israel. Having criss-crossed the surrounding countries in his preaching, he thrusts his message home in Samaria, the very place where he is standing and prophesying.

There is, however, an additional conceptual metaphor in this section, based on the Hebrew concept that there are three layers of the universe, the heavens, the earth and the underworld and that there are four winds, three plus four adding up to seven. This world view may be stated as the conceptual metaphor Complete is Seven. This rhetorical structure is seen, for example, in the sevenfold repetition of the phrase *"for three transgressions and for four"* (three plus four being equal to seven) in Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4. In this section, Amos declares how the Lord is going to deal with the surrounding nations, three of them foreign and four related by blood. Dealing with these seven nations, the prophet would have taken his audience along with him, agreeing with him that they all deserved to be punished. When

he reached the seventh nation and had not mentioned anything about Israel, they would have breathed a sigh of relief and felt vindicated in their own self-righteousness. According to their world view, expressed in the conceptual metaphor Complete is Seven, the mention of the seventh nation should have been the grand finale. But, just when they are beginning to relax, he takes them completely by surprise, and adds one more nation — Israel! The climax of the prophet's message is therefore heightened by surprising his audience through replacing the conceptual metaphor Complete is Seven, consistent with their world view, with one which is in sharp contrast to it, viz. Final is Incomplete, otherwise stated, Seven is Incomplete!

7.4. TRANSLATING THE METAPHORS OF AMOS INTO ZULU

1:1 "The words of Amos, who was among the shepherds of Tekoa, which he saw concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah king of Judah and in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel, two years before the earthquake."

This verse forms the title and serves as an introduction to the book of Amos (de Waard and Smalley, 1979:21). Davidson (1974:252) gives meaning of the Hebrew verb *חזה* as "To see, behold, especially a vision and applied to a prophecy or revelation received in a vision". This verse highlights a common problem for translators, viz. seeing a metaphor in the source text where no metaphor is intended. Many existing translations, including the published Zulu versions, follow the structure of the Hebrew, so that it appears that there is a metaphor here, in that words are said to have been seen, whereas words, except where they are written, are usually heard. However, *דבר* does not only mean "word", but covers an extremely wide semantic domain, with the meaning being determined by the context in which it is used, while the Hebrew verb *חזה* obviously implies more than "see", which commonly would be expressed in Hebrew by the verb *ראה*. The word *דבר* has a semantic domain which includes "word", "thing" and "matter", the latter two of which can indeed be "seen" or "observed". This indicates that there is no metaphor here, as a componential analysis would indicate that *חזה* takes both concrete and abstract nouns as object, while *דבר* indicates both concrete and abstract notions or entities. There is thus no possibility for grammatical incongruency, and therefore for metaphor:

	<i>חזה</i>	<i>דבר</i>
takes	+ human (subject)	
	± concrete (object)	± concrete

Mays (1969:20f.) refers to this as a conventional idiom, a conventional way of saying that his words were received by revelation before they were spoken. This should be made explicit in the translation, as it would have been self-evident to the original audience simply by the prophet's use of the word in this context. The 1893 version translates using a remote past relative with an objectival concord: *Amazwi a ka Amosi ... o wa wa bona* (Words of Amos which he saw them), the 1924 ABS and 1959 versions translate with a remote past relative "*awabonayo*" (which he saw), and the Hermannsburg version translates with a perfect tense relative "*awabonile*" (which he has seen). The unpublished draft translates: *Lawa angamazwi ka-Amosi ... UNkulunkulu wamvezela lezizinto ngemibono* (These are the words of Amos ... God brought these things to his notice by way of visions). This is one of the possibilities suggested in de Waard and Smalley (1979:22), although in the light of the footnote (ibid. p. 215) "*Modern research shows that the book of Amos is made up of a collection of oracles together with a collection of reports*

concerning visions", it may be better to omit "*ngemibono*" in this verse so as to allow for a less restrictive form of revelation from God for the sections of the book which do not record actual visions which are identified as such.

1:2 "Yahweh roars from Zion and utters his voice from Jerusalem".

Paul (1991:37) says that the verb שָׁאֵן is the usual verb to describe the roar of a lion. Roaring is an integral part of the strategy and battle tactics of a lion, for it is said to paralyse some animals, although this is debatable, and frighten away all rivals who are within audible range. Here it refers to the frightening and overwhelming effect of the audible manifestation of the God of Israel (cf. Job 37:4). Paul quotes Rudolph (1971:116-17) as saying:

"The metaphor provokes the immediate impression of the sinister, terrifying, dreadful elements of the proclamation of Yahweh for which a comparable criterion is provided by the feeling of absolute impotency and surrender during an earthquake, or the terrifying horror that one cannot suppress by any exertion of will when one suddenly hears the roaring of a lion."

This Hebrew verb is also found both in Amos 3:4, where it is parallel, as here, to the expression בָּתַן קוֹל, and in Amos 3:8, where the roaring of a lion is likened to the overwhelming effect of the Word of God upon the prophet. Furthermore, the indication that the effects of the "roaring" of God reach from Jerusalem as far north as Carmel (mentioned again in 9:3) is an extremely fitting prelude to the prophetic message of one who was sent from Judah to northern Israel to announce the Lord's sovereignty over the entire nation. One of the reasons a lion roars is to mark out his territory and to proclaim his right to hunt there. So Yahweh roars, proclaiming his sovereign right, not only over the Northern and the Southern kingdoms, but also over the surrounding nations upon which he is about to pronounce judgment. All of these nations are within his hunting ground.

The parallel Hebrew verb and verbal phrase in the first part of this verse are both extended expressions of the conceptual metaphor The Deity (Yahweh) is a Lion (cf. Jer. 2:15). בָּתַן קוֹל may refer to any loud noise, e.g. a command of an army officer (Joel 2:11), noise made by the waves of the sea (Hab. 3:10), and the shouting of invading soldiers (Lam. 2:7). The verbal phrase, when applied to the Deity, however, usually refers to the roaring sound of thunder, and hence expresses the conceptual metaphor The Voice of the Deity (Yahweh) is Thunder. Compare for example, 2 Sam. 22:14; Isa. 30:30-31; Joel 2:11; 3:16 [4:16]; Ps. 18:13; [Ps. 18:14:] 46:7b; 68:34; 77:18; 104:7; Job 37:4-5. Mays (1969:22) says: "*The roaring of the Lord is a stylized metaphor based on the sound of rolling, growling thunder (Ps. 18:13 [Ps. 18:14]; Job 37:4). The notion that thunder was the voice of a deity who manifested himself in the rainstorm came to Israel from old Canaanite sources; in the texts from Ugarit it is Baal who 'utters his voice' in the thunder.*" Although Baal utters his voice in the thunder in Ugaritic texts, it does not necessarily follow that this is the source, or the only source of this concept in Hebrew thought. This conceptual metaphor is not found exclusively in the Near East, and there is no reason to attempt to trace the origin of a concept which could easily arise through the superstitious or religious beliefs of even geographically unrelated people.

In Zulu, one of the most common conceptual metaphors applied to the king is The King is a Lion, in that he is praised as "*Silo! Ngonyama!*" (Wild animal! Lion!). As the Deity is *INKosi Yamakhosi* (King of Kings),

it follows that the conceptual metaphor could equally apply to him, and thus also that the verbs which describe the lion's giving voice, could also be used metaphorically for the voice of the king and, by further extension, to the voice of the Deity.

The conceptual metaphor *The Voice of the Deity is Thunder* exists also in Zulu. Berglund (1976:32-37) discusses *INKosi Yezulu*, or *INKosi Yaphezulu*, whom he refers to as the Lord-of-the-Sky. Among the praise names by which this deity was referred to by his informants are *uMvelingqangi* (The One who Appeared First), *uMdali* (The Creator), *uMenzi* (The Maker), *uNkulunkulu* (The Great Great One), *inkosi* (Lord), *uSomandla* (The Almighty One), *uMninimandla* (The Owner of Power) and *uGuqabadele* (The One who Stoops and they are Satisfied). All of these appellations are currently in common use by Zulu Christians of various denominations when referring to the God revealed in the Bible. Berglund (1976:37ff.) then goes on to discuss the Lord-of-the-Sky, thunder and lightning, and says that, without exception, the Zulu attribute thunder to the Lord-of-the-Sky, but distinguish between male thunder, *elenduna*, and female thunder, *elesifazane*. Male thunder is deep and rumbling, heard at some distance, and becoming increasingly louder as it approaches. It is looked upon with awe and respect, but is not feared, as it brings only rain. Female thunder, on the other hand is feared because it indicates that the Lord-of-the-Sky is angry and is going to cause destruction somewhere to people, fields, or animals. This is sudden, cracking thunder, accompanied by forked lightning, a heavy downpour and often hail.

Mays (1969:21) says that the two bi-cola are perfect synonymous parallelisms in 3 + 3 rhythm. However, the fact that the verbal phrase *נתן קול*, when applied to Deity, usually refers to the roaring sound of thunder, presents the translator with a problem. Does the poetic parallelism of the first distich consist of two distinct metaphors, viz. *The Voice of the Deity is the Roar of a Lion*, and *The Voice of the Deity is the Roar of Thunder*, or is this synonymous parallelism with only one metaphor, *The Voice of the Deity is the Voice of a Lion*, expressed in different words in both stichs? A third possibility is that the first stich expresses the metaphor, while the second expresses a similar concept non-metaphorically. This third possibility, however, is not in accordance with conceptual metaphor theory, for it would mean that the first stich is an extension of the basic conceptual metaphor *The Deity is a Lion*, whereas the second is no metaphor at all, but a simple statement of the Deity speaking.

Many translations, like the RSV, which has: *The LORD roars from Zion and utters his voice from Jerusalem*, follow the Hebrew form closely, translating the first stich as the conceptual metaphor *The Voice of the Deity is the Roar of a Lion*, and the second in such a way that it could be taken either as the same metaphor, stated in different words, or as a similar concept stated non-metaphorically. The 1893 Zulu version, for example, has: *uJehova wo bodhla eZioni a pumise izwi lake eJerusalema* (Yahweh will roar in Zion and cause his voice to go out from Jerusalem), while the 1924 ABS version, using a different verbal stem *-bhonga*, possibly because the verbal stem *-bhodla* also means "to belch", has: *UJehova u ya kubhonga e seZiyon, a pumise izwi lake e seJerusalem* (Yahweh will roar while in Zion, and cause his voice to go out while in Jerusalem).

The translators of recent English versions such as the TEV, NEB and NIV take the former viewpoint and translate:

*"The LORD roars from Zion
and thunders from Jerusalem;"*

The Hermannsburg Zulu translation of 1924, eliminates the Voice of a Deity is the Roar of a Lion metaphor in the first stich, while retaining the Voice of the Deity is the Roar of Thunder in the second, by translating: *UJehova uyakumpopolozza eseZion, a dumise izwi lake eJerusalem* (Yahweh will shout loudly while in Zion, and cause his voice to thunder from Jerusalem). The 1959 Zulu translation, currently in popular use, translates the first stich using the Voice of the Deity is the Roar of Thunder metaphor, and the second as a restatement of the first in a similar form to that of the Hebrew, so that it could be, but is not obviously, part of the metaphor: *UJehova uyaduma eseSiyoni, ezwakalise izwi lakhe eseJerusalema* (Yahweh thunders while in Zion, having let his voice be heard while in Jerusalem).

Conceptual metaphor theory offers a solution to how this should be handled. Amos, the sheep farmer, uses the conceptual metaphor The Deity is a Lion, and Motyer sees this metaphor as so central to the message of Amos, that his commentary on the book is entitled *The Day of the Lion*. He shows how the first part of the prophecy is bracketed between two references to the roaring lion (1:2; 3:8) and says that each of the sub-sections (apart from 3:3-8) may be taken as a separate roar. The lion metaphor speaks of judgment and the series of oracles serves to show at point after point the things which come under divine displeasure (1974:25). All the nations mentioned fall within the area which, by his roaring, Yahweh has demarcated as his exclusive hunting ground.

The verse consists of two distiches, which could be synonymous, but is more likely synthetic parallelism, expressing two of the things feared most by a pastoralist, the roar of a lion and the withering of the pasturage. The Hebrew word for "roar" is also used of thunder in the Old Testament (Jer. 25:30; Job 37:3-4), as pointed out by de Waard and Smalley (1979:26), and it seems that when these two expressions are used together, whether they refer to the roar of a lion or to the roar of thunder, depends on the context in which they are used. Part of the genius of metaphor, however, is that it is open-ended, and placing two expressions together, one of which refers to the noise made by lions, and the other usually to the noise of thunder when applied to the Deity, could enhance the force of the metaphor. The fact that Amos makes repeated use of the basic conceptual metaphor The Deity is a Lion, suggests that this is the context of this verse. A further indication that this is the case is the fact that ואבלי, with which the second distich begins, is a weqatal form which suggests consequence. However, thunder suggests rain, and rain would not have the consequence of withering plants, but rather of refreshing them. The first distich, therefore, is a synonymous parallel expression of the extension of that metaphor, viz. The Voice of the Deity is the Roar of a Lion, and the second distich is a synthetic parallel expression, describing a devastating drought which sears all vegetation, and which results from the action of the Deity whose terrifying voice has reverberated throughout the land. Unfortunately, many translations, including all of the published Zulu translations, have confused the verb אבל (to dry up) with its homonym אבל (to mourn), so that the parallelism of the second distich is obscured (Paul 1991:40). In the light of the fact that the second distich seems more likely to be synthetic parallelism, rather than synonymous parallelism, in that Carmel is distinguished by its lush and bountiful vegetation, pasture land and forests, and thus would probably be even better pasturage than "the shepherds' pastures", so too the second line of the first distich may have been understood by the prophet's audience to amplify, rather than simply to restate the first line.

In an unpublished draft translation, by the translators of the New Testament and Psalms in Zulu, published in 1986, an attempt has been made to sustain the Voice of the Deity is the Roar of a Lion conceptual metaphor in both lines of the first distich, and to bring out the intended meaning of both lines of the second distich also.

*USimakade uyezwakala ebhonga entabeni iZiyoni.
Iphimbo lakhe libhavumula eJerusalema.
Kwaye kwasha isikhotha emadlweni abelusi,
bomile utshani obuhlume esiqongweni sentaba iKhameli.*

(The Eternal One is heard roaring from mount Zion.

His voice roars from Jerusalem.

And so the long grass in the pastures of the shepherds was scorched,
and the new grass on the summit of mount Carmel
dried up.)

However, as mentioned above, although both lines of the first distich express the conceptual metaphor The Voice of the Deity is the Voice of a Lion, something of the effect of the juxtaposition of the two Hebrew expressions, one referring to the roar of the lion, and the other usually to the roar of thunder when applied to the Deity, may possibly be brought out in Zulu by using the verbal stem *-duma* in the second line. In addition to the describing the noise of thunder, this verb also describes the making of any resounding or reverberating noise. It therefore could leave the metaphor open-ended, describing the voice of Yahweh as reverberating throughout the land, like thunder does, but without giving any suggestion of rain accompanying the thunder. Although in common use among Zulu Christians, the word *uJehova*, as a translation of the tetragrammaton has fallen into disrepute among Bible translators, who now favour the word *uSimakade* for Zulu. Whether or not this development is beneficial, is debatable, and Prof S D Ngcongwane (1985:56, 61ff.) strongly bemoaned the fact that the term *Jehova* "is unfortunately now being thrown away by theologians". He maintained that "it is rather too late now to expect an African to part with this term. It forms part of his very faith. He believes in a God whose name is *Jehova*", and he concludes that, "He is Lord, yes, but he must also have a name. To say now suddenly the name *Jehova* is anathema, for whatever reason, is to an ordinary African believer like saying that God is no more." Depending on how one decides to translate the tetragrammaton then, a possible translation of the verse could be:

*USimakade [uJehova] uyabhonga eZiyoni,
izwi lakhe liduma eJerusalema;
kuze kushe amadlelo abelusi,
kubune utshani esiqongweni sentaba iKhameli.*
(The Eternal One [Yahweh] roars in Zion,
and his voice thunders in Jerusalem;
and so the pastures of the shepherds are scorched,
and the grass on the top of mount Carmel withers.)

A point which is made clear in the writings of Dagut (1976; 1978; 1987) is the extreme difficulty of translating words such as Zion, Jerusalem and Carmel from Hebrew into Zulu so as to convey anything of the emotional impact which they would have had on the prophet's original audience. However, something of the impact of the geographical references could be brought out by making the references explicit, either in the text or in a footnote, e.g. Zion, his dwelling place; Jerusalem his capital city; Carmel, the lushest pasturage.

1:3 "They have threshed Gilead with threshing sledges of iron."

In this verse the prophet employs the agricultural imagery of threshing to describe the barbaric atrocity committed by the Arameans against Gilead. It is used metaphorically to portray the nation's cruel and inhumane treatment of the land as well as its occupants (Paul 1991:47). Mays (1969:31) says: "*Aram's armies had raked across Gilead as though it were grain on a threshing floor, chopping and grinding like a threshing sledge. The reference could be quite literal, describing a method of torturing prisoners, but it is more likely to be a metaphor drawn from the agrarian life known so well to Amos (cf. 2 Kings 13:7; Isa. 41:15).*" As Mays says, the reference could be quite literal, particularly in the light of the fact that the crimes of which the other nations are accused are literal crimes. The normal use of the studded sledge was in agriculture, but it is also quite possible that the Arameans did use it as a military weapon. However, even if they did use this as a military weapon, the image portrayed would still be metaphor, the people being subjected to the same treatment as grain on a threshing floor. This metaphor is an extension of the conceptual metaphor People are Plants, and here is based on Mideastern agricultural practice in which a flat wooden platform, studded with sharpened pieces of iron or stone, was pulled by animals across the harvested grain to cut up the straw and separate the grain from the stalks (de Waard & Smalley, 1979:32; Paul, 1991:48). The Zulu method of threshing, *ukubhula*, is to beat the grain with a long stick. Two ways of translating this metaphor have been attempted in the published Zulu translations. The first, found in the 1893 translation, gives the reason for God's not withdrawing his punishment from them as *ngokubula kwabo iGiladi ngesihlipi sensimbi*, (because of their beating Gilead with an iron sled). *Isihlipi*, a foreign acquisition, is defined by Bryant (1905:250) as a fork of a tree used as a slip or drag for carrying purposes. As *ukubhula* has a wide range of meanings connected with the act of beating, in addition to others connected with divination, and the sled is used for transport rather than for threshing grain, this translation would very likely be totally misunderstood. The 1924 Hermannsburg translation, *ngoba balibhulile iGileadi ngezihlipi zokubhula, ezensimbi* (because they beat [threshed] Gilead with threshing sleds of iron) is an improvement, because qualifying the sled as a threshing sled, helps to identify the specific use of the verb, while at the same time trying to depict the instrument to which Amos was referring. By the time this version was published, many Zulus may have seen a thresher made of iron, *umshini wokubhula* (Doke, 1958:501), but it would not have resembled a sled.

The second attempt at translating this metaphor is found in the 1924 ABS translation: *ngokuba ba bhule iGiliyadi ngezibhulo zensimbi* (because they beat Gilead with iron flails), and the 1959 translation: *ngokuba babhula iGileyadi ngezibhulo ezibukhali zensimbi* (because they beat Gilead with sharp iron flails). These translations move away from the instrument used in Mideastern agriculture, to that used in Zulu agriculture, except that the Zulu use a blunt wooden flail and not one that is sharp, nor made of iron. Although it is Gilead that is being beaten, through the conceptual metaphor Nation is the Country, it could be understood to mean that it was actually the people of that country who were being cruelly treated in this way. Accepting that this is basically an extension of the conceptual metaphor People are Plants, it could be better to make explicit the fact that it was primarily the people that were given this inhumane treatment, and not the country. This has been done in an unpublished draft, where the sin of the people of Damascus is said to be that: *basizila abantu baseGiliyadi ngezihlibhi zokubhula ezikhandwe ngensimbi* (they crushed [as beneath a wheel] the people of Gilead, with threshing sleds forged with iron). This translation, however, somewhat obscures the original People are Plants conceptual metaphor.

The two ways in which this metaphor has been translated into Zulu highlight a problem which constantly faces translators of Biblical Hebrew. How does one translate a passage, metaphorical or not, where the practices and artefacts used in Biblical times differ from those of the people into whose language the translation is being made? If the translation is too close to the original it could make the effort required for the reader to decipher it too great and increase the possibility of its being misunderstood. For example: *ngokubhula kwabo iGiladi ngesihlapi sensimbi* (because of their beating Gilead with an iron sled), would be most difficult to understand for those who thresh using wooden flails, and are not familiar with the practice of threshing by driving a spiked sled over the cut stalks of ripened grain. On the other hand, discarding Biblical practices and artefacts and replacing them with those known locally, may make the text easier to understand initially, but at the same time give the impression that the people in Biblical times used the same instruments and acted in the same way as the local people. So: *ba bhule iGiliyadi ngezibhulo zensimbi* (they beat Gilead with iron flails) could indicate to the Zulu that the sin of the people of Damascus was their inhumane treatment of the people of Gilead, but it would also give them the wrong impression about the threshing methods of Biblical times. Bible translators need to be careful not to oversimplify and translate down to those for whom they are translating. This is especially true for a people who are familiar with Biblical tradition and Biblical concepts (Stienstra, 1993:204). A translation which requires relatively little processing to give the meaning of the original, but which omits information regarding the culture of Biblical times, may be more meaningful initially, but at a later stage has sometimes led to the translators being accused of deliberately misleading the people for whom the translation was made, once they have discovered how the original was stated. However it is decided to translate this, therefore, it would be good to include an explanatory footnote to ensure that the reader understands both the agricultural practice in Biblical times, and the significance of the metaphor here.

There is a further solution which has not yet appeared in Zulu translations. Modern agriculture uses the harrow, a very similar looking instrument to that mentioned by Amos, but used for an agricultural purpose different from threshing. The Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1990:664) describes a harrow as: "A piece of farming equipment consisting of a row of spikes fixed to a heavy frame. When it is pulled over ploughed land, the spikes break up large lumps of soil." In Zulu, this well known piece of equipment may be referred to as *ihhala*, the word derived from the English word, or *isibhuqa*, the Class 7 noun derived from the verbal stem *-bhuqa*. This verb covers a wide semantic domain. Doke & Vilakazi (1949:55) give its meaning as: 1. Devastate, destroy completely, wipe out (as people, land, crops) [cf. *bhuqé* ideophone of destruction] *Indlala yashaya yabhuqa*. (The famine wrought wholesale destruction). 2. Tread down, tread bare, grind, pulverize. *ukubhuqa utshani* (to tread the grass bare). 3. Harrow. *ukubhuqa insimu* (to harrow a field). 4. Walk long distances. *ukubhuqa umhlaba* (to tramp over the country). 5. Make sport of, be sarcastic or ironical towards. *Bamthwala emahlombe bembonga kanti bayambhuqa nje*. (They carried him on their shoulders praising him, when all the time they were just making sport of him). A possible translation therefore would be: *babhuqa abantu baseGiliyadi ngezibhuqa ezikhandwe ngensimbi* (they harrowed the people of Gilead with harrows made of iron). This translation changes the conceptual metaphor from People are Plants to People are the Land. As was mentioned above, Gilead in this verse refers to the people and not the land, through the conceptual metaphor Nation is the Country. As the act of harrowing is done to the actual soil of the land, it is necessary to make explicit the fact that it was primarily the people who were treated inhumanely by inserting the word *abantu* (people). Using the verb together with the noun, pinpoints the area within the semantic domain which is intended, and at the same time retains the metaphorical element, whether the Aramaeans

actually used spiked sledges as a military weapon against the people of Gilead, or whether this is intended only as metaphor.

- 1:4 "I will send fire upon the house of Hazael,
and it shall devour the strongholds of Ben-hadad."
1:7 "I will send a fire upon the wall of Gaza,
and it shall devour her strongholds."
1:10 "I will send a fire upon the wall of Tyre,
and it shall devour her strongholds."
1:14 "I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah,
and it shall devour her strongholds."

In these verses, Yahweh is pictured as a military leader, the Divine Warrior, who employs an all-devouring fire as one of his weapons of war (Paul, 1991:49), so the Deity is a Warrior, and the Deity's Weapon is Fire. As king, Yahweh never loses a battle (Brettler 1989:162). As in the Zulu praise-poems, where the king, his warriors, and their spears -dla (eat) their enemies, so the Hebrew metaphor of fire, the Divine Warrior's weapon of war, eating his enemies in the house of Hazael, can be translated directly into Zulu, as is done in most of the published Zulu versions and also in the unpublished draft, and it is not necessary to translate using the verbal stem *-qeda* (finish off), as is done in the 1959 Zulu translation.

- 1:5 "I will break the bar of Damascus,
and cut off the inhabitants from the Valley of Aven,
and him that holds the sceptre from Beth-eden"
1:8 "I will cut off the inhabitants from Ashdod,
and him that holds the sceptre from Ashkelon"
2:3 "I will cut off the ruler from its midst"

In these verses, the conceptual metaphor, Annihilate is to Cut Off is invoked. This has been translated in the following way in the various versions. In Amos 1:5, the 1893 version: *ngi m nquma* (I cut him off), the 1924 ABS version: *ngi nqume* and the 1959 version: *nginqume* (I cut off) are similar. The 1924 Hermannsburg version has: *ngicite* (I destroyed), and the unpublished draft has: *ngibhubhise* (I annihilated). In Amos 1:8, the 1893 version: *ngo ti ngi nqume* (I will act and cut off), the 1924 ABS version: *Ngo nquma* (I will cut off), and the 1959 version: *Ngiyakunquma* (I will cut off) are similar, whereas the 1924 Hermannsburg version has: *Ngo qeda* (I will finish), and the unpublished draft has: *Ngiyosusa* (I will remove). In Amos 2:3, the 1893 version has, *ngo nquma abateti ... ngi bubise* (I will cut off the one who tries cases ... and annihilate). This could be misunderstood, as the verb stem *-thetha* basically means "to scold, find fault, nag", so the Class 1 personal noun *umthethi* derived from the verb, which is not listed in any of the dictionaries consulted, could be understood to mean "fault finder" or "nagger", rather than "one who tries cases such as a magistrate or judge", which is listed in the dictionaries as the compound noun *umthethimacala*. However, as de Waard and Smalley (1979:43) point out, the Hebrew here refers rather to a ruler than a judge, which is why the unpublished draft translates it with *umbusi*, rather than with either *umthethimacala* or *umahluleli*. The 1924 ABS version has: *Nginyakunquma umahluleli ... ngi bulale* (I will cut off the judge ... and kill), the 1924 Hermannsburg version has: *Ngizomqeda umahluleli ... ngiqede* (I will finish off the judge ... and finish off), while the 1959 version has: *Ngiyakunquma umahluleli ... ngibulale* (I will cut off the judge ... and kill), and the unpublished draft has:

Ngiyosudukisa ezweni umbusi ... ngibhubhise (I will remove the ruler from the country ... and annihilate). In Zulu, the meaning may be brought out by using any of the words in these translations, including the verb stem *-nquma* (cut), which has a wide semantic domain.

1:5 contains some good examples of the image schema *pars pro toto* or Part is the Whole. So, The Sliding Bar is the City, The City is the Country, and Sceptre is Ruling. The 1893, ABS 1924, and Hermannsburg versions all use the word *umvalo*, which is defined as: "Cross-bar used for fastening Native door or gate. [cf. *umgoqo*]" (Doke & Vilakazi 1949:829), while the 1959 version uses the alternative in the plural, *imigoqo*, *umgoqo* (or, *u(lu)goqo*, *izingoqo*) being a wooden bar for closing an entrance (Doke & Vilakazi, 1949:259). Once the sliding bar is broken the defences to the whole city are down. Once the defences of the capital city of the region are broken, the whole countryside has already fallen and all that remains to be conquered is the palace and the ruler himself. In all of the published Zulu versions, with the exception of the 1959 translation, sceptre is translated as *intonga yokubusa* (the staff of ruling), so *ophethe intonga yokubusa* (one who holds the staff of ruling) is the ruler. The 1959 version omits *yokubusa* (of ruling), which would tend to make the expression more difficult to process, as many Zulu men carry a staff. However, the translators possibly thought that seeing that the verbal relative is in the singular, the implication would be obvious, without being made explicit.

1:9b "they ... did not remember the covenant of brotherhood"

Deist (personal communication) warned against discussing the meaning of Hebrew terms with reference to their translation equivalents. He maintains that the Hebrew verb זכר means "to make present what is not present", and that it can only have an abstract as object, e.g. kindness, transgression, distress, devotion, etc. Its best translational equivalent would be "commemorate". To make something abstract present may, depending on the abstract referent, be translated by "observe". He therefore doubts that there is a metaphor in זכר ברית. However, Davidson (1974:238) gives the glosses "to remember, recollect, call to mind", while Koehler & Baumgartner (1958:255ff) give the general glosses "say, name, swear, remember", and "consider a duty" as the particular gloss for Amos 1:9. Brown, Driver and Briggs (1962:269 2d) give "remember human obligations" as the gloss for the use of the word in this verse. Translators, using lexicons such as these, have understood that the Hebrew contains the conceptual metaphor Observing is Remembering, referring to a covenant between two parties. Exactly which covenant is referred to here and between whom, is not clear. Most commentators take it to be the treaty between King Hiram of Tyre and King Solomon (1 Kings 5:12 [1 Kings 5:26]), especially as Hiram calls Solomon "my brother" in 1 Kings 9:13. De Waard and Smalley (1979:38) believe that this interpretation is doubtful as the treaty was made more than 200 years before the time of Amos. Also doubtful is that Amos is alluding to an unattested assumed renewal of ties between Tyre and Israel during the reign of Jeroboam II, or to bonds of kinship between Israel and Edom. Deist believes that the consensus among most Semitists would be that ברית אחים refers to "a contract of mutual responsibility concluded between equals". The metaphor then is not Observing is Remembering, but rather Foreigners are Brothers, that is that foreigners are equals. The opposite to this type of treaty would be a vassal treaty, where the responsibilities are not equal.

All of the published Zulu translations, have carried over the metaphor Observing is Remembering, which they obviously understood to be present in the Hebrew, with the use of the verbal stem *-khumbula* (remember), in spite of the fact that it is more natural in Zulu to *-gcina* (keep, preserve, observe) a

covenant, treaty or law. The respondents consulted all preferred the verb *-gcina* to *-khumbula* in this context. There is no doubt that it would be more natural in Zulu to use the verb *-gcina* instead of *-khumbula* in this context, and this is even more advisable in the light of the fact that it is doubtful that the Hebrew is invoking the conceptual metaphor Observing is Remembering.

Not knowing the exact nature of the covenant referred to added to their translation problem. In the 1893 version, the covenant was *uvumelwano lwabazalwane* (a mutual agreement of brethren), *uvumelwano* being a Class 11 noun which is most unusual. In the 1924 ABS translation, it was *isivumelwano sobuzalwane* (a mutual agreement of brethernship), the possessive being formed from a Class 14 noun which is possible, but also unusual. In 1959 it is *isivumelwano sabazalwane* (a mutual agreement of brethren). It is doubtful if *abazalwane* is the best word to use in this context, as it is now used extensively by Christians, particularly evangelicals, to refer to those who share their faith. The 1924 Hermannsburg translation has *isivumelwano nabafo wabo* (a mutual agreement with their brothers), which gives the impression that the treaty was between members of the same family, clan, or tribe. In the unpublished draft, the translators have adapted the Zulu metaphor A Covenant is a Knot as found in the expression *ifindo lomshado* (the marriage tie), and have translated: *Kabaze balihlonipha ifindo lobuhlobo elaboshwa phakathi kwezamani* (They did not respect the knot of friendship which was tied between children of the same mother following each other in birth). While the idea of respecting the knot of friendship may have some merit, the use of the word *izelamani* is too restrictive in its reference in that it most obviously points to the relationship between Jacob and Esau and thus between Judah and Edom, the relationship which is referred to in verse 11. A suggested translation is: *Abagcinanga isivumelwano nalabo ababebopha ifindo lobuhlobo nabo* (They did not observe the covenant with those with whom they tied the knot of friendship).

1:11 "and his anger tore perpetually,
and he kept his wrath for ever."

The verb in the first stich in the Masoretic text is ויטרף (he tears). According to Koehler & Baumgartner (1958:357) this verb has to do with the action of wild beasts, which suggests that Biblical Hebrew here uses the conceptual metaphor Anger is a Dangerous Animal (Lakoff, 1987:392-394). The 1893 Zulu translation has: *nolaka lwake lwa dabula njalo* (and his anger tears always) and the 1924 ABS translation has: *ulaka lwake lwa dwengula njalonjalo* (his anger tears continually), either of which verbs may express the metaphor Anger is a Dangerous Animal, *-dwengula* probably being the more expressive, according to informants consulted. The 1924 Hermannsburg translation has: *ulaka lwake lwadhla njalonjalo* (his anger eats continually), which could also express the metaphor Anger is a Dangerous Animal. The verbal stem *-dla* (eat) also occurs often in praise poems where the ferocity of the warrior is described in the destruction of his enemies. The 1959 translation, like the Syriac and Vulgate, follows the emended text, which Paul (1991:66) says most exegetes favour. In the context of לעד (for ever), "tears", which suggests a sudden action of a passing nature, does not fit very well. Emending ויטרף to ויטרף (he guards, keeps) creates a complementary parallel to שמרה (he keeps her, i.e. the wrath) in the following stich. Thus the translation: *wagcina ulaka lwakhe, wayilondoloza intukuthelo yakhe* (he kept his wrath, he preserved his anger). However, it would seem that the verb *-londoloza* (preserve) tends to take the edge off the anger in this translation. The unpublished draft reads: *unya lwabo baze balweqisa, kabaluvumela ukuba lulothe* (they however increased their cruelty and did not allow it to die down), which seems to go beyond what the Hebrew indicates.

Paul quotes a number of scholars who accept the standard emendation, but who then read intransitive homonyms with the meaning "to rage, to be furious" in place of the transitive verbs "to guard, to watch". The synonymous pair of nouns "wrath" and "fury" then function as the subjects of the verbs and not as the objects. This solution is followed by the NIV:

*"because his anger raged continually
and his fury flamed unchecked"*

whereas the NAV accepts the Masoretic text in the first stich and the intransitive homonym in the second, translating:

*"hy het hulle in sy toorn verskeur,
sy woede het bly kook."
(in his wrath he tore them to pieces,
his anger remained on the boil.).*

In his analysis of conceptual metaphors of anger in English, Lakoff (1987:383) states that the folk theory of physiological effects, especially the part that emphasises heat, forms the most general metaphor for anger: **Anger is Heat**. He shows that increased body heat and blood pressure is assumed to cause redness in the face and neck area, and that such redness can metonymically indicate anger. This assumption could also appear to be made in Biblical Hebrew where the word for "anger" in the first stich is אָ . The basic meaning given for this word is "nose", and Koehler & Baumgartner (1958:75) quote a series of phrases such as *"the nose of the angry breathed hard and a fire is burning in it"* (Deut. 32:22), *"his nose became hot = his anger was kindled"* (Gen. 30:2), *"the burning, glowing of the nose = anger"*, and say: "Out of these phrases אָ develops to mean commonly anger, wrath." Deist (personal communication) indicated that he has a problem with associating heat with אָ as if "heat" were part of the term's meaning, as this seems to be a contextual transfer, rather than a semantic analysis. He pointed out that the word אָ may show all sorts of spiritual disturbances, such as anger, shock, etc. and one has to deduce the meaning depending on the accompanying verb. "To become angry" is expressed by the addition of a word for heat such as חָרָה (become hot), as in Gen. 44:18, and 1 Samuel 20:34. אָ , in itself, has nothing to do with heat. This is a good example of conceptual metaphor, indicating that metaphor is not based on the word itself, and also that metaphor is not purely a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a cognitive one. In many cases, where אָ is used together with a verb to indicate anger, the verb is one which refers to heat, i.e. the conceptual metaphor **Anger is Fire** is invoked. Therefore, when אָ is encountered in a context where it is understood to mean "anger", it brings to mind the conceptual metaphor **Anger is Fire** and suggests the use of verbs referring to heat. This then could explain why, while some scholars believe the only way in which the emended text can be read is either: "And he preserved his anger for ever", or "And concerning his anger, he preserved it for ever", others, such as the translators of the NIV and NAV, read it with intransitive homonyms with the meaning "to rage, to be furious" in place of the transitive verbs "to guard, to watch" here, and invoke the conceptual metaphor **Anger is Fire** in their translations. The NEB translators, on the other hand, invoked the conceptual metaphor **Anger is a Storm**:

*"Their anger raged unceasing,
Their fury stormed unchecked."*

If this is the option decided upon, the Anger is Fire metaphor could be expressed in both stichs in Zulu by a translation such as:

*lwalokhu lwavutha ulaka lwakhe
yasha intukuthelo yakhe njalonjalo*
(his wrath blazed continually
and his anger burned constantly)

It would also be possible to express both the Anger is a Dangerous Animal and Anger is Fire metaphors, as the Afrikaans does, by a translation such as:

*ulaka lwakhe lwalokhu lwadla
yavutha intukuthelo yakhe njalonjalo*
(his wrath devoured continually
his anger blazed constantly)

1:14b "with shouting in the day of battle,
with a tempest in the day of the whirlwind."

This verse contains the Battle is a Storm metaphor. "The day of battle" and "the day of the whirlwind storm and tempest" are variant expressions for the "Day of Yahweh". The Divine Warrior is armed with the forces of nature. Storm metaphors in the description of battles are well documented in Akkadian sources (Paul 1991:70). This is also true in Zulu. For example, in a praise poem, the people are warned in the light of the approach of Shaka: *Izulu liyeza khwezani abantwana*. (The storm is approaching, put the children in a safe place.).

2:4b "they have rejected the law of Yahweh,
and have not kept his statutes,
but their lies have led them astray,
after which their fathers walked."

The conceptual metaphor Deity (Yahweh) is Truth is basic to Hebrew theological thought. In this verse, the antithesis of that metaphor, An Idol is Falsehood, is stated. This is a cacophemy describing idolatry, and coming directly after the first distich accusing them of rejecting the law of Yahweh and not keeping his decrees, the reference would most probably have been obvious to the prophet's audience. The reference is, however, not obvious to the Zulu reader, for *amanga* (lies) usually refers to something which is said. *Amanga* could indeed be followed and lead one astray, as most of the published Zulu translations imply, or deceive, according to the Hermannsburg version, but it would be understood to refer to false teaching which may not even have any religious connotation, rather than to idolatry. The unpublished draft makes the meaning explicit by translating: *Beduswe yizo lezi zithixo zamanga ezazikhothanyelwa ngoyisemkhulu*. (They were led astray by these false gods which were bowed down to by their grandfathers.). However, even *izithixo* (gods) is a word which has been brought into Zulu during the Christian era. At one time *uThixo*, a Class 1a personal noun, was introduced into Zulu by certain of the Christian missionaries to serve as the name of the God revealed in the Bible, because they feared that the words existing in the language, and referring to a Supreme Being, had too many negative connotations. The word was introduced, via Xhosa, and possibly came originally from the Khoi

languages. Changing the noun prefix, moves the noun from Class 1a to Class 7 and 8a *isithixo* (god; idol) and *izithixo* (gods; idols), where it is no longer a personal name. As these words were coined by Christians to refer positively to the true God revealed in the Bible, and negatively to other unworthy creatures and objects which people worship, qualifying *izithixo* (idols) with *zamanga* (of lies) could be considered tautologous. However, accepting that the prophet used the antithesis to the conceptual metaphor Deity (Yahweh) is Truth, and realising that other cacophemistic words, such as "vanity" (Deut. 32:21), "nothingness" (Lev. 19:4) and "delusion" in Isa. 66:3, are also used in the Old Testament to describe idolatry, it may be that the qualifying *zamanga* will help to convey to the Zulu reader something of the force of the original metaphor.

2:9 "Yet I destroyed the Amorite before them,
whose height was like the height of the cedars,
and who was as strong as the oaks;
I destroyed his fruit above and his roots beneath."

Basic to this verse is an extension of the conceptual metaphor People are Plants, viz People are Trees, combined with the conceptual metaphor Fearsome is Big and Strong, and possibly also Pride is Big, within the image schema, Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites. The conceptual metaphors are first expressed as similes and then as metaphors mapped upon the basic conceptual metaphor. Paul (1991:89) points out that these paired opposites are found several times in the Bible (2 Kings 19:30; Isa. 14:29; 37:31; Ezek. 17:9; Hos. 9:16), but that Amos reverses the conventional order by citing the top of the tree first, possibly because he had begun by speaking of the height of the Amorites *אמרי*, which is reminiscent of the Hebrew word *אמיר* (topmost branch), so creating a paronomasia, or pun. Citing an article by H L Ginsberg ("'Roots Below and Fruits Above' and Related Matters" in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to G R Driver*. Oxford. 1962), Paul translates: "I destroyed his boughs above and his trunk below." (1991:44, 89). Translating *עֵרֶשׁ* as "trunk" is doubtful, as it means "root" or "the lowest part of a thing" such as the bottom of the sea, the foundation of something or the basis of an argument. However, the meaning of a metaphor does not depend upon determining the exact meaning of the lexical items of which it is comprised, but rather in the conceptual image it presents as a whole, which here is totality — from the one extremity to the other. Translating the metaphor requires reproducing the same conceptual image in the target language and in English, total extermination would involve getting rid of the root, rather than the trunk, while destroying the fruit would mean that there would be no seed to offer the possibility of future existence. Ntuli (personal communication) said that he was quite happy that this conceptual metaphor is perfectly intelligible within the Zulu world view, and suggested the translation: *kusuka emahlamvini kuya ezimpandeni* (from the leaves to the roots).

Kruger (1983:256) says:

"From the earliest times the tree was commonly used in figurative language owing to its unique characteristics: its growth, blossoming, its fruit and its downward cycle consisting of the shedding of its leaves in autumn, until it was totally leafless in the winter, only to revive again after a short winter sleep. The evergreen tree which is apparently not influenced by the seasonal changes, had since time immemorial fascinated man and made him believe that this was a special manifestation of the divine. Man has found

several points of comparison to the rhythm of human existence in the various qualities of the tree and in its changing appearance."

The conceptual metaphor People are Plants and the extension People are Trees are also found in Zulu (para. 5.4.4.) as are the conceptual metaphors Important is Big, Pride is Big, and Fearsome is Big and Strong. Vilakazi (1965:76), for example, refers to one who had died as *umuth' omkhulu wakwaMakhwatha* (big tree of Makhwatha's place).

The problem with translating this verse, however, is that it mentions two specific trees. The cedar, was well known as a strong, evergreen, stately tree which could reach to a height of 25 metres. Mention of it in a metaphor to those to whom it was familiar, obviously would be more meaningful conceptually, than to those to whom it is completely unknown and to whom it may have to be explained firstly that it is a tree, and secondly what it looked like. Although it is most probably an oak, the identity of the second tree is less certain today than that of the cedar (de Waard & Smalley, 1979:224), but it is likely that the people in the time of Amos would have known it as well as they knew the cedar, and so would have grasped the full force of both stichs of this metaphor. The problem is, should one try to translate the metaphor using neologisms for the names of the trees so as to try to be as scientifically accurate as possible in their identification, while at the same time completely losing any emotional and symbolic connotation which the trees could have had to Amos' original audience? Or, should one try to capture something of the emotional and symbolic connotation which the trees could have had to Amos' original audience, by using tall and strong trees well known to the Zulu, and which may have a similar emotional and symbolic connotation to them, but could then also give the modern reader the wrong impression that these trees grew in the Middle-East at the time of Amos, and were those to which the prophet actually referred?

Both solutions have been tried in the published Zulu translations. אֲרֵז mentioned over seventy times in the Bible, is rightly translated "cedar". Most of the translations refer to the genus *Cedrus*, which, when coupled with "Lebanon" is doubtless *Cedrus libani* (Zohary, 1982:104). Fauna and Flora (1972:108) points out that the fragrant wood is much sought after for building purposes, because it does not easily rot. This word has been transliterated from the English in the form *amasedari* in the 1893 Zulu version, *imisedari* in the 1959 version, and *imisedare*, in the ABS 1927 version, while the Hermannsburg version uses *umkhoba*, the well known local yellowwood *Podocarpus latifolius*, a large evergreen tree, 20 to 30 metres in height, which yields good timber, and is found in evergreen and mountain forests, (Palgrave, 1977:58). As the identification of the other tree אֵלֹנִים was uncertain to the translators in 1893, they used a form transliterated from the Hebrew, *amaaloni*. Zohary (1982:108f.) states that there are three oak species in the thickets and forests of Israel and identifies this as the Tabor oak, *Quercus ithaburensis*, a stately deciduous tree, up to 25 metres tall and 20 metres in crown circumference, believed to attain the age of 300 to 500 years. It is central in a series of Israeli arboreal plant communities, appearing in pure stands in the coastal region, but sharing a number of Mediterranean associates on the mountains, and semi-steppe associates in the eastern flanks of the mountains. Flora and Fauna (1972:155) says there is no unanimity among modern botanists as to which of the six species found in Palestine is referred to (note above, that Zohary recognises three species), and identifies this as *Quercus coccifera*. The ABS 1927 and 1959 versions transliterated this from the English "oak" as *imi-oki* and *ama-oki* respectively, while the Hermannsburg transliterated it from the German as *ama-ikele*, thus producing a neologism which also could have come from the Afrikaans *eike* (oaks). Over the past some 170 years that the Zulu have been in contact with English and Afrikaans, cedars and oaks have been among the exotic trees

which have been planted in South Africa, so there is little, if anything, to have prevented them from becoming familiar with the trees and their English and, perhaps also, Afrikaans names. In fact, the forms transliterated from English, and marked as such with an asterisk, have found their way into the dictionary (Doke et. al. 1958:67, 315), together with an explanatory gloss: cedar n. **umsida* (2) *uhlobo lomuthi ovela emazweni asenyakatho* (*cedar (2) a kind of tree which comes from the countries of the north); oak n. **i(li)-oki, umuthi othile waphesheya oveza amapulangwe alukhuni impela* (*oak, a certain tree from overseas which produces very heavy planks). Even although the exact identity of the one tree is not certain, there is little justification for transliterating from the Hebrew, a language with which the Zulu have no contact whatsoever. However, there is every justification for using accepted forms transliterated from English, and in some cases from Afrikaans, as these are the terms by which the trees will be identified to them should they see them and enquire about their names. Admittedly, Amos' mention of these trees may have had a particular emotional effect on his audience, who had probably seen the trees referred to in their natural habitat, and to whom the conceptual metaphors People are Cedars and People are Oaks may have had a particular significance. Exactly what particular significance, or emotional effect these metaphors may have had, it is impossible to gauge so many centuries later. There is apparently no way in translation that one can convey the full emotional force of something which is local and which may have a special significance within the culture and language of a people, to someone who may never even have seen that thing, as Dagut has shown (1976:29ff.), but there is also no way in which this can be measured. However, translators also sometimes tend to underestimate those for whom they are translating. For this reason, some try to make explicit everything which through their experience and study, they see to be implicit in a text, believing that if the reader finds it too difficult to process he will reject it as irrelevant to him. On the contrary, finding something he does not understand in a text, very often has the exact opposite effect on a reader and he will take trouble to unravel its meaning. Having done so, he may simply dismiss it as a curiosity of another language and culture, or he may adopt it into his own language. There is ample evidence in Zulu language of single lexical items acquired from other languages, and retaining the identical meaning, although some may acquire a slightly different meaning. There should be little reason why metaphorical usage from one language cannot similarly be understood by speakers of another language, particularly if the same basic conceptual metaphors occur in both languages, and provided that the metaphor does not already exist with a different connotation in the target language. Misunderstanding may also occur if one or other of the lexical items within the metaphor already has a specific metaphorical connotation in the target language. The likelihood of a metaphorical usage from one language being accepted into another would be increased or decreased depending on the extent to which the context supports the imagery of the metaphor.

The unpublished draft, instead of transliterating from Hebrew, English, Afrikaans, or German, uses trees well known in Natal to translate both. *Umkhoba*, the yellowwood, *Podocarpus latifolius*, and *umsimbithi*, *Millettia grandis*, the ironwood, a medium-sized coastal tree, with heavy, hard, and strong wood, which makes beautiful, durable furniture, and which is favoured by the Zulu for making ornamental sticks (Palgrave, 1977:310; Bryant, 1906:589). In this way, an attempt has been made to retain the focus of the People are Trees metaphor which has been made explicit by stating this conceptual metaphor in the form of a simile, namely, that of loftiness and strength.

Although a metaphor may be open-ended in one language and allow the hearer to continue processing the metaphor and to see more in it than is at first apparent, translating the metaphor into another language may highlight certain connotations to the exclusion of others. For example, in the 1893 Zulu

translation, the Amorite's loftiness is described as *okudepa kwake* (his growing tall), which seems to focus on actual size, and diminish the metaphorical effect. The strength is expressed by *wa e qinile* (he was firm), *owa e qinile* in the 1927 ABS version, which has the connotation that he was unmoveable. Loftiness in the 1927 ABS, Hermannsburg, and 1959 versions, is expressed by *ukuphakama* (be elevated) which, in addition to height, also carries the connotation of fame and pride. Strength in the Hermannsburg and 1959 versions is expressed by *amandla*, the common word for strength. In the unpublished version, the focus of both stichs is on fearsomeness, as the height aspect is expressed by the phrase *imidondoshiya yabantu ababengangezihlahla zomkhoba* (giants of people who were like yellowwoods). This emphasis is carried over into the second stich, where the strength aspect is stated as *beyiziqhwaga amandla abo engangawesihlahla somsimbithi* (they were giants of great strength whose strength was like that of ironwoods).

In the second half of the verse in each of the Zulu versions, the metaphor describing the complete destruction of the Amorites has been translated directly from *izithelo* (fruit) above, to *izimpande* (root) below, although the 1893 version uses *izinhlamvu* (berries) in place of *izithelo*. In most cases, the verbal stem used is *-chitha* (destroy), although the 1924 ABS uses *-shabalalisa* (cause to come to nought), and the Hermannsburg uses *-bulala* (kill) to express the second verb, thus losing something of the force of the metaphor. The unpublished version uses the verbal stem *-qothulela* (wipe out), reinforced by the ideophone *nya* (indicating complete nothingness) to translate the first verb, and the reduplicated verbal stem *-gedaqeda* (finish bit by bit) to translate the second. The force of reduplicating the verbal stem here is that it indicates the ease with which the action was performed — total destruction without any effort at all.

2:13 "Now then, I will press you down in your place,
as a cart full of sheaves presses down."

Mays (1969:53f.) says that in this verse the direct action of Yahweh against Israel is interpreted by a metaphor, but because of uncertainty of the meaning of the *hapax legomenon* verb מַעֲיֵק the only thing which is clear is that this action is compared to the effect of a wagon, overloaded with sheaves of grain. Underlying the metaphor is the image schema Bad is Down, but it is not clear whether the conceptual metaphor is Punishment is Inability to Progress, or Punishment is Oppression, or perhaps even something else. Paul (1991:94f.) gives a summary of interpretations. Some scholars understand the verb to be derived from the medial *waw* root צוּק (hamper, hinder), others see it derived from the germinate root עָקַק (cut to pieces), while others relate it to the medial *yod* עִיַק (groan), a translation supported by the Vulgate. Still others interpret the verb as an Aramaism for צָרַק (press), this exegesis being supported by the Syriac, while others have proposed a meaning on the basis of the postbiblical עוֹקָה (cavity, pit, trough), and still others follow the Septuagint's translation καταστρέφω (turn, roll, rotate). Paul sees problems with the majority of these suggestions, which are based on the basic presupposition that the meaning of the verb is somehow related to punishment by earthquake. In the light of the vivid description in the ensuing verses of the total incapacitation and immobility of Israel's armed forces, Paul sees this as an agricultural image. When the cut grain is being brought by wagon from the fields to the threshing floor, the overloaded wagon is hampered and hindered and comes haltingly to a stop. Paradoxically, it is the abundance and prosperity of the accused which leads to their downfall. He therefore favours the interpretation which is found in the 1983 Afrikaans version: "*Daarom laat ek julle vasval net waar julle is*

soos 'n wa vasval wat te vol gerwe is." (Therefore I will allow you to bog down just where you are, as a wagon which is overloaded with sheaves bogs down.)

All of the published Zulu versions, follow the Syriac, translating the verb as *-cindezela* (exert pressure upon, press, compress, squeeze, oppress). The 1893 version reads: *Bheka, mina ngo ni cindezela pansi, njengaloku ingqokumbane i ya cindezela e gcwele izinyanda.* (Behold, I will oppress you just as a cart exerts pressure being full of bundles of sticks or grass.) The 1924 ABS version has: *Bheka, ngo ni cindezela endaweni yenu njengokucindezela kwengqokumbane i gcwele izitonto.* (Behold, I will oppress you in your place like the pressure of a cart full of large bundles.) The 1924 Hermannsburg version has: *Bheka, ngonincindezela pansi njengenqola icindezela pansi, lapo igcwele izinyanda.* (Behold, I will press you down like a wagon presses down when it is full of bundles of wood or grass.) The 1959 version has: *Bhekani, ngiyakuncindezela endaweni yenu njengengqokumbane icindezela, igcwele izithungu.* (Behold, I will oppress you in your place like a cart exerts pressure, being full of bundles.) The unpublished draft takes cognisance of the various suggested interpretations of the meaning of the verb and, with an alternative translation in a footnote, ingeniously attempts to incorporate as many of the interpretations as possible into the verse: *Manje ngizonincindezela, nigqumise okwengqokumbane ilayishwe izithungu zesivuno kwaze kweqa.* (Now I will oppress you, causing you to groan in the way a cart loaded with bundles of harvest until it is overloaded does.) The footnote giving an alternative translation, reads: *Manje ngizonenza nibhajwe khona lapho nikhona, njengengqokumbane ilayishwe izithungu zesivuno kwaze kweqa.* (Now I will make you to be held fast just where you are, like a cart loaded with bundles of harvest until it is overloaded.)

2:15 "He who handles the bow shall not stand."

Paul (1991:97) says that the Hebrew verbs signifying "holding and grasping", like תפז, develop the meaning "to be skilled or trained in" in their respective fields. This is as a result of an extension of the conceptual metaphor Understanding is Grasping, which also occurs in Zulu, as is seen in neologisms such as *umphathisihlalo* (holder of the chair, i.e. chairman), *umphathisikhwama* (holder of the bag, i.e. treasurer). The extended metaphor could then be stated as Mastering is Grasping, as it implies skill, the knowledge to use the instrument, or to perform the task, effectively. The bow and arrow is not a Zulu weapon, although they know of it from contact with the Khoi and San people, and there is often debate among Nguni translators about whether to use *umnsalo* (bow) or *umcibisholo* (bow and arrow) to translate this weapon.

This verse also contains the Up and Down image schema. The Zulu use conceptual metaphors such as Health is Up and its opposite, Ill-health is Down, and thus Strength is Standing, Weakness is Lying Down. The concept of standing one's ground in battle is therefore one with which the Zulu can identify, even although he may not identify with the weapons used.

2:16 "He who is stout of heart among the mighty,
shall flee away naked in that day"

Translating this verse from Hebrew into Zulu is a good example of how two languages may invoke the same basic conceptual metaphor and yet be different on the surface. The basic conceptual metaphor here is Human Emotions and Characteristics are Human Organs, but as has been mentioned earlier (para. 4.14.10), in Zulu, emotions and characteristics may be conceived of as being seated in different

organs from those in which they are conceived to be seated in other languages. The characteristic of the warriors described by the phrase ואמץ לב (strong of heart) is an extension of the basic metaphor and could be stated as **Bravery is a Strong Heart**. The 1893 Zulu version attempted to retain this metaphor by translating: *yena o qinile enhliziyweni pakati kweziqwaga* (he who is firm in heart among the strong men), while the Hermannsburg version dropped the metaphor and, using the same verbal stem translated: *lowo owaziqinisa pakati kweziqwaga* (that one who made himself strong among the strong men). One of the problems with that translation, is that to the Zulu it could have the connotation of the warrior having been treated with medicinal charms before going into battle (Krige, 1957:267-273). In Zulu, bravery is perceived of as being seated in the liver, so the conceptual metaphor **Human Emotions and Characteristics are Human Organs** is extended in Zulu as **Bravery is Liver**. Indeed, this is the metaphor which has been invoked in the 1924 ABS version: *o nesibindi pakati kweziqwaga* (the one who has liver, i.e. is brave, among the strong men), the 1959 version *onesibindi phakathi kwamaqhawe* (the one who has liver among the warriors), and the unpublished version *iqhawe elinesibindi* (the warrior who has liver).

The context in which a word is used is very often most important in determining its meaning. Paul (1991:98) says that the expression "shall flee naked" means to "flee unarmed". So, whereas a naked person is an unclothed person, a naked warrior is an unarmed warrior. Paul mentions, however, that even in this verse, some commentators have claimed that it refers to clothing rather than to weapons. If this is so, and if it may be ambiguous in Hebrew, then it would be good to try to find a way of expressing the same ambiguity in Zulu, so as to leave it open-ended as a possible metaphor. This seems to be possible. Instead of translating: *u ya kubaleka e nqunu* (he will run away naked), as in the 1924 ABS version, which refers to their unclothed rather than unarmed state, the other published Zulu versions use the enclitic *-ze*, translating: *wo baleka e hamba-ze* in 1893, *uzobalekaze* in the Hermannsburg, and *uyakubaleka-ze* in the 1959 version. As Doke and Vilakazi (1949:889) show, this indicates that he ran away without anything, i.e. without clothes, or without money, or without weapons or load. Applied to warriors, and particularly in the context of these verses where "all the various divisions and categories of the troops are threatened with total impotence in time of war" (Paul, 1991:95), the most obvious implication is that the bravest of the brave would throw down their weapons and flee. The Zulu would understand this to indicate the most humiliating defeat. During Shaka's reign, each Zulu warrior was armed with a shield, one or more throwing assegais, and one short long-bladed stabbing spear, *iklwa*, said to have been designed by Shaka himself. To return from battle without this spear was taken as a sure sign of cowardice and meant being put to death by being impaled (Krige, 1957:263, 279).

3:1-2 "Hear this word which Yahweh has spoken against you, O people of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up out of the land of Egypt:
You only have I known of all the families of the earth;
therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities."

These verses contain a conceptual metaphor which is extremely common in the Old Testament viz. **Nation is Family**, and from this source and target mapping come metaphors such as **Founding Ancestor is Father of the Nation** and **Citizens are Children**. The Hebrew expression בני ישראל, translated in English as "children of Israel" is often said to be actually "sons of Israel", and this possibly stems from the fact that it was a patrilineal society. The Zulu are also a patrilineal society and see themselves as descendants of a founding father through a long line of ancestors. However, although

when petitioning a chief they may describe themselves as his children, and him as their father, a phrase such as: *nina, bantwana ba se-Israeli* (you, children of (the place) Israel) in the 1893 version, and also: *bantwana bakwalsrayeli* (children of Israel's place) in the 1959 version, would tend to imply that he was addressing small children. The phrase: *madodana akwalsrael* (sons of Israel's place) in the Hermannsburg version, while close to the Hebrew, is possibly better, but tends to restrict what is said to the male members, and more probably the young male members of the nation. In fact, the concord system in Zulu makes it possible to convey the implications of the Hebrew expression without the use of a noun, as has been done in the 1924 ABS version: *nina ba kwa Israeli* (you of Israel's place). The possessive concord *ba-* may refer to the third person plural, or to a Class 2 noun, a Class which contains plural personal nouns only, of which *abantwana* (children) and *abantu* (people) are two examples. It is most natural to understand this possessive concord as referring to *abantu*, people in general, and so it is not necessary to include the noun. In fact, this solution could be closest to the Hebrew. The word בן does not mean "son", but rather "a specimen of, of the class of", and it is used also with animals. בן בקר does not mean "son of a head of cattle", but simply "of the class of cattle". Used in the context of humans, it may therefore denote a class of humans, e.g. Israelites, which is exactly the implication of the possessive concord *ba-* in this context.

3:3-8 This pericope consists of a series of rhetorical questions characterised by allegories drawn from common experience. It builds to a climax, culminating in the same conceptual metaphor as is used in Amos 1:2, The Deity (Yahweh) is a Lion, although with slightly different contextual effects.

3:12 "As the shepherd rescues from the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the people of Israel who dwell in Samaria be rescued, with the corner of a couch and part of a bed."

Legally, if a shepherd could produce evidence that an animal under his care had been killed by wild beasts, he was absolved from any penalty. Drawing on his own experience as a shepherd, Amos portrays the destruction which Yahweh, the Lion, will cause, leaving only a worthless remnant. Amos creates a merism, similar to that in 2:9, using the image schema Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites. What the shepherd will be able to snatch away from the lion, will be the part of the two hind legs between the knee and the fetlock, and the tip of an ear, testimony to the fact that the animal has been entirely destroyed and devoured by a wild beast.

Recognition of the image schema Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites in the first stich of this verse, assists in unravelling the meaning of the second stich. When Yahweh, the Lion, has dealt with them, the Israelites dwelling in Samaria will be rescued in the same way as the shepherd rescues the animal the lion has devoured. Paul (1991:120-3) shows that the second word in each expression in the Hebrew constitutes parallel terms for "bed", while the first term describes the specific part of the bed. The first word in the first line refers to a corner and, in the present context, most likely the corner at the head of the bed. The etymology and meaning of the first word in the second line are still unknown, but it most likely refers to another part of the bed. In the light of the first half of the verse where the prophet uses the image schema Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites, it stands to reason that here too he names chiastically the two opposite sides of the bed, from top to bottom, which in the present context would be the foot of the bed. So, only the meagre polar opposites will be saved; all the rest will be totally destroyed.

3:14 "I will punish the altars of Bethel,
and the horns of the altar shall be cut off
and fall to the ground."

Paul (1991:124), says that the altar was the place where expiation and atonement could be attained (Lev. 4:7ff.; 16:18; Ezek. 43:20) and the horns of the altar served as an asylum, for he who grasped the horns was immune from punishment (Ex. 21:13-14; 1 Kings 1:50; 2:28). Thus the destruction of the altar at Bethel and its horns, symbolizes the end of the sanctuary, immunity and expiation for the people, something totally devastating to the religious life of northern Israel. The symbolism of the horns of the altar would have been obvious to the prophet's immediate audience and could be stated as *Security is the Altar Horns*. The word *uphondo* covers a wide semantic domain in Zulu and one of the glosses which Doke and Vilakazi (1949:669) give is "anything projecting". The term *izimpondo zelati* (horns of the altar) in the 1893 and ABS 1924 versions, *izimpondo zealtar(e)* (horns of the altar) in the Hermannsburg and 1959 versions respectively, and in the plural *izimpondo zamalathi* (horns of the altars) in the unpublished draft, would be easy for a Zulu who saw an illustration of the altar to distinguish. However, the symbolism both of the horns of the altar, expressed in the metaphor *Security is the Altar Horns*, and the implication of the cutting off of these projections would elude him, because the sacrificial altar is not part of Zulu culture, even although sacrifice to the ancestors is. The only way that the Zulu will be able to understand something of the impact which this would have on the prophet's audience is for him to know the facts regarding the asylum which the horns of the altar afforded to the people since the time of Moses, as recorded in Exodus 21:13-14. As it is the translator's responsibility to translate and not to paraphrase, the only way in which he can attempt to ensure that the reader has the background knowledge is by way of a footnote.

4:1 "Hear this word, you cows of Bashan,
who are in the mountain of Samaria,
who oppress the poor, who crush the needy,
who say to their husbands: Bring that we may drink."

Here Amos uses the conceptual metaphor *People are Bovines*. Most commentators understand that he is using this metaphor to describe the pampered leading ladies of Samaria whose main purpose in life is to tend to their own self-indulgence, irrespective of the cost to others. Bashan, a fertile plain in Transjordan, astride the Yarmuck River, was famous for its lush pastures and prize cattle and other livestock (cf. Deut. 32:14; Ezek. 39:18; Ps. 22:13; Jer. 50:19; Mic. 7:14). Just the mention of Bashan together with cattle would have had the connotation to Amos' immediate audience that the cattle were well fed, and were peacefully grazing undisturbed. This connotation is not immediately apparent to an audience unfamiliar with the area, and therefore is a connotation which cannot be conveyed in translation simply by the word Bashan. In English, applying the conceptual metaphor *People are Bovines* to a woman, by calling her a cow, and particularly a fat cow, is derogatory. This is the only passage in the Old Testament where the conceptual metaphor *Women are Cows* is invoked. In fact, on grammatical grounds, it has been questioned whether this verse is addressed solely to the prosperous women of Samaria, or whether it is actually addressed to all the prosperous people of Samaria. In this view, the metaphor *People are Bovines* is more open-ended, and, in addition to being prosperous, i.e. sleek and well fed, they are also peacefully going on with the business of looking after their own welfare, totally

undisturbed by anything. The reason why Amos refers to them as cows is because cows are always in the majority in a herd and when one looks at grazing cattle, it is the cows which one notices first. In verse 1, because the subject is feminine "cows", the other grammatical forms are feminine in agreement. This does not necessarily mean that the audience addressed in this manner is exclusively feminine. For example, when they say to their masters: "Bring that we may drink!" the pronominal suffix in the word לאדניהם refers to a masculine subject, whereas with cows as the subject a feminine pronominal suffix would have been expected. De Waard and Smalley (1979:233) point out that the Hebrew does not here use either of the two common terms for husband, *"but an extremely rare one typical of patriarchal society in which the husband is the 'master'."* However, the reference of this word may not be to the husband of a woman, but rather to the one who is seen to provide. Masculine and feminine forms are used in verses 2 and 3, and so, from the grammar of the pericope it is not at all certain that "cows" refers exclusively to women. It is quite possible that the prophet is in fact addressing all the prosperous citizens of Samaria, both men and women. In the context, where Amos condemns these people for their undisturbed behaviour at the expense of others, it is quite likely that this is the prophet's intention, and that the metaphor in Hebrew is derogatory also. However, this is not certain. Amos may simply have used it to describe this class of people as prosperous, without intending any derogation. We cannot be sure what the emotional force of the Hebrew metaphor was. In some cultures, Zulu culture included, fatness is considered a sign of beauty and in some languages therefore, this metaphor may be seen as a compliment. Perhaps Amos was using a compliment to attract their attention before expressing God's judgment on them. However, lack of knowledge makes it impossible to be sure just how faithful any translation is to the original emotional force of the metaphor (de Waard & Smalley, 1979:77) Metaphor, however, is open-ended, and it is possible that the prophet's use of this metaphor had even wider connotations to his immediate audience. Samaria was a centre of bull worship (Hos 8:5 ff), and one connotation of the prophet's reference may be that these people were no longer worshipping Yahweh, but had become worshippers of the bull idol. That instead of having Yahweh as their master, they were turning to other "masters". This connotation, even if it were not the main thrust of the metaphor, may have been immediately apparent to Amos' audience, but it is one which there is no way of including in a modern translation, whose readers are not familiar with the religious context within which Amos prophesied. It is therefore obvious that it is impossible to translate this metaphor into Zulu so that the modern Zulu reader will be able to process it in the same way as Amos' original audience, and grasp all the connotations which could have become apparent to them, either immediately, or as they may have thought it through. In discussing the fact that the opening imperative in this passage is masculine and the pronouns in the following lines revert to masculine three times, while the vocative and the rest of the forms in the text are feminine, Mays (1969:71) points out that this mixed gender led to an early opinion (Targum, followed by Jerome) that the addressees were the leaders of Israel and "their lords" were pagan gods.

Zulu uses the conceptual metaphor People are Bovines. The 1893, ABS 1924 and Hermannsburg versions have all translated it by invoking the hierarchical extension of that metaphor, Women are Cows. If this is the interpretation, the question is how best to translate Women are Cows, into Zulu so that it conveys as many of the original connotations as possible. A Zulu may refer to his wife as *Imazi yami* (My cow), but this is a term of endearment not derogation, and the expression *Nina zimazi zaseBhashane* (You cows of Bashan) could therefore be misleading. The majority of published Zulu versions have translated this metaphor *Nina zinkomazi zaseBhashane* (You cows of Bashan), using the common word for cattle in Zulu with the feminine suffix. While some Zulus reacted to my questioning them about what

this meant, by saying that it could not be said in Zulu, those more attuned to poetry and literature said that it was complimentary and conveyed the concept of attractive, well-proportioned women.

In his poem on the Centenary of the University of South Africa, Msimang invokes a bovine entailment of the conceptual metaphor **Institutions are Animals** when he refers to the university as: *UNondlinikazi waseMzansini obhonse kwenanela nemimango* (The large good milking cow whose lowing echoes through ravines and mountains). *Unondlini* refers to a good milking cow, sufficient for the support of a family (Doke, 1949:585). As Zulu also has a bovine entailment of the conceptual metaphor **People are Animals**, it could be used in translating the metaphor in this context, although the expression: *Nina bonondlini baseBashane* was considered by informants to be even more complimentary than *Nina zinkomazi zaseBashane*. No way was found of using the **People are Bovines** conceptual metaphor in order to convey anything but a compliment in this context.

The 1959 version, however, perhaps tried to come to terms with the mixed gender of the Hebrew grammatical forms in this pericope as it translates *Nina zinkomo zaseBhashani* (You cattle of Bashan). As the general word for cattle is used, the word which would be used when describing a grazing herd, there is no indication that this is addressed specifically to women, particularly as it follows the Hebrew exactly by using the words *emakhosini enu* (to your lords) which, like the Hebrew, is not the normal term in Zulu to refer to husbands. Perhaps this was the best way to translate the verse, as it tends to leave it open to either interpretation.

4:2 "behold, the days are coming upon you,
when they shall take you away with hooks,
even the last of you with fish-hooks."

In the second half of this verse, the prophet gives a vivid description of the impending doom of the privileged class in Samaria. This time it is not the bovine entailment of the basic conceptual metaphor **People are Animals** which is invoked, but the piscine entailment, **People are Fish**. Paul (1991:130-134) points out that the verse abounds in lexical difficulties, and gives a review of the various interpretations of the obscure key word in each stich. These include "shields", "ropes", "thorns" from which is derived "hooks", "baskets" and "boats" in the first stich, and "thorns" from which is derived "fishhooks", "boats", and "pots" or "fishermen's baskets" in the second stich. De Waard and Smalley (1979:79) state that the picture changes and the people of Samaria are now compared to fish caught and taken away, and that therefore possible meanings of the Hebrew words which do not have to do with fishing do not need to be considered. They suggest it may be better for translators to change the metaphor to one that is known, or to express the conceptual metaphor as a simile as in the TEV: *everyone of you will be like a fish on a hook*. The point being made is that the people will be deported. For this reason, and because baskets were more commonly used than hooks, both for catching and transporting fish in the time of Amos, Paul favours translating both with words describing different kinds of fishermen's baskets in which they will be transported. One could, however, maintain the **People are Bovines** metaphor and interpret it as saying that the people would be driven out into exile as one drives a herd — with thorny branches and prickles.

The published Zulu versions use *ngezigwegwe* (with hooks, sticks with crooks), *ngezinkintsho* (with handles) in the Hermannsburg version, and *ngezindobo* (with fishhooks), together with the verbal stem -*suswa* (be removed), but it is doubtful whether the Zulu reader detects the conceptual metaphor **People are Fish** in this verse, even although this metaphor can be invoked in Zulu. It is more likely that the Zulu

reader understands the hooks and fishhooks to be the actual instruments used by those who will force the people into exile. Fishing is not a common activity among the Zulu, except on the flood plains of the Makatini Flats, where cone-shaped traps are used. It is doubtful whether a translation using different types of baskets would convey the metaphor more successfully, particularly as the words describing the various types of baskets are not widely known, especially in urban areas. This researcher first enquired about the name for the cone-shaped fish traps from members of the Zulu Language Board, and although they all knew of this method of catching fish, none had any idea of what the traps were called, but promised to enquire from the Department of Conservation. The result of this enquiry revealed that this type of trap is called *isifonyo*, although none of the dictionaries consulted list this gloss, the meaning of the word being given as a muzzle to prevent a calf from suckling, or a muzzle for a dog. Personal experience with Nguni Bible translation teams has been that they tend to favour the word derived from English, *ubhasikidi* (basket), rather than one of the words used for the large variety of basketry used for various purposes (Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1966:22-25). A translation using different types of traditional baskets would therefore probably focus the reader's attention on the actual meaning of the individual words rather than on the forced removal of the population, like helpless fish, stacked in baskets. Probably the best way to retain something of the People are Fish metaphor, is to follow the Today's English Version and translate the second stich as a simile. A translation such as "*lapho niyakususwa ngezingwegwe, nonke nibe njengezinhlazi ezindotshweni*" (when you will be removed with hooks, all of you being like fish on hooks), could still suggest that the captors would use actual hooks to remove them, but would convey something of the conceptual metaphor People are Fish, which could convey their utter helplessness in the situation.

4:6 "I gave you cleanness of teeth in all your cities,
and lack of bread in all your places"

De Waard and Smalley (1979:235) refer to the expression cleanness of teeth as a "complex metaphor", according to the analysis of Dagut (1971:96-146). In three of the published Zulu versions, this has been translated as *ukuhlazeka kwamazinyo* (cleanliness of teeth), while in the Hermannsburg version it is translated as *ubunono bamazinyo* (cleanliness, neatness of teeth). Neither of these translations really expresses the metaphor, as the former has the connotation that the teeth were dirty and have been cleaned, while the latter focuses on the attractiveness of the teeth. The fact that this Hebrew metaphor is a *hapax legomenon*, i.e. an expression which occurs only once, and the fact that it is possible to decipher its meaning nevertheless, has implications for the translator. Understanding the metaphor is aided in this case by the fact that it is the first half of a distich, the second half of which reads: *and lack of bread in all your places*. As these two stichs are parallel, it is reasonable to assume that the reason why their teeth are clean is that there is a lack of bread and they have not eaten, in other words that God has caused a famine. Although an argument from silence may be dangerous, and as has been mentioned above it is really impossible to tell with certainty whether a particular Biblical Hebrew metaphor represents a new creation, or is a stereotype which just happens to occur only once in the Bible (p. 153), the fact that this metaphor is found only once, could possibly indicate that it was not a commonly used metaphor, but one which may even have been coined by the prophet, an individual flash of imaginative insight. If this is so, the prophet's Hebrew listeners would also probably have deciphered its meaning with the help of the parallel stich. In translating this metaphor then, it may be possible to use a commonly known metaphor for famine in the target language. Doing so, however, could detract from the force which the metaphor

had if it was indeed a novel metaphor in Hebrew, because, whereas a novel metaphor would have required special effort from the prophet's audience in order for them to process it, the modern audience would require very little effort to process a well known metaphor in their own language. In order to retain something of that effect, therefore, translating it as a novel metaphor in the target language would not seem to be entirely out of place. If these same conceptual metaphors found in the Hebrew, exist for the target group, it should be possible to invoke them in the target language and obtain a similar effect to that obtained by the prophet from his original audience. Particularly is this the case when the metaphor is part of a parallelism. One needs to ensure, however, that the conceptual metaphors are the same and do not differ in any way. For example, cleanness may be seen from two opposite perspectives. Either it is a positive attribute, an aspect which is exploited in tooth paste advertisements, or it is negative, as in this case, *Famine is Cleanness of Teeth*. Seeing metonymy as a general cognitive structure of *part-whole* relationships, rather than as an isolated figure of speech (Johnson, 1987:192), indicates that as the teeth are the part of the body which have to do with eating, the lack is in not having anything to eat. In Hebrew, that part of the body most obviously active in a particular action is often used for the action itself, e.g. "hand" is used for "power", "foot" is used for "walking" and may be extended for "behaviour". So too, "teeth" involved as they are in the act of eating, will probably be used to indicate "eating".

Translating a metaphor from one language into another actually involves invoking a conceptual metaphor found in one language in another language. If metonymy is a general cognitive structure of *part-whole* relationships, and it is universal as it would appear to be, then as teeth are the part of the body used for eating by humans and animals alike, no matter where they come from or what language they speak, it is highly likely that teeth would be understood universally as a metonymy for the whole process of eating. However, although cleanness implies a lack of dirt, cleanness to many may be too positive a concept for them to be able to process the conceptual metaphor *Famine is Cleanness of Teeth*, even when it is part of a distich, the second half of which restates the concept more plainly. So, in invoking this metaphor, even where the metonymy *teeth* is used, it is necessary to ensure that the word used together with *teeth* carries the concept of the lack of something upon which the teeth can operate, rather than just finding a word to translate *cleanness*. Such a word may be such a positive word which indicates attractiveness and the lack of nothing except, perhaps bad breath. This would make the metaphor impossible to process intelligently in that language. This, in fact, seems to be the case in Zulu, and the best solution found was to change the focus from the teeth to the stomach and translate: *Ngininikile iphango emizini yenu yonke* (I have given you a hollow stomach in all your towns). Although this word is used in the well known proverb: *Ith' ingakhwelwa yiphang' iphenduk' inkentshane* (When it [a dog] is inflicted by a hollow stomach, it turns into a wild dog) (Nyembezi, 1954:192), it would be understood as referring to hunger, without suggesting that the people turned violent as a result of that hunger. Mays does something similar in his translation of this verse in his commentary, and changes the focus from the teeth to the mouth, translating: "I myself gave you empty mouths" (1969:76).

4:8 "Two or three cities staggered to one city in order to drink water, but they were not satisfied."

Here the conceptual metaphor *People are the Place they Live In* is invoked. This conceptual metaphor is found in Zulu, as *umuzi* may refer to a kraal, a collection of huts under one headman, a village, or to the inhabitants. The problem which seems to confront translators nowadays is rather how to translate *town*, and the tendency is to move towards a foreign acquisition, such as *idolobha* < dorp (Afrikaans), rather than use *umuzi*, which they see as smaller and less structured than what they understand a town

or a city to be. All of the published Zulu translations, invoke the conceptual metaphor **People are the Place they Live In**, and use the word *umuzi*. The 1893 version reads: *Kwa ti imizi emibili noko emitatu ya ndindela emzini omunye ukupuza amanzi; kepa a i sutanga* (It happened two towns albeit three wandered about aimlessly to another town to drink water, but they were not satiated), the ABS 1924 version: *Imizi emibili mhlambe emitatu ya shanguza ya ya emzini munye ukupuza amanzi ka ya kolwa* (Two towns perhaps three wandered about and went to another town to drink water and they were not satisfied), the Hermannsburg version: *Imizi emibili noma emitatu yatobela emzini munye, ukuba ipuze amanzi, kayadela* (Two towns or three staggered to one town, that they may drink water, and do not have sufficient), while the 1959 version has: *Kwase kuhamba imizi emibili noma emithathu yaya komunye umuzi ukuyophuza amanzi, kodwa ayaneliswa* (And so there went two towns or three towns going to another town to go and drink water, but they were not satisfied). The most natural verb to describe the satisfying of thirst in a time of drought is *-dela* as in the Hermannsburg version. *-sutha*, refers rather to food, *-kholwa* is used often referring to the taking of snuff, and *-neliswa* is too general. (cf Amos 8:12; 9:9 —נָדַד wandering in search)

- 4:13 "For lo, he who forms the mountains, and creates the wind,
and declares to man what is his thought;
who makes the morning darkness"
5:8 "He who made the Pleiades and Orion,
and turns deep darkness into the morning,
and darkens the day into night"

These verses are both doxologies, which begin by extolling the acts of God both in creation and in the sustaining of the universe. The prophet points out that God is in control of time and the seasons. In 4:13 there is a phrase which is usually translated: "He who makes the dawn darkness", thus reversing the expected order. Paul (1991:155) demonstrates that although dawn is the standard meaning of the Hebrew word שָׁחַר (cf. Gen. 19:15; Song of Songs 6:10), and darkness the commonly accepted interpretation of עֵיפָה (cf. Job 10:22), in fact the sense of both nouns should be reversed, as עֵיפָה is connected with the root עִיר a metathesized form of יָפַע which means "glimmer, brightness". Therefore עֵיפָה actually is the "glimmering dawn", and שָׁחַר refers to "blackness", as in Joel 2:2. Therefore the Deity is extolled here as "He who turns blackness into daybreak". This is the normal order of events, found also in 5:8, where the Deity turns "pitch darkness" into dawn. The Hebrew for "pitch darkness" is עֲלִמּוֹת which consists of the words עֶלֶם (shadow) and מֵית (death), and may originally have been based on a conceptual metaphor in Hebrew. It is translated in all the published Zulu versions as: *ophendula ithunzi lokufa libe ngukusa* (He changes the shadow of death into dawn), a translation also found in the Authorised and Revised versions in English. The conceptual metaphor **Life is a Day**, and hence **Death is Night** from which follows **Death is Darkness**, and **Closeness to Death is Shadow**, occurs in both English and Zulu. Translating the Hebrew word as *ithunzi lokufa* (shadow of death) could seem therefore to the Zulu reader that the prophet is invoking the conceptual metaphor here. So he could miss the fact that what the prophet is extolling in this verse is simply Yahweh's control over the natural order, and see rather some reference to Yahweh either removing the fear of death, or of being a comfort in a time of bereavement. The focus in the Hebrew is on the darkness of the night, not on death, and the word could be an example what some refer to as a dead metaphor, which de Waard (1974:116) warns should not be resurrected in translation, as has indeed happened in all the published Zulu translations. A possible word

which could be used is to translate the phrase now translated *ithunzi lokufa* (the shadow of death), is *isigayegaye* (dense darkness), or even *ubumnyama* (darkness, blackness). So then the phrase in 4:13 could be translated: *owenza ubumnyama bube ngukusa* (who makes the darkness to be the dawn), while that in 5:8 could be translated: *ophendula isigayegaye sibe ngukusa* (who turns the pitch darkness into dawn), or even: *ophendula ubumnyama bube ngukusa* (who turns the darkness into dawn), as informants consulted preferred the word *ubumnyama* to *isigayegaye* in this context.

5:2 "Fallen, no more to rise,
is the virgin Israel;
forsaken on her land,
with none to raise her up."

This verse invokes the Up/Down image schema which is well known in Zulu, for when one is in good health *uvukile* (he has risen), whereas when one has been unsuccessful, or has lost in some endeavour, *uwile* (he has fallen). The nation of Israel, called the house of Israel in verses 1, 3 and 4, is here personified as the Maiden Israel, in the flower of youth, about to come to a premature end, cut off before the consummation of her life, a girl violated by the ravaging assault of the enemy. So, the Nation is a Maiden. The 1893 Zulu version has *intombi kalsraeli* (daughter of Israel) in which Israel is personified and the usual word for "girl" is used. In all the other published versions the form *yakwalsrayeli* (of the house of Israel) is used, and the Hermannsburg version uses the word *indodakazi* (daughter) instead of *intombi* (girl). None of these translations convey the impression that it is actually Israel itself that is being referred to as the maiden. A possible improvement on the 1959 translation would be to put the two words in apposition to one another, and translate: *Ulsrayeli, intombi, uwile, akasayikuvuka; uphonsiwe phansi, akakho ongamvusa*. (Israel, the maiden, has fallen, she will not rise again; she has been thrown down, there is no one who can raise her up.).

5:6 "Seek the LORD and live,
lest he break out like a fire in the house of Joseph,
and devour it, with none to quench it for Bethel."

In this verse, and 5:4 where Yahweh says: "Seek me and live", there is the metaphor God is Life. As it is stated in these two verses it does not appear that it is a translation problem. In this verse, the prophet warns the inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom, by invoking the conceptual metaphor Punishment is Fire, which is similar to Anger is Fire, which also occurs in Zulu, as has been seen in paragraph 4.14.10. The "house of Joseph", refers originally to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, and by extension to all of Northern Israel, and in Amos 5:15 and 6:6 is referred to simply as "Joseph". Some exegetes assume that Bethel should be emended to read "house of Israel", so as to parallel "house of Joseph", but this is not necessary, as God's wrath is centred on the central cultic site of the Northern Kingdom. The metonymy "house of" can adequately be translated as "indlu ka-" in Zulu so as to convey the same concept as in Hebrew, and in cases such as the "house of Joseph" referring to either Ephraim and Manasseh, or to include the whole of the Northern Kingdom, the Zulu would understand that it would be necessary to know the genealogy of the person mentioned in order to understand exactly to whom was being referred, just as it is necessary to know the genealogy in a similar situation in Zulu.

5:7 "O you who turn justice to wormwood,
and cast down righteousness to the earth!" (See also 6:12).

This verse invokes an entailment of the metaphor **Abstract Quality is a Plant**. Although he says that there is no linguistic or obvious contextual evidence that לענה is a bitter plant, Zohary (1982:184) identifies this as *Artemesia herba-alba*, as this identification is strongly supported by many commentators, basing their conclusions on the Septuagint and the Vulgate. Because it is frequently coupled with ראש (Poison hemlock) *Conium maculatum* (ibid. p. 186), some scholars believe them to be synonymous, like other name pairs in the Bible. Mays (1969:91), says that wormwood was frequently used in metaphors to describe the bitterness of calamity (Jer. 9:15; 23:15; Lam. 3:15, 19). In the 1893 Zulu version, the plant referred to is translated *inhlungunyembe*, the Bushmen's Poison *Acokanthera oppositifolia*, a highly toxic plant, the wood and roots of which were used by the San for arrow poison, the leaves paradoxically enough being used in the treatment of snake-bite (Palgrave 1977:781; Palmer, 1981:302). The other published Zulu versions translate the plant as *umhlonyane*, *Artemisia afra*, which is a herb, known in Afrikaans as Wilde Als, which Bryant (1905:256) says is used by the Zulu as specific for stomach complaints, and as an enema for children, while Colenso (1905:228) says it is used to drive away fleas. A problem with using either of these plants is that the plant used should have a negative connotation, whereas both of these plants seem to be known more for their positive medicinal value than for their negative qualities.

Three different verbs are used to describe the change: *-phendula* (turn over) in the 1893 version, *-guqula* (change) in the Hermannsburg version, and *-hlanekezela* (turn upside down, distort, misrepresent) in the 1924 ABS and the 1959 versions.

The exact identification of the plant referred to in Hebrew is not really important to the translator, for it is most probable that the exact species would not be found in the area of the target language. What is important to the translator is what the prophet intended by the use of the word and what it would convey to his audience. This is surely that, instead of justice being something which brought relief, in this case it brought the opposite, greater irritation instead of relief. Usually, justice is interpreted as being "sweet", so the opposite is "bitter". The New Afrikaans Version, for example, therefore discards the plant metaphor, and translates: "*Julle maak van die regspraak 'n bitter saak*" (You make the verdict to be a bitter matter). In Zulu, instead of trying to find a local plant with the same bitter qualities as the plant believed to be the one named by the Hebrew, as has been done in the published Zulu versions, it is possible to single out "bitterness" as the main point of comparison, and translate: *nina enihlanekezela ukwahlulela kube into ebabayo* (you who overturn justice into something bitter). However, it is also possible to retain the Justice is a Plant entailment of the conceptual metaphor and use another irritating plant, *imbabazane* (the stinging nettle), which is derived from the verbal stem *-baba* (be bitter, pungent, acrid, sting, cause irritation), and translate: *nina enihlanekezela ukwahlulela kube imbabazane* (you who overturn justice to become a stinging nettle). Msimang (1980:30) uses the Person is a Stinging Nettle entailment of the People are Plants conceptual metaphor in his poem on Chief Buthelezi (cf. para. 4.14.4.), while here it would be an entailment of the conceptual metaphor **Abstract Quality is a Plant**.

5:9 "Who makes destruction flash forth against the strong,
so that destruction comes upon the fortress."

This verse is an example of problems which sometimes occur in identifying a metaphor in Hebrew. Firstly, the Hebrew text contains many problems of a grammatical and text critical nature, as can be seen from the critical apparatus in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1967). Paul (1991:157) does not see a metaphor here, and translates the first stich: "*It is he who brings ruin upon the strong(holds)*". The meaning of the verb גלב is problematic, and Paul (1991:169) says that the other occurrences of the verb in Ps 39:14; and Job 9:27; 10:20 are of no help in unravelling its meaning here. He rejects, as an unlikely meaning, its being derived from an Arabic stem meaning "to be bright", and thus having the meaning "to burst or flash forth", which is found in many English translations. If, however, this is its meaning, and de Waard and Smalley (1979:106), seem to favour this by saying: "*The translator can use picture language that comes from lightning or flood if it is suitable*", then the Hebrew could be invoking the conceptual metaphor the Deity is a Warrior, and hence the Deity's Weapon is Lightning (Paul, 1991:49). The 1893 Zulu version translates: *o kazimulisa ukucita pezu konamandhla* (who causes destruction to shine upon the one who has strength), the 1924 ABS and the Hermannsburg translations both appear to invoke the conceptual metaphor the Deity's Weapon is Fire, by translating: *o gqamukisa okuqotulayo pezu kwo namandhla* (who causes that which destroys to flare up upon the one who has strength, and: *o qamukisa okuqotulayo kuye onamandhla* (who causes that which destroys to flare up against him who has strength). The 1959 version invokes the Deity's Weapon is Lightning conceptual metaphor and translates: *owenza ukuchiitha ukuba kunyazime phezu kwabanamandla* (who makes destruction flash [like lightning] upon those who have strength).

5:15 "establish justice in the gate."

Paul (1991:177 fn) sees the prophet invoking the conceptual metaphor Justice is a Person here, but if this is so, it is not necessary to carry this over into the translation. Koehler & Baumgartner (1958:395) give the translation equivalent of the verb יצג in this verse as "make valid", so this is the meaning to carry over into the translation. In the time of Amos, the men met "in the gate", and this is where matters of arbitration were decided, with all the male citizens of a town, who were not disqualified in some way, eligible to sit as assessors (Mays, 1969:93), so the expression would have a connotation for the prophet's audience which it would not have in another culture today. Translating this as *esangweni* (in the gate), as the 1893, 1924 ABS, and 1959 versions do, or *emasangweni* (in the gates), as the Hermannsburg version does, therefore has little meaning to the Zulu, without an explanatory footnote. The unpublished draft has *ezigcawini zamacala* (the open spaces for law cases), which tries to capture the same idea as the Hebrew expression, although rather than being an open area, Mays (ibid) says: "*It was a fortified building set in the walls, which protected the entrance to the city and provided a place where the legal assembly convened to regulate the life and property of the citizens according to the accepted ethos.*" The Zulu custom for the arbitration of disputes is very similar to that of the Hebrew of the time of Amos. Krige (1957:229-230) says: "*The membership and procedure of a Zulu court shows clearly its arbitral nature. Any male adult may take part in the proceedings, and the judgment given at the end is always based on the opinion of the majority of those present. Lawsuits may be begun in various ways, according to the nature of the case, but the more general procedure is for the injured party to inform all his relatives and neighbours, who then go, armed with sticks, to the ibandla of the defendant's kraal.*" The Zulu

functional equivalent of "in the gate", therefore would appear to be *ebandla* (in the men's assembly place), which would be in an open space. The word *ibandla* has acquired a Christian connotation referring to the congregation and probably this is why it has been considered by Bible translators to be unsuitable in this context. However, the locative form of the word referring to the assembly of men is irregular in that it has the locative prefix, but no locative suffix, i.e. *ebandla* (in the assembly of men). The locative form of the word when it refers to a church congregation, is formed in the regular manner, with both locative prefix and suffix, i.e. *ebandleni* (in the congregation). Therefore there should be no confusion in using the word *ebandla* together with an explanatory footnote to explain that in the time of Amos, the men met near the gate to settle matters of arbitration.

This verse highlights a dilemma with which a Bible translator is constantly faced. If the expression is translated as *esangweni* (in the gate), the Zulu reader receives no hint of the connotation of the men sitting in arbitration. If, however, the expression is translated by the functional equivalent, *ebandla* (the men's assembly), the Zulu reader will understand the connotation of men sitting in arbitration, but it would not normally be near the gate. The expression would therefore lose its historical and cultural reference to the custom to which the prophet was referring in Israel in that period of history. As has already been mentioned, people are curious and, when sufficiently stimulated, will often go to great pains to understand a referent. On the other hand, they sometimes react extremely negatively, if they receive information later, which suggests to them that information contained in the source text has been changed, or has been omitted in the translation in the target text. Stienstra (1993:207) gives something like this negative reaction, not to a specific change, but to the whole idea that it is necessary to make changes, such as eliminating metaphor, in order for the receptor to understand. Commenting on a passage in an article (Hollander, 1990) concerning the use of everyday language and the avoidance of what is termed "traditional ecclesiastical language" in the Dutch *Goed Nieuws Bijbel* (*Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap*, 1986) so that, among other things:

"Many metaphors have been rendered as similes, or have been converted to sense. Long sentences have generally been avoided. All this is fully consistent with the demands and the possibilities of the receptor language and of the target group: people who, for whatever reason, have trouble understanding traditional, classical translations of the Bible,"

says:

"... the whole passage almost sounds like an insult both to the Dutch language and to people who are unfamiliar with traditional translations of the Bible. The elimination of metaphors and the use of short sentences is 'fully consistent with the demands and the possibilities of the target group.' In other words the possibilities for metaphor and long sentences are limited in Dutch and people who happen not to have been raised on the Bible cannot possibly be expected to understand metaphors and long sentences. ... It should be noted, however, that not only is dynamic equivalence equated with everyday language, but also with the elimination of metaphor. If we agree that metaphor is an essential aspect of any kind of language use, as has been argued ... , it will be clear that this claim simply cannot be true."

Some translators opt for the solution above, using the functional equivalent in the text and explaining it in a footnote. This has the advantage that it removes the probability of being accused of deliberately attempting to mislead, but it has the disadvantage that readers usually do not refer to footnotes as they read, and footnotes also take up extra space. A possible solution in this verse in Zulu is to use both the functional equivalent and the historical cultural reference in apposition in the verse, i.e. *ebandla ngasesangweni* (in the men's assembly near to the gate). *Ebandla* is usually a shaded open area, but not near a gate. Placing the two together therefore should convey the idea of men meeting in arbitration and at the same time stimulate the curious to ask why its being near the gate is mentioned. In this way they could be helped towards discovering the custom of the day.

5:18-20 "Woe to you who desire the day of Yahweh!
 Why would you have the day of Yahweh?
 It is darkness and not light;
 as if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him;
 or went into the house and leaned his hand against the wall,
 and a serpent bit him.
 Is not the day of Yahweh darkness and not light,
 and gloom with no brightness in it?"

In these verses the prophet invokes the conceptual metaphor Good is Light and its opposite Bad is Darkness in order to describe the Day of Yahweh. The Day of Yahweh, itself invokes the conceptual metaphor Dramatic Intervention is a Day, which may be taken back a step further and stated as Dramatic Intervention is Time. The word יום covers a wide semantic domain. It may refer to a specific moment "now", or a "day" of 24 hours, or even to a relatively long time span, time being seen to be constituted by action. The people were looking forward to the dramatic intervention of the Deity, avenging himself on his enemies and bringing salvation and redemption to Israel. Time may be seen to be in cycles of day and night, with the good being active during the day and the evil being active during the night. During the day it is usually light, but Amos once again reverses the popular ideology. God will indeed intervene dramatically, but instead of his intervention bringing them the good they are expecting, it will bring them the opposite. These conceptual metaphors also occur in Zulu. In verse 18, the Day of Yahweh, *usuku lukaJehova*, is described: *lu ubumnyama, ca ukukhanya* (it is darkness, no light) in the 1893 version, *lu ubumnyama, a lu siko ukukhanya* (it is darkness, it is not light) in the 1924 ABS version, *luyoba ubumnyama, aluyikukhanya* (it will be darkness, it will not be light) in the Hermannsburg version, and *lungubumnyama, alusikho ukukhanya* (it is darkness, it is not light) in the 1959 version. Verse 20 in the 1893 version reads: *A lu yi ku ba ubumnyama usuku luka Jehova, lu nga bi ukukhanya na? ukuti, ubumnyama obunzima, ku ngeko ukukazimla kulo na?* (Will it not be darkness the day of the Lord, it not being light? that is, heavy darkness there being no brightness in it?), in the 1924 ABS version it reads: *A lu yi kuba ubumnyama usuku lu ka Jehova, lu nga bi ukukhanya na? yebo, lu be isigayegaye, lu nga ti bha nakanye?* (Will it not be darkness the day of the Lord, it not being light? yes it being dense darkness, not being clear at all?) The Hermannsburg version has: *Helele! Aluyikubamnyama yini usuku lukaJehova, lungakanyi, lube ukukhanyaqabala, lungabi nakukazimla na?* (Hurray! Will it not darkness or what, the day of the Lord, it not shining, it being overcast, and not even having brightness?), while the 1959 version has: *Lungubumnyama usuku lukaJehova, alusikho ukukhanya, nesigayegaye okungekho kuso*

ukukhazimula. (It is darkness the day of the Lord, it is not light, and dense darkness in which there is no brightness.)

Informants said that the expression *ubumnyama obunzima* (heavy darkness) in the 1893 version is expressive of trouble. Thus the Bad is Darkness metaphor here is mapped within the image schema Intensity is Heaviness. One of the grammatical features of Zulu is the ideophone. As the ideophone is not found in Hebrew, translators are often reluctant to use it when translating from Hebrew into Zulu, although the ideophone *bha* (of brightness) was used in this verse in the 1924 ABS version. In fact, mother tongue Zulu speakers invariably used the word *ubumnyama* modified by an ideophone when I enquired after other words to refer to darkness, and particularly pitch darkness, far preferring such a construction to the word *isigayegaye*. The ideophone *bha* is one which expresses rather too high a degree of brightness for that referred to in this verse, and *loko* (of flickering, glimmering, twinkling) would be more appropriate. Using contrasting ideophones, such as in the following suggestion, therefore, could possibly improve the translation into Zulu: *Lungubumnyama usuku lukaJehova, alusikho ukukhanya, lungubumnyama bhuqe, akuthi loke nakanye*. (It is dark the day of Yahweh, it is not light, it is pitch dark, it has not a spark of light in it.).

5:19 "as if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him;
or went into the house and leaned with his hand against the wall,
and a serpent bit him."

Although most commentators refer to these lines as similes, Mays (1969:105) also sees metaphor in verse 19. He says:

"Amos portrays their predicament with two proverbial comparisons. Using metaphors drawn from life in the country and villages as a device for illuminating a situation is a feature of his style (3:3-6; 2:13; 3:12; 6:12; 9:9). A man escapes from a lion, only to fall prey to a bear! A man comes home, to his place of security, and is bitten by a snake! Both metaphors portray a situation in which a man escapes to his death. So it is with Israel. This people yearns for Yahweh's intervention against their foes as their way to security, and thereby invoke their doom. They flee into danger; the salvation they desire is in fact their death, for they are enemies of Yahweh."

It seems that Mays is using the word "metaphor" in a very loose sense here, although behind these similes it could be said that there is a metaphor Israel is a Man Fleeing to Destruction, together with the metaphor The Day of Yahweh is Inevitable Destruction. Translating the similes exactly as they are retains the imagery. Even although the bear is not indigenous to South Africa, the neologism *ibhere* (bear) has been accepted into Zulu and would be understood in the context of the lion and the snake even by those who had not seen any of these animals either in the wild, or in the zoo.

5:24 "But let justice roll down like waters,
and righteousness like an ever flowing stream."

These similes are based on the conceptual metaphor **Abstract Qualities are Concrete Entities**, coupled with the conceptual metaphor **Permanence is Flowing Water**. Mthiyane (1971:28), gives an indication that there is a similar conceptual metaphor in Zulu, when he says of Vilakazi: *"His main discovery was eternal bliss for the human soul, a fact which made a powerful impression on his mind as he pondered the perpetual movement of water."* The 1893 version gives a very flat translation: *Kepa ukwahlula ma ku hambe njengamanzi, nokulunga njengomfula ohambayo njalo.* (But may overcoming go like water, and righteousness like a river which goes always.) The 1924 ABS has: *Kepa ukwahlulela ma ku mpompoze njengamanzi, nokulunga njengomfula ozenenekayo.* (But let judgment flow along like water and righteousness like a river which speeds along.), while the Hermannsburg has: *Kodwa ukwahlulela kuyampompoza njengamanzi, nokulunga njengomfulana ogobhozayo njalo.* (But judgment flows like a river, and righteousness like a little river which flows always.), and the 1959 version has: *Kepha ukwahlulela makugobhoze njengamanzi, nokulunga njengomfula onganqamukiyo.* (But let judgment flow like water, and righteousness like a river which does not stop flowing.) It would appear that this latter translation does carry the conceptual metaphor **Permanence is Flowing Water** from the Hebrew over into the Zulu.

6:3 "O you who put the evil day far away,
and bring near the seat of violence?"

The evil day is another description of the Day of Yahweh. (See also 8:10). Paul (1991:204) says that the phrase *שֵׁבַת הָעֵמָס* defies clear explanation. Wellhausen's solution, founded on the Vulgate and favoured by de Waard and Smalley (1979:128, 250), is that "seat" is extended through "throne" as a conceptual metaphor for "reign", so that it refers to a reign of terror. *שֵׁבַת* seems to be the qal participle feminine of *יָשַׁב* "to sit". As the feminine often expresses abstract concepts, *שֵׁבַת* could mean "power seat; decision making". Paul finds the Vulgate translation unacceptable and concludes that such an extended meaning is unparalleled, and would be a very awkward way to express such a thought. This illustrates a problem for all translators of Biblical Hebrew. If the transmitted text is correct, it is reasonable to assume that the prophet would have expected his audience to understand him. The prophets were middle or upper class people and fairly learned, and their audiences were drawn from across a wide spectrum of society. Amos and his audience were no exception. As happens today, some would not have understood, or would have misunderstood, his words. Others who were as learned and at least at the same level of society as he, would possibly not have considered what he said here to have been an awkward way of expressing his thought, even if the way in which he expressed himself was unique. With their linguistic background within the culture of the time, they could have known instinctively whether or not this was an entailment of the conceptual metaphor **Reign is a Seat**, although they would have understood this in terms of its meaning to them, and not as a result of linguistic analysis. The point is even more valid if, as many argue, the prophetic texts as we know them are literary constructions, rather than simple reports of the events. In this case, it is more likely that a redactor would strive to improve the literary style of the text by well chosen words, rather than by resorting to awkward ways of expressing the thoughts. However, unless scholars find other occurrences of this phrase, which enable the meaning to be determined without a doubt, one way of treating it is to claim that there is no other way to translate it except word for word, and possibly add a footnote, as Paul (p. 199) does, to indicate that the Hebrew is obscure. This follows the basic principle that unless the translator understands the source text, it is impossible for him to translate it into another language.

While using different words to translate "violence", all the published Zulu versions translate "seat" with the common Zulu word *isihlalo*, derived from the verb *ukuhlala* (to sit). They thus leave the Zulu reader in a similar position to that of the Biblical Hebrew scholar, because there is no obvious connection between "seat" through "throne", to "reign". However, there is also no impelling reason why such a connection could not be sought by a Zulu reader, resulting in what de Waard and Smalley call "*the only useful solution*". The 1893 version says: *Nina e ni mukisa usuku olubi, ni sondeza isihlalo sokuhlupha*. (You who send away the evil day, and bring near the seat of trouble.), the 1924 ABS says: *Nina eni hebeza usuku olubi, ni sondeza isihlalo sobudhlova* (You who scare away the evil day, and bring near the seat of violence.) and, by the use of the verbal stem *hebeza* which can be used for scaring off bewitching spirits, an attempt is made to include the connotation of using apotropaic exorcising gestures to do it, the Hermannsburg version says: *Nina eniti usuku lwengozi lukude, nisondeze isihlalo sesidhlakadhla*. (You who say the day of danger is far away, and bring near the seat of overpowering violence.), while the 1959 version says: *Nina enidedisela kude usuku olubi, kepha nisondezile isihlalo sobudlova*. (You who move the evil day far away, but have brought near the seat of violence.) After discussing this verse with various informants, it seemed that the consensus was that in Zulu it would be better to follow the lead of the NIV and make the meaning of the metaphor explicit by translating: *kepha nisondezile umbuso wobudlova* (but you have brought near the reign of violence).

6:12 "Do horses run upon rocks?
Does one plough the sea with oxen?
But you have turned justice into poison,
and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood."

This verse is based on the conceptual metaphor Impossible is Possible. The first half consists of two rhetorical questions to which the answer is "No!" The Masoretic Text בִּבְקָרִים (Does one plough with oxen?) which of course is exactly what one does, is emended to בִּבְקָרִים יָם (Does one plough the sea with oxen?) The first half asks if the impossible could happen, and the latter half says that the impossible is in fact happening.

The second half of this verse is based on the conceptual metaphor Abstract Quality is a Plant, and is similar to 5:7, except that there it is justice which is turned into wormwood, while righteousness is not turned into anything, but is thrown down. De Waard and Smalley say that it is not fully clear from the Hebrew what justice is turned into. The Hebrew word רַאשׁ is identified in Flora and Fauna (1972:167f.) as *Conium maculatum* (Poison hemlock), all parts of which, roots, leaves and small fruits, contain a dangerously poisonous oil. Zohary (1982:186f.) says it has also been identified with *Hyoscyamus* (Henbane), and that it is possible that the word originally referred to a specific plant, but gradually came to mean all kinds of poison, for it is also used with the meaning "snake poison".

The 1893 version uses a generic word for poison, *ubuthi* to translate the plant in the first stich and, as in 5:7, the highly toxic plant, Bushmen's Poison, *inhlungunyembe*, to translate the plant in the second stich: *Ngokuba nipendulile ukwahlula ku be ubuti, nesitelo sokulunga si be inhlungunyembe* (Because you have turned overcoming to be poison, and the fruit of righteousness to be bushmen's poison.) In this translation, the first stich refers to a generic poison, while the second retains the plant metaphor and uses a poisonous plant. In the ABS 1924 version, the translators were also consistent with verse 5:7 in using the herb known as *umhlonyane* to translate the second plant. However, probably because they saw the

point of comparison as "bitter", they translated the other, not as a plant, but as *inyongo* (gall). It is very doubtful that this was wise because gall and gall bladders are especially important in Zulu ritual, especially that connected with the shades (Berglund, 1976:110, 398), and so would be likely to particular connotations which could be carried over. *Loku ni hlanekezele ukwahlulela ku be inyongo, nesitelo sokulunga si be umhlonyane* (In that you have inverted justice to be gall, and the fruit of righteousness to be wormwood.) The Hermannsburg version translates with generic poisons in both stichs. The plant metaphor is retained in the use of the word *izithelo* (fruits): *Naku niyaphendula ukwahlulela kube ubuthi, nezithelo zokulunga zibe isihlungu*. (Since you change justice into poison, and the fruits of righteousness to be venom.) The 1959 version uses a generic poison in the first stich, and the herb consistent with that used in 5:7 in the second: *Ngokuba niphendulile ukwahlulela kwaba yisihlungu, nezithelo zokulunga zaba ngumhlonyane*. (Because you changed justice into venom, and the fruits of righteousness into wormwood.)

A problem which the translator must face is whether or not it is necessary to translate the word לַעֲנָה with the same word here as in 5:7. In both verses justice and righteousness are perverted, but in 5:7 the plant is connected with the perversion of justice, while in this verse it is connected with the perversion of righteousness. The translators of the Hermannsburg version did not think it necessary to be consistent. When dealing with 5:7 in this study, it was suggested that the plant metaphor could be retained, and have more impact, by using the concept that they changed justice into a stinging nettle, a plant which is probably better known by the wide community for its unpleasant qualities than the Wilde Als is. The stinging nettle could be used here too. However, translating this as synonymous parallelism, in accordance with the Hermannsburg version, seems to be a most acceptable solution: *Ngokuba niyaphendula ukwahlulela kube ubuthi, nezithelo zokulunga zibe isihlungu*. (Because you change justice into poison and the fruits of righteousness into venom.). So, instead justice and righteousness bringing the good, prosperity and health, they are perverted into bringing the complete opposite, the bad, poverty and death.

6:13 "Those rejoicing for nothing; those saying:
Have we not taken the horns to ourselves by our own strength?"

or:

"You who rejoice in Lo-debar, who say:
Have we not by our own strength taken Karnaim for ourselves?"

This verse is a good example of word play in the Hebrew, which cannot be carried over into other languages. It reflects the period of the military incursion by Jeroboam II into Transjordan (2 Kings 14:25), and the capture of two actual towns Lodebar, literally "Nothing", south of the Sea of Galilee and north-northeast of Bethel, and Karnaim, literally "Horns", northeast of Lodebar and approximately midway between Damascus and Amman. Horns, in Hebrew symbolize power, strength, and safety and here is a metaphor for strength (Mays, 1969:122), which may be stated as the conceptual metaphor Power and Strength is Horn. In Zulu, the horn may also symbolize power and strength, as can be seen from variant versions of a line of the hymn in Zulu, which has become one of the National Anthems of the Republic of South Africa, viz. *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika! Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo!* (God bless Africa! May her horn be raised!), or *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika! Maluphakanyisw' udumo lwayo!* (God bless Africa! May her glory be

raised!). Horns also had significance to the Zulu at the time of their military might, as this was their classic formation for attacking the enemy (Krige, 1957:275). As the context makes reference to concrete military victories likely, and in view of the word play, de Waard and Smalley (1979:139) recommend translating the words as the proper names of the two towns, and explaining the word play in footnotes. In each of the published Zulu versions, however, the words have not been translated as proper nouns, but as ordinary nouns. There is therefore no direct reference to any specific military victory, and although it is possible that the Zulu reader could detect some word play between *izimpondo* (horns) and *amandla ethu* (our strength), the greater thrust of the word play in the Hebrew is missing. The 1893 version has: *Nina e ni jabula ngako o ku nge luto; e ni ti: A si ti, si zitabatele izimpondo ngamandhla etu na?* (You who rejoice over that which is nothing; who say: Is it not so, that we have taken up the horns for ourselves by our own strength?) The 1924 ABS version has: *Nina eni tokoza nge luto, eni ti: A si zitabatelanga izimpondo ngamandhla etu na?* (You who rejoice over nothing, who say: Have we not taken up the horns for ourselves by our own strength?) The Hermannsburg has: *Niyatokoza ngokuyize nje, niti: Sozenzela izimpondo ngamandhla etu.* (You rejoice about absolutely nothing, saying: We will make horns for ourselves by our own strength.) The 1959 version has: *Nina enithokoza ngento engelutho, nithi: Asizithathelanga izimpondo ngamandhla ethu na?* (You who rejoice about a thing which is nothing, saying: Have we not taken horns for ourselves by our own strength?)

Translating this verse using the names of the actual towns, and explaining the meanings of the names in footnotes will help towards creating a little of the impact of the original. The impact, however, will necessarily be greatly reduced, not only by the passage of history and the fact that the prophet's original audience were directly involved whereas the present day Zulu are not, but also in the same way that the impact of a joke is greatly reduced when it is necessary for it to be explained. A possible translation is as follows: *Nina enithokoza ngokuhlulwa kweLodebari, nithi: Asilithathelanga iKhanayimu ngamandla ethu na?* (You who rejoice about the defeat of Lodebar, saying: Did we not take Karnaim by our own strength?) with a footnote reading: *Lodebari kusho into engelutho. iKhanayimu kusho izimpondo. NgesiHebheru impondo iluphawu lwamandla* (Lodebar means something which is nothing. Karnaim means horns. In Hebrew a horn is a symbol of power).

7:2,5 "How can Jacob stand?
He is so small!"

In addition to the conceptual metaphor Nation is a Person, these lines also contain the Up/Down image schema and the conceptual metaphor Weak is Small. As has been seen previously, Zulu uses the image schema Up/Down. For example when a person loses, it is said that: *Uwile* (He has fallen), and being small also suggests that he is weak. The various Zulu versions are all similar to the 1959 version which reads: *uJakobe uyakuma kanjani, ngokuba mncane* (How will Jacob stand, seeing that he is small?).

7:4 "The Lord God was calling for judgment by fire,
and it devoured the great deep and was eating up the land."

The section of which this verse forms a part is based on the conceptual metaphor God is Judge, coupled here with the conceptual metaphor Punishment is Fire. De Waard and Smalley (1979:145) say: "... the reader may not realise that in this context fire is a picture of the heat of the sun in the summer", which means that it entails the metaphor Heat of the Sun is Fire. As in other passages of Scripture, such as

the Book of Joel, God is seen as Judge, punishing the sins of the people through natural disasters such as locust plagues, drought and famine. There are grammatical problems in the Hebrew, for example that in the normal formula for a legal disputation, the word introduced by the particle ב points to the party accused, whereas in this verse באש refers rather to the means whereby God is about to execute his judgment. The published Zulu versions are as follows: The 1893 version has: *INKosi uJehova ya biza ukulwa ngomlilo, wa ti wa dhla ulwandhle olukulu, wa dhla inxenywe.* (The Lord Yahweh called to fight by means of fire, and he devoured the great sea, and devoured a part.) The 1924 ABS version says: *INKosi uJehova ya biza ukuba ku liwe ngomlilo; wa dhla ulwandhle olukulu, u b'u ya kudhla nezwe.* (The Lord Yahweh called that there be fought by means of fire; he devoured the great sea, and then devoured also the country.) The Hermannsburg version is: *UJehova wamisa ukuba atshaye ngomlilo; wadhla ulwandhle olukulu, wadhla namasimu.* (Yahweh ordained that he would strike (punish) by means of fire; he devoured the great sea, and he devoured even the fields.) The 1959 version has: *INKosi uJehova yabiza ukulwa ngomlilo; wadla utwa olukhulu, wawusuyakudla futhi isabelo sikaJehova.* (The Lord Yahweh called to fight by means of fire; he devoured the great bottomless pit, and then also devoured Yahweh's portion.) This, and the 1893 version follow a variant reading of the Septuagint. The unpublished draft in Zulu rephrases the whole verse, and in the corresponding part says: *Lapho ngambona khona elungiselela ukujezisa abantu bakhe ngomlilo. Umlilo wadla izinzulu zolwandlekazi, waqala futhi washisa izwe elikhethiweyo.* (There I saw him preparing to punish his people by means of fire. The fire devoured the deep whirlpools of the huge sea, and began also burning up the chosen land.)

There is a problem with the translating of תהום דבה in Zulu. If it is translated as *ulwandle olukhulu* (great sea) as was done in most published Zulu versions, this is also the expression used to translate הים הגדל, referring to the Mediterranean Sea in some places. It could therefore be misleading to the reader who would think it either referred to the Mediterranean, or to some other large sea in the region, rather than to the great ocean which in the mythical cosmology of the ancient East was believed to lie under the earth and is the source of springs and rivers (Gen. 7:11; Ps. 36:6 [Ps. 36:7]; Isa. 51:10) (Mays, 1969:131) — in fact what today is referred to as the water table. Then also, the meaning of the expression "*utwa olukhulu*" in the 1959 version was unclear to all but one of the Zulu speakers from whom this researcher enquired. A Bible Society colleague, the Rev T H Vilakazi stated that he had never encountered the word *utwa* except in the Bible and said that when he inaugurated a handwritten Bible project some years ago, he had been asked about the word's meaning, by someone who was writing a verse in which it occurs. No-one present on that occasion seemed certain as to what it meant. When this researcher asked other Zulus about it, one said he understood it to be a wild bee hive in the cleft of a cliff, a gloss which Colenso gives (1905:631), but which is omitted from Bryant (1905:668) and Doke and Vilakazi (1949:826). Another, a poet, said that the word is probably related to the ideophone *twa* (of penetrating deeply), and as this ideophone is used to describe a stone being dropped down a deep hole, the noun was derived from the ideophone. He himself uses the word with the meaning "trouble". This is probably a metaphorical use. Only one informant, having been asked the meaning of the phrase, after having had the verse read to him, said directly that it refers to a deep pool of water. This gloss is found in both Colenso and Bryant, but not in Doke and Vilakazi. It is possible that this informant offered this explanation because he is a lay-preacher who knows the background of the verse. It may also be that this word is used only in certain parts of the Zulu-speaking area, and not in others.

Paul (1991:232) sees this verse as a merism for total desiccation, that is, within the image schema Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites. The sun will dry up everything, from the subterranean source of the water supply to all the tillable land.

7:7 "The Lord was standing beside a wall built with a plumb-line
with a plumb-line in his hand."

This verse is metaphor, but because of the problem of the interpretation of the word אֵנֶךְ, which is found four times in this passage, but nowhere else in the Bible, it is not certain exactly what the intended metaphor is. Traditionally, the word has been translated "plumb-line", about which de Waard and Smalley (1979:147) say: *"The translation is not fully certain, but no other suggestion is as good."* However, in contrast, Paul (1991:233 ff.) states that the word is a loan word from Akkadian, meaning "tin", and: *"Thus the usual meaning 'plumb-line', which is set against the wall to measure its straightness, must now be discarded."* Taking the traditional interpretation, this and the following verse would then be based on the conceptual metaphor Right is Straightness. Taking the interpretation suggested by Paul, these verses would be based rather on the conceptual metaphor Strength is Iron/Bronze and its opposite, Weakness is Tin, together with the conceptual metaphor Security is a Wall. He points out that when walls of metal are mentioned in ancient Near East texts, they occasionally bear a metaphorical or symbolical dimension. He gives examples from Egyptian texts where Seti I is portrayed as a "wall of bronze for Egypt with crenellations of flint" and "a great wall of copper" which protects his troops. His son, Rameses II, describes himself as "your wall of iron". In an Akkadian text from El Amarna, Abimilki of Tyre addresses Pharaoh as "a wall of bronze erected for me". Jeremiah is promised that he will be unassailable against the attacks of the people because God is making him "a fortified city, and an iron pillar, and bronze walls" (Jer 1:18; 15:20). In Ezekiel 4:3, the image of "an iron wall" is employed. Paul therefore concludes that if walls of iron and bronze symbolize strong, fortified walls, a tin wall would be the exact opposite, as the metal is a symbol of softness, uselessness and perishability. Therefore in this metaphor, Israel is portrayed as being extremely weak, defenceless, and on the point of being demolished. He says the probability still very likely exists that there is more in this vision than meets the eye, a possible double entendre on אֵנֶךְ, for example, and concludes that it is thus no wonder that the prophet, as well as his exegetes, remains baffled by its symbolism. What Paul fails to mention is that, although walls of iron and bronze are recorded, as far as is known there is no mention of tin walls anywhere else in the Ancient Near East.

Brown, Driver and Briggs (1962:59) list "tin" as a one possible gloss for the word, and whereas many scholars now accept that the meaning of אֵנֶךְ is "tin", the problem remains as to how to interpret the rest of verse 7 and 8 with "tin wall" in mind. Although the metaphor Defencelessness is a Tin Wall in verses 7 and 8, is a possibility, it is not clear why God would set up such a wall in the midst of his people, and how this act, according to Paul (1991:235) *"apparently refers here symbolically to the execution of judgment."* It would be much more likely that the people would be said to be setting up such a weak line of defence for themselves against the inevitable punishment of the Almighty. Another good reason for retaining the traditional interpretation of a plumb-line is that it is both a possibility, and so entrenched, that to change it in translation would lead to that translation's being rejected as unreliable by conservative Bible readers. Nevertheless, "tin" is the translation recommended by the Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project, where it is stated: *"The expression 'tin' must have had for Amos and his contemporaries a particular symbolic or metaphorical meaning which we do no longer*

understand" (1980:292). This interpretation is therefore found in both the French *Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible* (1993) with an explanatory footnote, and the *Dutch Groot Nieuws Bijbel* (1983). The French reads:

7 Voici ce qu'il me fit voir: mon Seigneur, debout sur une muraille d'étain, tenait de l'étain à la main. 8 Le Seigneur me dit: «Que vois-tu, Amos?» Je dis: «De l'étain.» Mon Seigneur me dit: «Voici que je viens mettre l'étain au milieu d'Israël, mon peuple; pour lui, je ne passerai pas une fois de plus.» (7Here is what he showed me: My Lord standing upon a high tin wall, holding some tin in his hand. The Lord said to me: "What do you see, Amos?" I said: "Some tin." 8The Lord said to me: "I will put the tin in the middle of my people, Israel; I will not be tolerant with them one more time.)

With the footnote:

Le terme hébreu rendu ici par étain ne se rencontre nulle part ailleurs dans la Bible. Certains pensent qu'il désigne plutôt un niveau muni d'un fil à plomb, utilisé en maçonnerie; ils traduisent...sur un mur, un niveau à plomb dans la main. — Israël comparé à un mur qui s'écroule Ez 13:8-12; Lm 2:8; voir 2 R 21:13. (The Hebrew term given here is not found anywhere else in the Bible. Some think that it refers to a level frame equipped with a plumb line used in measuring. They translate: on a wall with a frame with a plumb line in his hand. — Israel compared to a wall which is collapsing Ezek. 13:8-12; Lam. 2:8; see 2 Kings 21:13).

The Dutch reads:

"7Toen liet de Heer me nog het volgende zien in een visioen: Hij stond op een tinnen muur met iets van tin in zijn hand. Hij vroeg mij: "Wat zie je hier, Amos?" Ik antwoordde: "Tin." 8 De Heervervolgde: "Dit zwaard werp ik te midden van mijn volk. Van nu af zal ik geen onrecht meer ongewroken laten." (7Then the Lord let me see the following in a vision. He was standing on a tin wall with something of tin in his hand. He asked me: "Amos what do you see here?" I answered: "Tin." 8 The Lord continued: "I am casting this sword in the midst of my people. From now on I will leave no wrong unpunished.)

The published Zulu versions read as follows: 1893: *INKosi yema pezu kodonga o lwakiwa ngentambo yokuhlela; i nentambo yokuhlela esandhleni sake.* (The Lord standing on a wall built by means of a string for levelling off, having a levelling string in his hand.); 1924 ABS: *INKosi y'ema nga sodongeni olwakiwa ngomtofu wokumisa ngokuti twi, i nomtofu wokumisa ngokuti twi esandhleni sake.* (The Lord standing on top of the wall which was built by means of a lead for setting up straight, having a lead for setting up straight in his hand.) Hermannsburg: *INKosi yema odongeni, olwamiswa ngentambo elenga umtofu, yena epete intambo elenga umtofu esandhleni sake.* (The Lord standing on a wall, which was set up by means of a string dangling a lead, he himself holding the string dangling a lead in his hand.) 1959: *INKosi yayimi ngasogangeni olwakhiwe ngentambo yomthofu wokumisa, enetambo yomthofu wokumisa esandleni sakhe.* (The Lord was standing on a wall which was built by means of a string of lead for setting up, having a string of lead for setting up in his hand.) The unpublished draft has: *Ngayibona imi eduze kodonga olwalukade lwakhiwa, lwalinganiswa ngentambo, iphethe intambo esandleni.* (I saw him

standing near a wall which long ago was built, and measured or made level by means of a string, holding the string in the hand.)

7:10 "The land is not able to bear all his words."

Paul (1991:240) recognises the conceptual metaphor Land is a Container here, when he says: "*The country, pictured here as one grand receptacle, can no longer 'contain' להכיל his prophecies.*" Whether or not there this is an example of the container metaphor is not clear. While Brown, Driver and Briggs give the gloss "contain" for the root כול and show the word to be associated with dry or liquid measuring, they also give the gloss "comprehend", and for Amos 7:10 "endure". Superimposed upon this is the conceptual metaphor Nation is the Land. The published Zulu versions have the following: 1893: *Izwe a li namandhla ukutwala onke amazwi ake.* (The country does not have the strength to carry all his words.) 1924 ABS: *Izwe a li namandhla okutwala onke amazwi ake.* (The country does not have the strength for carrying all his words.) Hermannsburg and 1959: *Izwe alinakuthwala onke amazwi akhe.* (The country is not able to carry all his words.), while the unpublished draft has attempted to carry over the fact that Amaziah is declaring that the limit of tolerance has passed, by translating: *Asinakukumela ukuphekula kwakhe.* (We are not able to stand for his insurrection.) The word *ukuphekula*, refers to the Zulu idiom *ukuphekula izinkuni* (to blow over the pieces of firewood) which is the activity of those who stir up and inflame the people. The Hermannsburg and 1959 translations appear to convey the meaning adequately.

7:16 "Do not prophesy against Israel,
and do not drop against the house of Isaac."

This is a synthetic parallelism, the second stich of which is based upon the conceptual metaphor Words are Liquid, and hence Speech is a Flow [of Words]. This is seen in English in expression such as "He had a good flow of speech", "Don't babble so". Davidson (1974:547) lists נָטַף (to drop, distil) as a metaphor of discourse, of dropping sentiments, or prophetic declarations. Paul says that the exact nuance of the verb, which occurs in Ezekiel 21:2,7 and Micah 2:6,11, is still open to question. It possibly has reference to the saliva dripping from the mouth, which characterised the preaching delivery of the ecstatic prophets, although it is not always used in a contemptuous or pejorative sense. He therefore suggests that the verb be translated "preach" or "proclaim", with the positive or negative connotation being derived from the context in which it occurs. The Zulu versions have, 1893: *U ngazisi nga kulsraeli, u nga teli izwi nga kuyo indhlu ka Isaka.* (Do not make known against Israel, do not pour the word down upon the house of Isaac.) 1924 ABS: *U nga profeti ngolsraeli, u nga ponsi izwi lako ngendhlu ya kwa Isaka.* (Do not prophesy about Israel, do not throw your word about the house of Isaac's place.) Hermannsburg: *Ungaprofeti ngolsrael, ungashumayeli ngendhlu kalsak.* (Do not prophesy about Israel, do not preach about the house of Isaac.) 1959: *Ungaprofethi ngolsrayeli, ungaconsisi izwi lakho phezu kwendlu kalsaka.* (Do not prophesy about Israel, do not cause your word to drip upon the house of Isaac.), while the unpublished version says: *Musa ukuphrofetha usole ulsrayeli, yeka ukukhuluma kabi ngendlu kalsaka.* (Do not prophesy and find fault with Israel, leave speaking badly about the house of Isaac.) De Waard and Smalley (1979:156) warn against translating נָטַף with any kind of negative meaning and suggest the use of an emotionally neutral word. Therefore a translation such as found in the Hermannsburg version: *Ungaphrofethi ngolsrayeli, ungashumayeli ngendlu kalsaka* (Do not prophesy about Israel, do not preach about the house of Isaac) is possible, although a solution which seems closer to the Hebrew, is: *ungaphimiseli izwi ngendlu ka-Isaka* (do not pronounce a word clearly against the

house of Isaac). The verbal stem *-phimisela* conveys both the meaning "spit at" and "speak very clearly" and seems to be a metaphor of discourse in Zulu, similar to נָטַף in Hebrew, without having any negative connotation.

8:1 "A basket of summer fruit".

Paul (1991:252) says that this fourth vision has aptly been called a word play vision, because it concentrates not on the symbolic significance of the object seen, but on a homonymic word play. Amos is shown בַּלִּיב קִיץ a basket of fresh figs, harvested at the end of summer, i.e. during the months of August and September, which in South Africa would be the end of winter and beginning of spring. What is ominous about the basket of ripe figs is that the word קִיץ, constitutes a paronomasia on its homonym קֶץ (final hour, hour of doom), for although the nouns are derived from different roots, they resemble one another in orthography and pronunciation. There is word play in the Hebrew, but there does not seem to be metaphor. The message is clear — the final hour is at hand, doom is coming. This is a further description of the Day of Yahweh. The published Zulu versions have not made any attempt at word play. In 1893 it reads: *iqoma lamakiwane ... ukupela ku fikile pezu kwabantu bami* (a basket of figs ... the end has arrived upon my people). In the 1924 ABS, it is: *iqoma lezithelo zehlobo ... ukupela ku fikile pezu kwabantu bami* (a basket of summer fruits ... the end has arrived upon my people). Hermannsburg has: *iqoma elinezithelo zehlobo ... kufile ukupela kwabantu bami* (a basket which has summer fruits ... there has arrived the end of my people), while the 1959 version has: *iqoma lezithelo zasehlobo ... ukuphela sekufikile kubantu bami* (a basket of fruits of in summer ... the end has already arrived for my people). The unpublished version, however, has tried to capture something of the word play, while at the same time using an entailment of the conceptual metaphor People are Plants, namely Doomed People are the Fruit of Plants. Amos identifies the vision as: *isiqabetho sezithelo ezivuthiweyo* (a large basket of ripe fruit), and God tells him: *Abantu bami bakwalsrayeli sebevuthiwe sebengase babhujiswe* (My people of Israel are now ripe and are now on the point of being destroyed).

8:4 "Hear this, you who swallow up the poor,
even to make the humble of the land to cease."

From the majority of the published Zulu versions, and other versions such as the English AV and RV, this verse appears to contain the conceptual metaphor Destroying is Eating, which is found in many praise poems in Zulu, where the victor is praised because wadla (he ate, i.e. killed) his opponent. In this verse, the merchants are described as "swallowing up" those in need. Exactly why this has been translated in this way, is not clear as, with the exception of Davidson (1974:695) who referring to its occurring with עָל in Amos 2:7, calls it a "metaphor of savage enemies, to swallow up, destroy", the lexicons consulted do not give "swallow" as a gloss for the Hebrew שָׁאָף. Koehler & Baumgartner (1958:937) give the gloss "snap at, set traps for" for the word in this verse, whereas Paul (1991:79) says that הַשְׁאִיפִים is a biform of שָׁרַף (crush, trample upon). Deist (1988:48-51) suggests that there may also be a text critical problem here of a scribal gloss which slipped into the text from the misreading of the consonantal text supplied with vowel letters as "reading aids" which were then vocalised. As the text with vocalised vowel letters made no clear sense, some copyist may have suggested a reading in the margin which may later have been incorporated into the text. It is interesting that Green (1978:2112), gives "trample" as the interlinear translation of the Hebrew, but "swallow up" as the English translation in margin! So, the 1893 version has: *nina e ni funa ukuminza abadingayo* (you who want to swallow those who are needy), the 1924 ABS

has: *nina e ni minza izimpambanga* (You who swallow the poor dependants), and the 1959 version has: *nina enigwinya abampofu* (you who swallow the poor). The Hermannsburg, however, is different, translating: *nina enizingela abampofu* (you who hunt the poor). It would appear therefore that the conceptual metaphor here is **Oppressing is Trampling** and that this is how the verse should be treated in any future translation. A translation such as: *nina eninyathela abampofu* (you who trample upon the poor) should be acceptable in the light of the words of a popular chorus sung by Christian young people: *Siyonyathel' amademoni* (We will trample upon the demons).

8:8 "Shall not the land tremble on this account,
and every one mourn who dwells in it,
and all of it rise like the Nile,
and be tossed about and sink again,
like the Nile of Egypt?"

This verse, like 9:5, contains a simile based on the conceptual metaphor **Land is Water** mapped upon the conceptual metaphor **Instability is Water**, likening an earthquake to the annual turbulent rise and fall of the Nile. In 9:5 the land does not only tremble, but it melts. With the exception of the Hermannsburg version: *izwe aliyikuzamazama* (will the land not shake?), which is not metaphor, but would be a natural way of describing the movement of an earthquake, all the published Zulu versions translate the Hebrew in 8:8 as if it contains the conceptual metaphor the **Land is a Person**. רגז "tremble" is used mostly with human subjects, that is [+ animate], while ארץ "earth" is [- animate], which suggests that the Hebrew is a metaphor. So, the 1893 version has: *a li yi ku tutumela* (does it not tremble [with fear or cold]?), the 1924 ABS has: *a li yi kugedezela* (does it not tremble [from fear or cold]?), and the 1959 version has: *umhlaba awuyikuqhaqhaazela* (does it not shiver [from cold]?). In 9:5 the earth *uncibilike* (melts) i.e. liquefies, which leads into the simile of the rising and falling of the Nile.

8:10 "I will turn your feasts into mourning,
and all your songs into a weeping;
and I will bring up sackcloth on all loins,
and baldness on every head.
And I will make it like the mourning for an only one;
and the end of it like a bitter day."

This verse contains the contrastive conceptual metaphors **Prosperity is Feasting** and **Adversity is Mourning**. The severity of the adversity is stressed by the use of a series of parallel metaphors **Sorrow is Sackcloth**, **Grief is Baldness**, and **Extreme Grief is the Death of an Only Son**. These are metaphors with which the Zulu can identify. Krige (1957:159) says that at the time of bereavement, "the relatives are also cut off from society — they have their hair shaved and leave off all ornaments". The 1893 version has: *ngi veze pezu kwezinkalo zonke indwangu yokulila, na pezu kwamakanda onke impandhla; ngi ya kwenza ku be njengokudabuka ngomntwana oyedwa* (I will bring forth upon all loins a cloth of mourning, and upon all heads a bald head; I will make it to be like the being grieved for an only child). The 1924 Hermannsburg version has: *ngibeke amasaka ematangeni onke, amakanda onke abezimpandhla; ngenze kube njengokulilela indodana eyodwa* (I will place sacks upon all thighs, all heads will become bald; I will make it like the weeping for an only son). The 1924 ABS version has: *ngi lete pezu kwezinkalo zonke indwangu yamasaka, na pezu kwamakanda onke ukugega; ngi kwenze ku*

be njengokulilela indodana e yodwa (I will bring upon all loins a cloth of sacks, and upon all heads a short back and sides; I will make it to be like the weeping for an only son). The 1959 version has: *ngibeke izindwangu zamasaka ezinkalweni zonke, nobumpandla kuwo onke amakhanda, ngikwenze kube njengokulilela indodana eyodwa* (I will place cloths of sack on all loins, and baldness upon all heads, I will make it to be like the weeping for an only son). The way in which the Hebrew שֹׂמֵרֶת (sackcloth) has been translated in the various versions shows how the 1893 version tried to spell out the implicature of the metaphor, whereas both the Hermannsburg and the 1959 version use two words where one, as in the 1924 ABS would have been sufficient. Whereas the Zulu mourner does not wear ornaments, he would not usually wear sacks, nevertheless it would be clear that a person wearing sacks would be in adversity. Another interesting point is that the 1893 and Hermannsburg versions use the word *impandla* (bald head), whereas the 1959 version coins an abstract Class 14 noun *ubumpandla* for "baldness", but it is not very successful. The use of *ukugega* in the 1924 ABS version to suggest the shaving of the head is an attempt at a better solution, but unfortunately the verb refers to the shaving of the sides of the head, rather than to the shaving of the whole head which is *ukuphuca*.

The verse ends with the conceptual metaphor Experience is Taste which arises out of the fact that those items which are pleasant to the taste are enjoyable, while those which are unpleasant to the taste, are not and are to be avoided. Here the Day of Yahweh is described as being bitter, which the 1893 version describes as: *njengosuku olubabayo* (a bitter day), using a verbal relative, and all other published Zulu version as: *njengosuku olumunyu* (a sour day), using a relative stem. It may be better in Zulu to change this to another metaphor of the senses, Experience is Feeling, so that it is painful rather than bitter.

A suggested translation of this verse then is:

*Ngiyakuphendula imikhosi yenu ibe ngukukhala,
nezihlabelelo zenu zonke zibe yizililo.
Ngiyakwenza ukuze nonke nibhince amasaka,
niphuce amakhanda enu.
Lolo suku ngizolwenza lube njengolokulilela indodana eyodwa,
ukuphela kwalo kube ngubuhlungu kakhulu.
(I will turn your feasts to become crying,
and all your songs will become lamentations.
I will make you all to cover your loins with sacks,
and shave your heads.
That day I will make to be like one of weeping for an only son,
its end will be extremely painful.)*

8:11 "I shall send a famine into the land;
not a famine for bread nor a thirst for water,
but of hearing the words of Yahweh."

This verse is based on the conceptual metaphor Knowledge is Food, and its opposite, Lack of Knowledge is Famine, together with the conceptual metaphor Spiritual Food is the Word of God. Contrary to the norm, the processing of the metaphor is actually made easier by being spelt out. A famine usually means the lack of physical food and drink, but here God tells the people through the prophet that it is not the normal sort of famine to which he is referring, but to one for hearing the Word of God. The

1893 and the Hermannsburg version both use the word *ukulamba* (hunger) for "famine", which, however, could have a positive connotation and mean that the people wanted to hear the word, that they had an appetite for the word. The 1924 ABS and 1959 version, however, use the word *indlala* (famine), which indicates that at that time they would find it extremely difficult to hear it, even if they wanted to, because it would be in such short supply. The Hermannsburg also uses the word *ukulalela* (listen to) which also could have the implication of obeying the word. The other versions use *ukuzwa* (hear), indicating that God has made it impossible for them to hear even if they wanted to. As Paul (1991:265) puts it: "God's anger is manifested in his silence."

9:8 "The eyes of the Lord God are on the sinful kingdom,
and I will destroy it from the face of the earth."

Here there are apparently two metaphors, People are the Kingdom, and Earth is a Person, which also occurs in 9:6. In each of the published Zulu version, the first metaphor is taken over directly as *umbuso onayo* (a kingdom which sins), while the unpublished draft, identifies the kingdom referred to as Israel and translates: *lokukona okungaka kwalombuso wakwalsrayeli* (the great sinning of the kingdom of Israel). These translations are completely acceptable in Zulu.

The question arises, however, whether or not 9:6 and 9:8 do contain the conceptual metaphor Earth is a Person. Brown, Driver and Briggs (1962:815ff.) indicate the very wide semantic domain covered by the derivatives of the root פנה, the basic meaning of which is "turn" or "turn upward" from which is derived "that which is visible" or "that which is in front of". The gloss they give for Amos 9:8 is "the surface of" (p. 819 para. 8). Zulu does not conceive of earth having a face, yet all of the published Zulu versions have translated the Hebrew as if it is a metaphor. It is *ebusweni bomhlaba* (from the face of the earth), in 9:8, although the Hermannsburg version and the unpublished draft translate both על-ארץ — which the other versions translate as *pezu komhlabathi* (upon the soil) in 1893, *pezu kwomhlaba* (upon the earth) in the 1924 ABS, *emhlabeni* (on the earth) in 1959 — and על-פני as *pezu kwomhlaba* (upon the earth) in 9:6, although the draft uses the current orthography *phezu komhlaba* (upon the earth). In 9:8, however, the unpublished draft, has: *Ngizowushaya ngiwubhuqe ungabi bikho ezweni* (I will strike it and wipe it out completely that it is no longer on the land). Whether or not it is a metaphor in Hebrew, it is quite acceptable to translate it as "face of the earth" in English, as this is the natural idiomatic expression in English. Exactly where the expression originated is difficult to say. Many idiomatic expressions in English originate in the Bible, and it is possible that this one did too. That would mean that translating a Hebrew non-metaphor into English as if it were a metaphor, has led to an idiomatic expression in English which suggests that it is based on a conceptual metaphor Earth is a Person. It may be that the expression is now being accepted into Zulu also, by the same process, namely that it has been translated in the Zulu Bible as if it were a metaphor in Hebrew. One Zulu informant was not in the least troubled by the phrase *ebusweni bomhlaba*, saying that it is very common now in Zulu to accept expressions from other languages such as English. This indicates that, while many of the people who are monolingual may have a problem processing metaphors translated directly from another language, and it is extremely doubtful that there is a metaphor in the Hebrew here, others who are multilingual and exposed to other languages and cultures are often happy to accommodate such metaphors in their own languages which are constantly developing and changing.

- 9:9 "I will command and shake the house of Israel
among all the nations,
as one shakes with a sieve,
yet not a pebble shall fall upon the earth.
9:10 All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword,
who say: Evil shall not overtake or meet us."

This verse is based on the conceptual metaphor Judging is Sifting. כברה is a *hapax legomenon*, and Paul (1991:286) says that the exact type and size of the sieve is still in dispute. He favours a coarse sieve for cleansing grain of straw and stones, or sand of pebbles and shells, a large meshed sieve, that retains the useless straw, stones, and earth, but allows the corn, smaller grains and fine sand to pass through. The useless coarse rubbish, that is the guilty, shall be held fast in the sieve, shortly to be cut off by the sword. What is retained in the sieve, therefore, is worthless and is discarded. The fine particles, that is the righteous, shall slip safely through the perforations of the sieve — only to be dispersed throughout the nations. Others interpret it as a fine meshed sieve that allows the dust and chaff to fall through, retaining only the best corn. This is not very likely, because, although the dust would fall through such a sieve, the chaff would not, but would be retained with the grain. As Mays (1969:161) says, the primary point of the metaphor is catching the undesirable.

The Zulu versions all seem to imply that in the sifting process what is retained in the sieve is that which is valuable, i.e. the best corn, or the righteous — that which is saved and not thrown away. The problem is the meaning of the word צרר. Whereas it seems to suggest coarse material, like pebbles (Koehler & Baumgartner, 1958:816) it is an open question, as the verb צרר means "to bind together; to bundle", and צרר may also mean "purse", suggesting that it could refer to something valuable. Brown, Driver & Briggs, (1962:866) say that in this verse it is perhaps used figuratively for a grain of wheat in the metaphor of winnowed Israel. The 1893 Zulu version has: *ngo nyakazisa indhlu ka Israel pakati kwezizwe zonke, njengaloku ukolweni u shukunyiswa esihlungweni, noko a i yi ku wa emhlabeni inhlamvu*. (I will shake the house of Israel among the nations like corn is tossed about in a sieve, but a grain will not fall on the earth.) The 1924 ABS has: *ngo yala, ngi hlunge indhlu ya kwa Israel pakati kwezizwe zonke, njengamabele e hlungwa ngesihlungo, noko a ku yi kuwa emhlabeni inhlamvu neyodwa*. (I will command, and sift the house of Israel among all the nations, like millet is sifted in a sieve, but not even a single grain will fall on the earth.) The Hermannsburg has: *ngizakuyeleza, ngishukuzise indhlu yakwalsrael pakati kwezizwe zonke, njengaloku kushukuziswa amabele esihlungweni; ayikuwa, ngitsho uhlamvu lunye pansi*. (I will command and cleanse by shaking the house of Israel among all the nations, just as millet is cleansed by shaking in a sieve, not even one single grain will fall down [to the ground].) The 1959 version has: *ngiyakuyaleza, ngizulazulise indlu yakwalsrayeli phakathi kwabo bonke abazizwe, njengalokhu kuhlungwa ngesihlungo, kepha akuyikwela nembewu eyodwa emhlabathini*. (I will command, and cause the house of Israel to wander about aimlessly among all [the people] of the nations, but not a single seed will fall on the ground.) The unpublished version has: *Ngizokhipha izwi nginyakazise abendlu kalsrayeli phakathi kwezizwe njengomuntu ela amabele ngesihlungo, kodwa uhlamvu lungaweli phansi*. (I will say the word and shake those [people] of the house of Israel among the nations as a person winnows millet with a sieve, but a separate grain will not fall down [to the ground].) The idea of a separate grain would seem to belie the root צרר, which means "bind together".

Traditionally, the Zulu did not use a utensil such as a sieve through which fine particles would pass and in which larger particles would be retained, although they did strain beer through the elongated *ihluzo* or *ikhamo*, woven from grass. Through their contact with the English, sifting flour in the kitchen, and screening stone from sand for building, the verbal stem *-sefa* or *-seva* with the derived Class 7 noun *isisefo* or *isisevo* have been accepted into the lexicon, and *-sefa* (sift) was listed by Colenso (1905:724) under the heading Hybrid Words Commonly Used (1895) in Isipiki, that is, "words ... which are not native words, but have been formed by corruption from the English or Dutch languages, or have been coined by Missionaries and are now in common use among the people of this Colony." (Ibid. p. viii). Both Colenso (1905) and Bryant (1905) list the verbal stems *-hlunga* and *-hlenga*, but neither give the nouns *isihlungo* or *isihlengo*, although Bryant does give "sieve" as an additional gloss for the word *isihlenga*, which usually refers to a float made of reeds. The locative form *esihlengweni*, in the 1893 version is, however, derived from the word *isihlengo*, as the locative form of *isihlenga* is *esihlengeni*. From this, it appears that, although the verbs are in common use, the nouns were originally derived from the verbal stems, using the regular rules for deriving nouns from verbs, specifically to meet the translation problem arising from the fact that the Zulu did not commonly use an article which corresponded to a sieve. In fact, none of the Zulus to whom I spoke could describe a traditional *isihlungo*, but all offered the word *isisefo*, derived from English, to explain its meaning in this verse. The meaning of the verbal stem, however, is clear to them, and, as its first meaning, Colenso (1905:231) gives the gloss: *Hlunga*, v. *Sift; sift out, as children and young people from a company, so that only the adults remain, whereas Bryant (1905:260) gives the gloss Hlunga*, v. *Clear, clean, or sift a thing, i.e. remove or bring out therefrom the coarse and refuse parts from the fine and useful, as a bundle of thatching-grass by holding it in one hand and beating it with the other so that the disconnected rubbish falls out, or as a quantity of Kaffir-corn (sic) [millet] by shaking it about in a basket and so bringing up the empty husks, or as snuff by sifting it through a sieve (=hlenga)*. He gives a similar gloss as an additional meaning for *-hlenga*, while Doke & Vilakazi (1958:107) give "sift, winnow, clean" as its first meaning, and "ransom, redeem, help" as its second meaning, with "ransom", the only meaning for the noun *isihlengo*. In church circles the words are commonly used with the latter meaning, so it would therefore seem advisable rather to use *-hlunga* to describe the Lord's action in this verse.

It would seem that, even although it has been necessary to derive a noun from the verb in order to translate the object referred to, the metaphor is completely intelligible to the Zulu, because the verb itself describes the action of separating the coarse from the fine, the useful from the useless, the good from the bad, by shaking or beating, and exactly what kind of sieve was used, whether fine or coarse meshed, does not really matter for the metaphor to be sustained.

In the 1959 version, instead of a verb meaning "to shake", the reduplicated verbal stem with causative suffix *-zulazulisa* (to cause to wander about aimlessly) is used. In this way, instead of translating with a metaphor, followed by a simile, the verbal metaphor has been reduced to a verb describing exactly what God is going to do to the people, while retaining the simile which follows.

As has been mentioned, the verbal stem *-hlunga*, here with the passive extension *-hlungwa*, is very descriptive of the separation process. In the unpublished draft, however, the translators have used the verbal stem *-eqa* (winnow). This verb, however, rather than describing sifting through a sieve by shaking, describes the act of pouring grain from one container down into another, so that the grain collects in the lower container, while the chaff is blown away by a light breeze.

9:11 "In that day I will raise up the booth of David that has fallen,
and repair its breaches and raise up its ruins,
and rebuild it as in the days of old."

This *hapax legomenon* image, which could be stated as a conceptual metaphor **Kingdom is a Structure**, is understood to refer to the Davidic Empire, the united kingdom, and not to the dynasty of David, which would have been described as the "house of David" (Paul, 1991:290). Within the Up/Down image schema, this conceptual metaphor is mapped onto the conceptual metaphor **Strong and Glorious is Firmly Built** and the opposite **Weak and Ignoble is Ruins**. The structure in this case is סוכה, so here the conceptual metaphor can be stated as the entailment **David's Kingdom is a Temporary Shelter**. It is not a firmly built structure, which would be not only strong and glorious, but permanent, safe and secure. Rather it has become a roughly constructed temporary shelter, so it is not only weak and ignoble, but temporary, vulnerable and insecure. Even when it is first built, such a temporary shelter is not something of which people would be proud, so the idea that God will repair it and restore it to be what it was in former times suggests that the conceptual metaphor then moves back from the entailment **David's Kingdom is a Temporary Shelter** to the more basic metaphor **Kingdom is a Structure**. David's united kingdom of north and south, was of relatively short duration, and now was broken up and in ruins. One can understand the impact which this metaphor would have on the prophet's audience. The prophet was from the south, was preaching in the north, and was referring to David, the king who symbolised to the people, the most glorious period in their history, very much in the same way as Shaka symbolises to the Zulu the most glorious period of their history. Therefore, even although the metaphor is a hapax legomenon, it probably would not only have been understood, but it would have conveyed the prophet's message in a powerful manner.

This is most difficult to convey in another language in modern times, such as Zulu. Firstly, although the conceptual metaphor **Kingdom is a Structure** exists in Zulu, so that it is possible to say something like: *Kukhona laba abazama ngamandla ukudiliza umbuso kaShaka* (There are those who are trying very hard to demolish the kingdom of Shaka), replacing the word *umbuso* with a word referring to a structure of any type, would not convey the fact that it is the kingdom to which is being referred. As in Hebrew, *ukudiliza indlu kaShaka* (demolishing the house of Shaka) would refer metaphorically to his lineage, not his kingdom. Secondly, the Zulu, even the Zulu Christian, does not feel anything like the emotional affinity to David, as the members of the prophet's audience may have, or even as the citizens of the modern state of Israel may still do. Thirdly, the word סוכה, or its Zulu gloss, does not have the same impact on the Zulu as it would on those for whom the tabernacle had been the symbol of God's sheltering presence in their midst at a specific period of their history, or who celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles, by building temporary shelters and remembering how God had preserved their forefathers through years of wandering in the wilderness.

The 1893 and ABS 1924 versions both use neologisms to translate סוכה, *itente* (tent) and *itabanekele* (tabernacle), and the fact that it was felt necessary to use words derived from English, suggests that they would convey little significance to the Zulu reader other than as a name for something foreign for which there was no other existing Zulu word. In fact, even the word "tabernacle" suggests far more in English than a roughly constructed temporary shelter. The Hermannsburg version translates סוכה as *indhlu* (house), and this could be interpreted as referring to David's extended family, rather than to his kingdom. The 1959 version translates it as *idokodo* (temporary hut, booth), which is a good word to describe the

type of structure referred to. None of these words suggest the idea of a kingdom in Zulu, however. The TEV has eliminated the metaphor and replaced it with a simile in which the tenor of the metaphor is made explicit: "*I will restore the kingdom of David, which is like a house fallen into ruins,*" and de Waard and Smalley (1979:184) suggest that this is what most translations need to do. In Zulu, it would be possible to do something similar and so retain the Kingdom is a Structure conceptual metaphor, by translating סוכה as *umbuso* (kingdom) and using nouns usually associated with a dilapidated structure to describe its present state and verbs usually associated with the repair of such a structure to describe God's promise to restore it. The traditional Zulu dwelling is thatched and many of the more modern buildings in rural areas are also thatched. A common problem with thatch is that it gets damaged by storms, blown away by the wind, or eaten by animals such as goats, leaving gaps through which daylight can be seen. The verb which describes this damage is *-fuzza* (strip a hut of thatch). Using both the Up/Down image schema so as to describe the kingdom as *owileyo* (fallen), together with the verbal relative *ofuzekile* (stripped of thatch), to describe the kingdom helps to maintain the conceptual metaphor Kingdom is a Structure. A suggested translation could then be: *Ngalolo suku ngiyakumisa umbuso kaDavide ofuzekile owileyo, ngivale izikhala zawo; ngiyakumisa ngiwufulele, ngiwakhe ube njengowamandulo.* (In that day I will set up the thatch-bare, fallen, kingdom of David, and close up its breaches; I will set it up and re-thatch it, and build it to be like the one of former times.)

9:13 "The mountains shall drop sweet wine,
and all the hills will flow with it."

In the discussion on 7:16, the verb נָטַף (to drop, distil) is seen as a metaphor of discourse, Words are Liquid, and hence Speech is a Flow [of Words]. In this verse, the conceptual metaphor is Abundance is Flowing Liquid. Paul (1991:293f) says that the verb derived from the root נָטַף is interpreted by most commentators and translations as meaning "melt", i.e. the vineyards on the mountain slopes will produce so abundantly that it will seem as if the wine begins to drip, until it forms a stream which eventually begins to erode the hills. He sees the verse as being constructed chiasmically — the theme of wine that ends the first colon is resumed at the beginning of the next colon — and thus that the activity described here refers to the produce of the first part of the first colon, that is, grain. He therefore concludes that a more likely translation would be "and all the hills shall wave [with grain]." De Waard and Smalley (1979:187) do not agree with this.

The 1893 version omits the first stich and has: *nemimango yonke yo ncibilika* (and all the steep inclines will dissolve). The ABS 1924 version has: *izintaba zi tonse iwayini eliminandi, namagquma onke a ncibilike* (the mountains will drip sweet wine, and all the hillocks dissolve), the Hermannsburg has: *izintaba ziyotonsa iwaine elitsha, nezintaba zonke zincibilike* (the mountains will drip new wine, and all the mountains dissolve), while the 1959 version has: *izintaba ziyakuconsa iwayini, amagquma onke ancibilike* (the mountains will drip wine, all the hills dissolve). נָטַף is defined by Koehler & Baumgartner (1958:723) as "freshly pressed out, sweet, not yet fermented juice of grapes), which is different from יַיִן" (1958:379-380). The 1924 ABS version describes this as "pleasant tasting wine", the Hermannsburg version as "new wine", while the 1959 version does not qualify it and simply has "wine", all versions using a neologism because it is a drink traditionally unknown to the Zulu. A suggested translation would be: *Izintaba ziyakuconsa iwayini elisha, onke amagquma agobhoze ngalo* (The mountains will drip new wine, all the hills will flow with it) or: *Iwayini elisha liyakuconsa ezintabeni, ligobhoza kuwo onke amagquma* (New wine will drip from the mountains, and flow from all the hills).

9:15 "I will plant them upon their land,
and they shall never again be plucked up out of the land
which I have given to them."

This verse is based on the conceptual metaphor **People are Plants**, and the similar image of God's planting so that they would not be uprooted is found also in Jer. 2:21; 24:6; 31:27; 32:41; 42:10; 2 Sam. 7:10; Isa. 60:21; Hos. 2:23 [Hos. 2:25] and the opposite in Jer. 45:4. Mays (1969:167) says that this verse gathers up all that has gone before and makes it final. The 1893 version has: *Mina ngo ba tyala pezu komhlabathi wabo, a ba yi ku sityulwa futi emhlabathini wabo e ngi ba nike wona* (I will plant them on top of their ground, they will not be pulled up again root and all out of their ground which I have given them). The 1924 ABS version has: *Ngo ba tshala ezweni labo, ba nga be be sa sishulwa futi ezweni labo engi ba nike lona* (I will plant them in their land, and they will no longer be pulled up again roots and all from their land which I have given them). The Hermannsburg version has: *Ngiyakubatsala ezweni labo, bangabe besahlutulwa ezweni labo, engabanika lona* (I will plant them in their land, and they will no longer be wrenched out of their land which I gave them), and the 1959 version has: *Ngiyakubatsala ezweni labo, bangabe besasishulwa ezweni labo engibanike lona* (I will plant them in their land and they will no longer be pulled up root and all from the land which I have given them). With the exception of the 1893 version, where the implication is that they were not planted in the land, but on top of the ground, all the translations are similar. The Hermannsburg version uses the verb *-hlutulwa* (be wrenched out), while the others all use the verb *-sishulwa* (pulled out root and all) which seems to be more in keeping with the metaphor.

7.5. CATEGORIES OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN AMOS

7.5.1 Introduction

In this chapter it has been seen that the Book of Amos contains a number of Hebrew metaphors, and also some which may not be metaphors, but which have nevertheless been understood to be by the translators of the published Bibles in Zulu, and have therefore been translated as such. Although not all the metaphors have necessarily been discussed, it is now possible to identify certain categories of metaphor in the book.

As Lakoff (1987:276) demonstrated, metaphor is motivated by the structure of our experience. There is a structural correlation in our everyday experience which motivates the details of the source-to-target metaphorical mapping in corresponding image schematic concepts such as **Up/Down** and **Part/Whole**. These kinaesthetic image schematic concepts, which are common to the experience of both the prophet and his audience, form an important category of metaphor within the book of Amos.

Amos, the prophet, was a pastoralist, a sheep and cattle herdsman (1:1), and also an agriculturalist, who collected and dried sycamore fruit for fodder for the animals placed in his care (7:14). As much of his experience and understanding was as a rural person engaged in these occupations, he would experience and understand other areas of his life in terms of the pastoral and agricultural. It is therefore to be expected that at least some of his metaphors would be drawn from his farming experience and thus from animal and plant life, natural phenomena, and time.

Another determining factor of the categories of metaphors to be found in the book is the subject matter. The prophet is declaring a message from God to his chosen people and the surrounding nations,

concerning God's displeasure with them because of their sinful deeds and how he will inevitably punish them, and vindicate and restore the faithful remnant. One can therefore expect metaphors concerning various forms of transgression, Deity, the people, nations, anger, punishment and restoration.

7.5.2 Kinaesthetic image schemas

Part/Whole

Metonymy, *pars pro toto*, where a part of some thing is mentioned where the reference is actually to that thing in its entirety, is a common phenomenon and is also found in the Book of Amos.

What is interesting is how the Book makes use of the Hebrew concept of what is considered to be whole or complete. As has been shown above (para. 7.2.0), the Hebrew concept is that the whole is made up of seven parts and this could be stated as the conceptual metaphor **Complete is Seven**. The prophet uses this to good effect by pronouncing God's judgment on seven surrounding nations. According to the normal Hebrew concept, once the seventh nation was mentioned, the prophet should have stopped, for **Complete is Seven**, that is **Final is Seven**. However, just when the audience is beginning to relax for they have not been mentioned, the prophet surprises them, and in total contrast to their expectations, pronounces against an eighth nation. So, instead of the expected **Complete is Seven**, or **Final is Seven**, in the Book of Amos **Seven is Incomplete**, **Final is Incomplete**. The focus therefore is drawn to the eighth nation and this is further spotlighted in the light of the conceptual metaphor **Most Important is Last**. The rhetorical or literary effect of the conceptual metaphor **Complete is Seven** and how it is treated by the prophet will not be immediately obvious in any other language, such as Zulu, which does not have that conceptual metaphor. In Hebrew, numerical patterns such as this formed part of the oral formulaic language, known to everybody in the community. It was not merely a literary device, but a device of oral art. As is the case with those listening to oral art forms such as folktales and praise poems in Zulu, the prophet's audience would probably be very sharp at picking up a deviation from the set pattern. In a translation in a language such as Zulu, there is no way, short of a paraphrase, to convey the impact of "misuse" of the conceptual metaphor **Complete is Seven** on the audience which was completely familiar with its use in the oral literature of the time. This is information which needs to be given in the introduction to the book, or in a footnote. At one time it was thought that the form of the message had little to do with the meaning of the message, but that it simply adds to the impact of that message as a form of ornamentation. More recent opinion is that the form in which the message is communicated is indeed vital to the message. This means that even with the explanation of the Hebrew numerical oral art pattern in the introduction or footnote, something is bound to be lost in its translation into a language which does not have the same oral art tradition.

Another conceptual metaphor within this image schema which is found in the book is **Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites**. For example, the criss-cross geographical mention of the nations indicates that the pronouncement of God's judgment is over the entire area. This image schema is also seen in the mention of bringing the ear and a piece of the hind leg of a lamb as evidence, as suggesting the way in which those dwelling in Samaria will be rescued, from the corner at the head to the foot of a bed (3:12), and destroying a tree from its fruit to its root (2:9).

The **Part is the Whole** image schema also occurs, for example, in the use of the metaphor **Sliding Bar is the City** (1:5) and **City is the Country** (1:5). The Zulu have never lived in walled cities, but they use the sliding bar both in the rural and urban areas, so they know that if that bar is broken, the whole of the

place it is supposed to prevent entry to is left unprotected. Although the reference City is the Country may not be quite so obvious, in Zulu the surrounding countryside is often referred to by the name of the principal town in the area.

A slightly different use of the Part/Whole schema is in the reference to the article used to refer to the activity. For example, Ruling is a Sceptre (1:5), which is perfectly acceptable in Zulu, and Reign is a Seat (6:3), which has been seen in the discussion of the verse, to be not quite so obvious.

Up/Down

It has been demonstrated (4.14.1) that this image schema is well known in Zulu and is manifested in such conceptual metaphors as More is Up/Less is Down, Good is Up/Bad is Down, Health is Up/Ill-health is Down, Strength is Standing Up/Weakness is Lying Down (2:15). In 9:11 the schema is used together with building as the source domain in the Kingdom is a Structure metaphor to produce the conceptual metaphors Strong and Glorious is Firmly Built and the opposite Weak and Ignoble is Ruins, and the entailment David's Kingdom is a Temporary Shelter, which has the further implicatures of being vulnerable and insecure. If the less likely interpretation of 7:7 is considered, then the building source domain is also used as the conceptual metaphor Security is a Wall. Superimposing this on the semantic domain of a whole range of metal, suggests the conceptual metaphors Strength is Iron/Bronze and its opposite, Weakness is Tin, which then gives the opposite, by qualifying the metal from which the wall is built, i.e. Defencelessness is a Tin Wall. As this interpretation of the Hebrew is extremely doubtful, it is not necessary to consider its translation into Zulu.

Big/Small

This image schema follows logically from the Up/Down schema and is also well known in Zulu (5.4.1) In the Book of Amos, it is manifested as Strong is Big/Weak is Small (7:2,5), where Jacob is said to be small, the implication being that the kingdom is weak.

In 2:9, the conceptual metaphor People are Trees is mapped upon this image schema so as to produce the metaphors Fearsome is Big and Strong, Pride is Big and Important is Big.

Abstract is Concrete

This is an image schema which is basic to much metaphorical understanding where that which is abstract is experienced and understood as if it were concrete. The Book of Amos contains a number of entailments of the conceptual metaphor Abstract Qualities are Concrete Entities. For example, in 6:13, there is the entailment Power and Strength is Horn and here, because of the word play in the Hebrew, the suggestion is to use a footnote which will enable the Zulu reader to grasp something of the impact of both the metaphor and the word play. One suggestion for translating the idea of the covenant contained in 1:9 into Zulu is to use the Zulu metaphor, Covenant is a Knot. The way in which we experience the abstract often suggests the metaphor. So, just as a baby gets to know his world by putting objects into his mouth, there is a conceptual metaphor Experience is Taste. In Zulu, the verbal stem *-zwa* indicates perceiving with any of the senses, hearing, tasting, smelling, touching and even seeing (Doke & Vilakazi 1949:901). As a greater physical load becomes increasingly heavy, so a greater load in the more abstract realm is also understood to be increasingly heavy, thus the conceptual metaphor Intensity is Heaviness which is discussed in 5:18-20. This is a common conceptual metaphor in Zulu where a common expression indicating any degree of intensity in the abstract realm is: *Kunzima* (It is heavy). A metaphor

which is specifically Hebrew is Security is the Altar Horns, because this is based on the actual practice of being able to find asylum by grasping the horns of the altar (Exodus 21:13-14). The only way for this to be conveyed is for the reader to be given the background information, possibly in a footnote. Possible solutions to the problem of translating the metaphor *Famine is Cleanness of Teeth* were discussed under 4:6. The main problem with translating this *hapax legomenon* is that the translation of "cleanness" would usually tend to have a positive, rather than a negative connotation. In building, the experience is that in order to be correct, the walls must be straight and thus in 7:7 the metaphor *Right is Straightness* is invoked. In 5:19 the unknown is described as something which is known, based on the conceptual metaphor *Unknown Event is Known Event*, and 6:12 is based on the conceptual metaphor *Impossible is Possible*.

A similar schema is based on how humans perceive their feelings, emotions and characteristics. The abstract is perceived of as concrete according to the conceptual metaphor *Human Emotions and Characteristics are Human Organs*. What is clear is that people of different cultures and languages perceive these emotions and characteristics to be seated in different organs of the body. What is necessary for translation therefore is to identify the emotion which is perceived of as being seated in the particular organ mentioned in the source language, and translate it by the organ in which speakers of the target language perceive the emotion to be seated. There is an excellent example of this in 2:16, where bravery in Hebrew is perceived of as being seated in a strong heart, whereas in Zulu bravery is perceived of as being seated in the liver, the seat of one's honour in Hebrew. Therefore the metaphor *Bravery is a Strong Heart* in Hebrew translates easily into Zulu as *Bravery is Liver*.

Food is necessary for life to be sustained, and it is not surprising that it is a source domain for metaphor in Zulu as well as Hebrew. In 8:11, the opposite of the metaphor conceptual metaphor, *Knowledge is Food* occurs in the form *Lack of Knowledge is Famine*, together with the metaphor *Spiritual Food is the Word of God*. As the meaning of the metaphor is spelt out in the verse, there should be no reason for the Zulu reader to misunderstand it in translation, provided the lack is translated in a negative and not in a positive way.

7.5.3 Metaphors based on the animal kingdom as source domain

The animal kingdom is a rich source domain for metaphor, particularly where people are the target domain. The conceptual metaphor *People are Animals* occurs in a number of different entailments in the Book of Amos. At the beginning of chapter 4 the entailment *People are Bovines* occurs and, although a brief discussion of the grammatical structure of the passage has cast doubt on it, many see the extension of this entailment, *Women are Cows*, here. Traditionally the Zulu have had a cattle economy, so it was found that the various extensions of the metaphor *People are Bovines*, occur in Zulu. The problem was not in translating the metaphor from Hebrew into Zulu, but in being certain as to whether the Hebrew metaphor is derogatory or complimentary, or perhaps even whether its connotation is ambiguous. In English, for example, *People are Cattle* is derogatory, suggesting that they have no mind of their own. Likewise *Women are Cows* is also extremely derogatory. On the other hand, the various extensions of this metaphor in Zulu were all found to be complimentary and not derogatory or ambiguous.

Later in the same passage in chapter 4 the Hebrew uses the entailment *People are Fish*. There are textual problems in the Hebrew, and although the metaphor can be invoked in Zulu, it was suggested that the best way to deal with the translation here would be to convert the metaphor into a simile and use the "hooks" interpretation of the Hebrew, rather than "baskets". It was pointed out that this could still suggest

that their captors would use actual hooks to remove the people, but that it would convey something of the conceptual metaphor *People are Fish*, which could convey their utter helplessness in the situation.

The Hebrew God is personal and is understood as king (Brettler, 1989). The Zulu have the conceptual metaphor *The King is a Lion* and so there is no problem in translating the entailments of the basic conceptual metaphor in the Book of Amos, *The Deity (Yahweh) is a Lion*. The mapping of the Deity domain on the Animal domain makes possible the translation of the entailment *The Voice of the Deity is the Roar of a Lion*.

7.5.4 Metaphors based on the plant kingdom as source domain

The conceptual metaphor *People are Plants* occurs as a verbal metaphor in 1:3, where the people of Gilead are said to have been threshed, a verb which normally applies to wheat and not to people. As has been seen, a problem in translating this metaphor in this verse is the fact that the threshing method is given, and there is a great difference between the method mentioned and either the traditional Zulu method or the modern agricultural method with which the Zulu are familiar. If only the verb were given, there would be little problem translating it for the conceptual metaphor *People are Plants* occurs in Zulu and "threshing" people would definitely indicate that they were being given inhumane treatment. However, the "threshing" in the verse may be understood to be either completely metaphorical i.e. just that the Arameans treated the people of Gilead inhumanely, or it can be understood to mean that they actually used the threshing sledges as instruments of war, a practice which is apparently entirely unknown in ancient Near Eastern warfare. Whichever it is, it remains a verbal metaphor and it is best to try to keep the metaphor as close to the original as possible. Particularly is this the case if one wishes to retain the possibility of understanding that threshing sledges were actually driven over the enemy in time of war. A solution which could help retain the ambiguity between metaphorical and literal reference is to translate "threshing sledge" as "harrow", i.e. a similar instrument used for a different agricultural purpose. This then changes the conceptual metaphor from *People are Plants* to *People are Land*. However, the action is very similar for in threshing the wheat stalks are chopped up and the wheat separated from the chaff, whereas in harrowing, the clods of soil are chopped up into smaller particles. In translation it is important to clarify the fact that the conceptual metaphor *People are Land* is invoked here by giving an indication in the translation that it is the people that are being referred to, and not the land.

In 2:9 the *People are Trees* entailment of the *People are Plants* metaphor is invoked with the use of the further specific entailments *People are Cedars* and *People are Oaks*. Neither of these trees is indigenous to South Africa, although they have been introduced and, possibly initially because of their mention in the Bible, neologisms derived from English have been included in the Zulu dictionary. The translator is now faced with a difficult decision: Should he try to translate the names of the trees from the Hebrew, or should he use local equivalents? Although the trees are not indigenous, they can now be seen in the Zulu area and can be named in Zulu, albeit with neologisms. These trees, however, will have little, if any, metaphorical significance for the Zulu. If they do, it will certainly not be the same significance which they had to the people living at the time of the prophet, and from whose area they come. However, many Zulu are no longer monolingual and so are exposed, not only to the translation of these verses in other languages, especially English, but are also exposed to the use of metaphor in languages other than their own. Many will know that the English refers to the trees as the cedar and the oak. It is quite possible that they will not only grasp something of the impact of the conceptual metaphor in Hebrew and that it could find its way into Zulu, particularly as the main points of comparison are stated here.

On the other hand, there are a large number of people, particularly in the rural areas, who are not at all familiar with either of the trees and who will possibly never hear of them. Reading the neologisms could have no meaning at all to them, for even although there is mention of the roots and the fruit, there is no other indication that they are trees. Would it not then be better to use the names of well known local trees such as the yellowwood and ironwood, which would convey the focus of loftiness and strength more naturally to the monolingual rural Zulu? The decision made will depend on the translator(s) and who they understand their potential readers to be. Probably the best solution would be to use local trees, and indicate the actual trees referred to in the Hebrew in a footnote.

In the Hebrew in 8:2, there is word play, but no metaphor. Word play is always difficult to translate, but it is possible to capture something of its effect in Zulu, as has been attempted in the unpublished version, by using the entailment of the conceptual metaphor, **People are Plants**, viz. **Doomed People are the Fruit of Plants**. Amos identifies the vision he is shown as: *isiqabetho sezithelo ezivuthiweyo* (a large basket of ripe fruit), and God tells him: *Abantu bami bakwa-Israyeli sebevuthiwe sebengase babhujiswe* (My people of Israel are now ripe and are on the point of being destroyed), so that there is word play on "ripe".

However, it is not only the target domain **People** which maps onto the **Plant** source domain. There is also a common image schema which sees and understands **Abstract is Concrete**. Mapping this on the **Plant** source domain gives the conceptual metaphor **Abstract Quality is a Plant**. This is found in 5:7 and 6:12, as the entailment **Justice is a Plant**. Here too the question arises as how best to translate the herb mentioned, for what is important for meaning transfer is not the species of the plant, but its metaphorical connotation, which is negative. In the majority of Zulu translations the name of a plant of the same genus *Artemisia*, but different species *umhlonyane* has been used. Although this plant has a bitter taste, it is used medicinally by the Zulu and so could have a positive rather than a negative connotation. The suggestion here is to maintain the metaphor, but to use a plant such as the stinging nettle which is often used in Zulu poetry with negative metaphorical connotations and so invoke the metaphor **Justice is a Stinging Nettle**.

7.5.5 Metaphors based on people as source domain

Personification, where human beings are the source domain, is a very common category of metaphor on which animate, inanimate and abstract target domains may be mapped.

In 5:2, the **Nation** is a **Maiden** entailment of the conceptual metaphor **Nations are People** is invoked. Here it was found that the metaphor could be translated into Zulu by putting Israel and maiden in apposition to one another. The conceptual metaphor is invoked also in 5:19 where the entailment **Israel is a Man Fleeing to Destruction** occurs as a base to the similes. Translating the similes as they are retains the imagery.

In the present Zulu publications, 8:8 has been translated as if it invokes the metaphor **Land is a Person**, and 9:8 as if it invokes the similar metaphor **Earth is a Person**, but it has been suggested that it does not seem as if these metaphors are in the Hebrew and so it is not necessary to attempt to translate them as such. Similarly in 5:15, Paul (1991:177 fn) sees the prophet invoking the metaphor **Justice is a Person**, but this does not seem likely.

7.5.6 Metaphors based on natural phenomena as source domain

Natural phenomena are a common source domain for metaphor in both Hebrew and Zulu. It is possible that there is a hint of the metaphor *The Voice of the Deity (Yahweh) is Thunder* in 1:2, a concept which falls within the Zulu world view. There are many textual problems in 5:9, but it is possible that the Hebrew invokes the conceptual metaphor *Deity is a Warrior*, and since the Divine Warrior is armed with the forces of nature, the *Deity's Weapon is Lightning*. This is how it is translated in the 1959 Zulu translation. However, other Zulu translations invoke the *Deity's Weapon is Fire* here, as it is invoked in Hebrew in 1:4,7,10,12,14; 2:5. It may be that in 7:4, the conceptual metaphor, *Heat of the Sun is Fire* is invoked, as suggested by de Waard and Smalley (1979:145) which could then lead to the entailment *Deity's Weapon is Heat of the Sun*. This is not clear and would be very difficult to convey in Zulu without changing the word "fire" to "sun" in this verse. This, however, is not necessary.

Water, or liquid, is a rich source domain for metaphor in Hebrew and Zulu (Mthiyane 1971). In 5:24 the conceptual metaphor *Permanence is Flowing Water* is invoked, a conceptual metaphor which Mthiyane (1971:28) has indicated occurs in Zulu and acceptable translations have been made of this verse. In 9:13 the conceptual metaphor which is invoked is *Abundance is Flowing Liquid* and it appears to be possible to translate this successfully into Zulu, although the present translations have understood the metaphor differently. In 7:16 the Hebrew invokes the conceptual metaphor *Words are Liquid*, and hence *Speech is a Flow [of Words]* and it is suggested that Zulu has a similar metaphor of discourse to that of Hebrew in this verse.

The similes in 8:8 and 9:5 are based on the conceptual metaphor *Instability is Water* which occurs in Zulu, but which does not necessarily influence the translation of these verses.

7.5.7 Metaphors based on time as source domain

A main theme of the Book of Amos is the Day of Yahweh, which is based on the conceptual metaphor *Dramatic Intervention is Time*. Metaphorically time is often perceived of in terms of day and night and the target domain is mapped onto the source domain of time accordingly. Therefore, if the target domain is life, birth is dawn, youth is morning, adulthood is afternoon, old age is dusk and death is night. As was discussed in 5:8, *Life is a Day* and *Death is Night*, and from this it follows that *Death is Darkness*, and *Closeness to Death is Shadow*. Although the Day of Yahweh refers to a period of time rather than a 24 hour day, metaphorically it may be perceived of as being such a day. Normal daily activities take place during the day when it is light, so *Good is Light*, whereas those engaged in harmful activities often choose to do them at night, so *Bad is Darkness*. In 5:18-20 the prophet warns that in the case of the expected dramatic intervention of Yahweh, it will not be the normal day which they are looking forward to, but will be inverted, the day will be as night. As has been indicated, this can be translated into Zulu because Zulu has similar conceptual metaphor. The metaphor develops in Amos as *The Day of Yahweh is Inevitable Destruction*.

7.5.8 Metaphors based on a verb from the source domain

This has been stated as a conceptual metaphor in the form *Normal Subject or Object of the Verb is Unusual Subject or Object of the Verb*. Metaphors of this type which occur in the Book of Amos, include the following, and the particular problems and suggested solutions for their translation from Hebrew into Zulu have been considered under the verse in which each occurs.

Annihilate is to Cut Off (1:8; 2:3)
Observing is Remembering (1:9b)
Understanding is Grasping (2:15)
Destroying is Eating (8:4)
Oppressing (Inhumane Treatment) is Threshing (1:3)
Oppressing is Trampling (8:4)
Judging is Sifting (9:9-10)

7.5.9 Metaphors based on miscellaneous source domains

Conceptual metaphors may be based on many different source domains. At the beginning of this section it was noted that the Book of Amos has certain main target domains for metaphor, e.g. Deity, the people, nations, anger, punishment and restoration. Here are these target domains and some of the sources domains upon which they are mapped.

Metaphors of Deity

The Deity in the Book of Amos is Yahweh and so each of these metaphors could be stated with Yahweh in place of Deity. However, many of these conceptual metaphors occur in other cultures also and the local deity is understood according to the same metaphors.

- **As the deity is seen to be a person, the deity target domain is regularly mapped upon personal source domains. He is then also seen to have the attributes of those of the source domain. For example, a warrior has weapons.**
 - Deity is King
 - Deity is Judge
 - Deity is a Warrior
 - Deity's Weapon is Lightning
 - Deity's Weapon is Heat of the Sun
 - Deity's Weapon is Fire
- **As mentioned above, the deity target domain is also often mapped upon the animal kingdom source domain.**
 - Deity is a Lion
- **The deity target domain is often mapped upon the abstract source domain.**
 - Deity is Life
 - Deity is Truth, the opposite of which, occurring in 2:4 is An Idol is Falsehood.

Metaphors of people and nation

As nations are made up of people, Nations are People and they live and are governed within a specific geographical area, Nation is the Country or Nation is the Land, it is reasonable to assume that these

will be the source and target domains upon which metaphorical mapping will take place. For example, in 4:8, **People are the Place they Live In**, for the people are described as the city. In 9:8, **People are the Kingdom**, and the kingdom is therefore capable of sinning, a human attribute. As the nation is made up of people and people are grouped in families, so, the **Nation is Family** and from this source and target mapping come metaphors such as **Founding Ancestor is Father of the Nation** and **Citizens are Children**, and surprisingly enough also **Foreigners are Brothers**. The nation can also be singular, the **Nation is a Person**, and as a person can also be a specific person, or a person of a specific age, such as in 5:2 where a **Nation is a Maiden**. In 9:9, Israel is also described by the conceptual metaphor **Nation is a Building** and in 9:11, the **Kingdom is a Structure**.

Metaphors of anger

The prophet is warning his audience of the wrath of God against their behaviour towards him and uses the animal kingdom and natural phenomena as source domains upon which to map the target domain of anger. Thus, **Anger is a Dangerous Animal**, **Anger is Heat** or **Anger is Fire** and **Anger is a Storm**. Yahweh will punish and then in 2:13 the metaphor could be **Punishment is Inability to Progress** or **Punishment is Oppression**, while in 5:6 it is **Punishment is Fire**.

7.6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, selected Hebrew metaphors in the Book of Amos have been identified and analysed according to conceptual metaphor theory and these have been categorised and listed. The translation of these metaphors in the existing translations of the Book of Amos in Zulu have been examined in the light of conceptual metaphor theory and evaluated to see whether or not they convey the implicatures of the metaphors found in the Hebrew text adequately. Where it is felt that improvements could be made so as to enable the present day Zulu reader to recover the implicatures more successfully, these have been suggested, after testing the text with mother-tongue Zulu speakers.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusions

8.1. INTRODUCTION

There are two sections to this study. The first, after giving a general introduction, contains a discussion of the main theories of metaphor from the time of Aristotle to the present. It then gives a brief overview of the study of metaphor in the South Eastern Bantu languages and goes on to examine and analyse metaphor in the various forms of traditional and modern literature in Zulu in the light of conceptual metaphor theory and, in so doing, identifies certain categories of conceptual metaphor in Zulu.

The second section of the study begins by discussing various theories concerning the possibility of translating metaphor from one language to another. After giving a brief history of Bible translation in Zulu, selected Hebrew metaphors in the Book of Amos are identified and classified according to conceptual metaphor categories, an evaluation is made as to how successfully they have been translated in the published Zulu translations, and suggestions are given as to how the translations may be improved so as to enable the present day Zulu reader to recover the implicatures from the Hebrew text.

8.2. SECTION ONE

8.2.1 Metaphor

In chapter two, various theories of metaphor from the time of Aristotle to the present day are examined and evaluated. These include literal-core theories such as the substitution, comparison and similarity theories; propositional theories such as the emotive, interaction and interanimative theories; the non-propositional theory; pragmatic theory; and cognitive theories such as relevance theory and conceptual metaphor theory.

From an examination of these theories, it was concluded that metaphor is not just a matter of language. It is not simply a rhetorical device, nor is it abnormal and an abuse or misuse of language. Rather, it is normal, conventional, irreplaceable, and conceptual — in the mind. It is unconscious and, in the mind of the receptor, does not go through a lengthy decoding from literal to non-literal. Rather, in terms of relevance theory, the receptor looks for the most relevant contextual effects in an utterance or text which are recoverable with the least possible effort, and does not expect everything to be literal, but expects an utterance or text to contain both implicit and explicit information, which will be relevant in the given context.

According to conceptual metaphor theory: *"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another"* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:5), and it was concluded that this is a more useful way of analysing the basic metaphors of a language and their entailments than the substitution, comparison, or interanimative theories, for it is cognitive and helps to reveal something of the world view of the users of that language. It also reveals basic source and target domains favoured by the language and indicates how the one maps upon the other so as to suggest possible entailments and extensions within one context or another. For the translator, having such an analysis in both the source and target

languages, helps to give some indication of whether it will be possible to introduce an entailment or extension of a basic conceptual metaphor found in the one language into the other. If the basic conceptual metaphor is found in both languages, it is more likely to be possible to introduce a new extension of that metaphor by extending a source-target mapping of the basic conceptual metaphor present in both, than it would be if the basic conceptual metaphor is found in only the one language and not in the other. It is nevertheless important to ascertain that it is possible also to reproduce the proper relevant context in both languages so as to ensure that accurate communication will result.

8.2.2 Metaphor in South-Eastern Bantu languages

A survey of theses and articles showed that to date the study of metaphor in these languages has been done either as part of a study of "imagery" in the language, or has concentrated on a specific literary genre, or the writings of a specific author. Conceptual metaphor theory has been applied to Zulu in certain minor papers and also in a master's thesis (Mkhatswa 1991) in which the conceptual metaphor Time is Space is applied in the study of Zulu auxiliary verbs.

8.2.3 Zulu metaphor

From a discussion of categorization in the Zulu noun class system, grammaticalization through metaphorical extension, name giving, idioms, polysemes, riddles, proverbs, traditional and modern poetry and novels and short stories, it was shown that metaphor is not only well known in Zulu, but that rural and urban Zulu speakers continue to create, extend, and decipher new metaphors.

Examining metaphor found in everyday speech and in the various literary genres showed that Zulu metaphor can be analyzed successfully according to conceptual metaphor theory. So, it was found, for example, that Zulu makes use of kinaesthetic image schemas such as the Container schema, the Part-Whole schema, the Source-Path-Goal schema, and the Up-Down, Front-Back, and Linear order schemas. It was seen that conceptual metaphor is not only a matter of language, but also finds expression in Zulu culture, for example, where a child coming into the presence of an adult will sit, so as to be at a lower level than the adult, and give expression to the conceptual metaphor Less Important is Down and its converse More Important is Up, derived from the Up-Down image schema.

The animal and plant kingdoms were found to be rich source domains for Zulu metaphor, and it was seen that the basic conceptual metaphor People are Animals entails a hierarchy of metaphors which includes all the phyla in the animal kingdom. Further, the fact that these metaphors are conceptual rather than linguistic is seen in the fact that conceptual metaphors such as People are Mammals, People are Wild Animals, People are Domestic Animals, People are Birds, People are Reptiles, People are Amphibians, People are Insects, are understood as links in a hierarchy of metaphorical entailments, even if they do not occur normally in everyday speech. The hierarchy extends further so that people may be specific kinds of animals, and even animals of a specific sex, age or colour.

Other source domains which commonly map onto People as a source domain in Zulu are Natural Phenomena, Abstract Concepts, and Seasons.

Colour also is a category which serves as a source domain for metaphor in Zulu and it was seen how the semantic domain of Zulu colour terms differs from that of English.

Life and Death are often spoken of metaphorically and a number of source domains such as those connected with periods of time, such as Day and Year, and of progress, such as Journey, were identified

as those onto which these concepts are often mapped. It was also found that Death is often personified in Zulu, and that the conceptual metaphor Death is a Person has a large number of entailments.

Conceptual metaphors involving Time, Emotions and Characteristics and the Senses were also discussed.

This chapter gives a good indication of some of the source and target domains of conceptual metaphor in Zulu and how they are mapped, allowing features of the one domain to be understood as corresponding features of the other domain, and also allowing words, for example verbs, usually associated with the one domain to be used to express verbal functions in the other domain.

8.3. SECTION TWO

8.3.1 Translating metaphor

After discussing the change in translation theory from formal or literal equivalence to dynamic or functional equivalence in the translation of Bibles in South African languages, it was pointed out that metaphor has been neglected in translation theory.

Although translation theorists have said little about metaphor, those involved in the training of translators for "dynamic equivalence" or "meaning based" translations of the Bible have made suggestions as to how metaphor should be translated. These include direct word for word translation, reducing metaphor to simile, reducing metaphor to non-figurative language, combining metaphor with other language structures, and replacing a source metaphor with a similar metaphor in the receptor language. The merits and shortcomings of these methods were discussed, the major shortcoming being the underlying concept that a metaphor has one main point of similarity, whereas it is seen that metaphor is open-ended and has a number of stronger and weaker implicatures, depending on the context.

It was also seen that when translators ask the question: "Can metaphor be translated?" they often have widely differing views of what they mean by metaphor. However, whether or not one distinguishes between metaphor and metaphorical derivatives, as Dagut does, it is necessary to translate the complete text, even if some types of metaphoric language are easier to translate than others, and different solutions are necessary for metaphors in different contexts.

Special problems for the Bible translator, such as the fact that the source text was written in a different historical, political, social, religious, cultural and literary context from that of the translator, that he is not a mother-tongue speaker of the language and has no mother-tongue speakers with which to confer, were discussed. The fact that many translators also do not translate into their own mother-tongue, but into another language, using resource material written in languages other than the source and receptor languages, was shown to be an additional problem, with the material-in-translation being passed through a screen or filter of their own language proficiency and possibly biased understanding, so that there is an extra "detour" between the source text and the receptor text which increases the possibility of a distorted rendering of the Biblical message.

Cognisance was taken of the importance of language change both emanating from within the culture of a people and through continuous first-hand contact with those of another culture and language. Change was shown to have taken, and to be taking, place in Zulu on phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic levels and this indicates that as the scope of a language grows by the acquisition of lexical

items from another language, so there is also the possibility that the scope of the language could be increased by the acquisition of concepts and metaphors from another language.

Too often generalisations are made about people. They are spoken about as if the total population speaking a certain language has the same level of language competency, and that it is static and cannot be increased except within the confines of the language itself. It was pointed out that people are curious and are willing to experience new situations, to be exposed to new concepts and ideas, and to accept them into their own store of knowledge and experience. Also, as people within a language community differ in experience, knowledge and skills, so they also differ in language competency. Being a mother-tongue speaker of a language does not guarantee that one will understand everything that is said in that language. As they have new experiences, gain new knowledge and attain new skills, so too they increase their language competency within their own language community. It was therefore suggested that it is possible and even probable that where two language communities are in contact with one another, the one will adopt not only individual lexical items, but also concepts and imagery from the other, particularly where the concept is new to the receptor language. What could restrict the adoption of concepts and imagery from one language by another is where the concept conflicts with an established concept in the other language or where the imagery already exists in the receptor language, but with a different implicature.

A valuable contribution of relevance theory has been its insistence of understanding the complete context of an utterance or text for the communication of its implicatures. This has restored the balance from the dynamic and meaning-based theories of translation which put the focus on the receptor. Gutt's stressing the need to meet the expectations of the audience was discussed and it was pointed out that this is much easier to do with a translation intended for a small well-defined audience than for a language group of approximately 8 million such as the Zulu. Even if a translator limits his audience to those who profess to be Christians, this still gives the widest scope between rural and urban, illiterate and educated, and theological orientation. The lack of examples of how this theory could be applied to Biblical metaphor so that the implicatures of the text in the original context and the expectations of the present day audience meet successfully, makes it difficult to assess just how successfully this may be done.

It was shown that conceptual metaphor theory can assist the translator to discover the implicatures of the metaphor in the source text. The source text metaphor is first stated as a conceptual metaphor and then analyzed in the context in order to discover the implicatures it conveys. The translator then needs to discover whether or not the target language has the same conceptual metaphor and, if so, whether or not the reader will be able to recover the implicatures in the original text from the use of that conceptual metaphor in that context. This is where a good knowledge of the various literary genres of the receptor language is important, because it will suggest how the receptor experiences and understands the implicatures resulting from the mapping of the same source and target domains in his own language, and further indicate whether, and to what extent, these may differ from those in the source language.

8.3.2 Bible translation in Zulu

A survey of the Bible translations in Zulu from 1837 to the present day showed that the majority of translations are formal equivalence translations with a dynamic equivalence translation of the New Testament and the Psalms having been published by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1986. Although a start was made on drafting the Old Testament, including the Book of Amos, according to dynamic equivalence principles, the project was suspended before anything was published.

8.3.3 Translating Hebrew metaphors into Zulu

After discussing some of the views of what constitutes Hebrew metaphor, as found in the literature, it was concluded, in line with Lakoff and Johnson's definition of metaphor (1980:5): "*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another,*" that metaphor may be recognised when one thing is said to be another in the formula A is B, or even understood to be another, where only B is mentioned. Metaphor may also be detected where a verb is used which is not normally associated with the subject or object, or where there is semantic incompatibility of verb and nouns, whether subject or object, within a particular syntactic combination. Metaphor may also be recognised where there is structural correlation in our daily experience, such as in the corresponding image-schematic concepts More is Up/Less is Down. The criteria given apply equally for detecting metaphor in Hebrew or Zulu.

The translation of selected metaphors in the Book of Amos, detected according to the criteria given, was then examined in the existing Zulu versions.

From the structure of the book, it was found that the prophet's conceptual orientation was based on the conceptual metaphors Completeness is Paired Opposites, Complete is Seven, and Most Important is Last, consistent with the Hebrew world view. The introduction of an eighth nation, Israel, heightens the climax of the prophet's message, because it replaces the conceptual metaphor with one which is in complete contrast to their world view — Seven is Incomplete! Zulu does not have the conceptual metaphor Complete is Seven, therefore the structure of the book would not have the same impact on a Zulu audience as it could have had on the original Hebrew audience, once it dawned on them. However, a note concerning the sevenfold rhetorical structure of the book, either as a footnote, or in an introduction, will go a long way towards helping the Zulu reader grasp its significance. It must be realised that the fact that the original audience were the subject of the message will mean that it will have had a greater impact on them than it will on an objective audience today. However, that does not mean that the message will not be clear to them nor that the structure will be less effective in conveying the implicatures of the numerical structure in Hebrew oral art once the present day reader has been made aware of it.

Determining the conceptual metaphors invoked in the Book of Amos, proved useful towards the solving of some translational problems. For example, it was found that there is no grammatical incongruity and therefore no metaphor in 1:1, which is very often translated as if it were a metaphor. Determining the conceptual metaphors also suggested solutions for the translation of parallel stichs such as in 1:2 in which some see two conceptual metaphors, viz. The Voice of Deity is the Roar of a Lion, and The Voice of Deity is Thunder, and in 3:12 where unravelling the meaning of the second stich becomes easier when the conceptual metaphor Completeness is Paired Polar Opposites is recognised in the first stich, suggesting that it occurs in the second stich as well.

Solutions to problems which occur where practices and artefacts used in Biblical times differ from those of the Zulu, such as in 1:3, and also where animals and plants which were obviously well known to the prophet's audience, do not occur in South Africa, or, if they do, are not indigenous, such as 2:9 and 5:7, were suggested. An example of how a metaphor in the source language may be replaced by a different metaphor in the receptor language which has the same implicatures is seen in 1:9b.

Hapax legomena cause particular problems for the translator and there are a number in Amos. Various interpretations have been given for the Hebrew of verse 2:13, and these can be stated as conceptual metaphors with an underlying image schema Bad is Down. With the use of an alternative translation in a

footnote, the unpublished draft in Zulu, has found an ingenious way to incorporate the majority of the possible interpretations into the translation of the verse.

Two languages may invoke the same basic conceptual metaphor and yet differ on the surface. Both Hebrew and Zulu invoke the basic conceptual metaphor Human Emotions and Characteristics are Human Organs. However, these are seated in different organs in the two languages, and should be translated accordingly, as in 2:16.

Textual problems in the Hebrew text add to the translator's problems. Unless he understands the source text, it is impossible for him to translate it into the receptor language. 6:3 is a case in point where some Hebrew scholars claim that the Hebrew is awkward and defies clear explanation. It was pointed out that this may not have been the case to the author, his audience, or the redactor. Unfortunately, however, unless scholars find other occurrences of the phrase *שבת חמס*, there is no way in which the implicatures intended by the author can be determined or recovered.

Having discussed the metaphors in Amos in the light of conceptual metaphor theory, the metaphors identified were categorised. As in Zulu, it was found that Biblical Hebrew has kinaesthetic image schemas such as Part/Whole, Up/Down, Big/Small and Abstract is Concrete, and there are conceptual metaphors with the animal and plant kingdoms, people, natural phenomena, and time, in addition to miscellaneous others, as source domain.

8.4. CONCLUSION

This study set out to examine metaphor in Zulu in the light of current cognitive linguistic research. It did so beginning with the conceptual categorisation in the noun classes and the grammaticalization of auxiliary verbs by metaphorical extension, as studied by Mkhatswa. It did not concentrate on a specific writer or book, but rather on the full scope of literary genre, and then went on to identify common source and target domain mappings found in everyday speech, published praise poems, and in certain of the writings of B W Vilakazi, C L S Nyembezi, D B Z Ntuli and C T Msimang. It found that metaphor in Zulu can be analyzed successfully according to conceptual metaphor theory. These findings enlarge the empirical basis of the theory and show that it is valid for the study of metaphor in Zulu.

This study also set out to examine the possibility of translating Biblical metaphor, particularly Hebrew metaphor in the Book of Amos, into Zulu. For this, selected Hebrew metaphors were analyzed also according to conceptual metaphor theory, thereby increasing the empirical basis further, and showing that the theory is valid for the study of Biblical Hebrew as well.

Examining existing translations of the Book of Amos in Zulu in the light of the conceptual metaphor theory analysis of the Hebrew metaphors selected, and the conceptual metaphor analysis of the corresponding verses in Zulu, it was found that some verses which are not metaphors in Hebrew had been translated in Zulu as if they were. In these cases, non-metaphorical translations were suggested which better convey the implicatures of the original text. In some cases, it was felt that the present Zulu translation of the Hebrew metaphor is adequate, in others new translations were suggested which it is felt better convey the implicatures of the text in the original context to the present day Zulu reader. In still others, the conceptual metaphor analysis assisted to unravel the implicatures of the Hebrew text and make the intended implicatures more obvious, and thus make them easier to convey in translation.

This study has not led to the discovery of a general reasoned standard by which it is possible to assess how successfully each and every metaphor from one language has been translated in another. Metaphors cover a vast number of source-target domain mappings, and are highly context-dependent. What it has done, is to show something of the cognitive and conceptual background which gives rise to metaphor in language. This is a major step forward, especially in view of the fact that more and more Hebraists are moving away from structuralism to cognitive anthropology, ethnolinguistics and sociolinguistics. Understanding the conceptual framework within which a metaphor is formed in one language, helps to identify the implicatures it contains within a given context. The translator then checks whether or not the speakers of the receptor language have the same conceptual framework and, if so, whether they are able to invoke a similar metaphor with the same implicatures. If it does have the same conceptual framework and they are able to invoke a similar metaphor with the same implicatures, then the metaphor may be translated directly from the one to the other. If not, it is then necessary to discover if the receptors have another conceptual framework from which they are able to invoke a metaphor with the same implicatures. If they do, this means that it may be possible to translate the metaphor from the source language into the receptor language by using a metaphor with a different source domain. It may also be possible to extend the normal area mapped between the source and target domains in the receptor language so as to convey implicatures intended in the source language to the receptor. This is how metaphor is extended intralingually and there should be no reason why this should not be possible interlingually, provided the extended mapping does not already occur in the receptor language, but with different implicatures. Such interlingual extended mappings are particularly possible in situations where there is extensive bilingual or multilingual contact, which is the case in South Africa. The socio-linguistics of the community or special interest group, such as the Christian church or members of a profession, could also enhance the possibility of extended source-target domain mappings with the same implicatures interlingually. What is vitally important is to check the translation as widely as possible to ensure that the receptors are able to recover the intended implicatures of the source metaphor with reasonable ease. Something which is often forgotten is that not all source language speakers will necessarily be able to recover the intended implicatures of a given metaphor in their own language. It is therefore unfair to expect all speakers of the receptor language to be able to recover the intended implicatures of a translated metaphor with at least as much, if not more ease than those in whose language it was originally invoked. Whereas it may be impossible for a translation theorist to state a reasoned standard by which the success or failure of the translation of a metaphor can be assessed, its success or failure will be attested to if the receptors are able to recover the intended implicatures of the original text at a rate approximating that of the source language audience.

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This study examines metaphor in Zulu in the light of conceptual metaphor theory from the perspective of a Bible translator. It then considers the possibility of translating Biblical Hebrew metaphor into Zulu. Selected Hebrew metaphors in the Book of Amos are analyzed according to conceptual metaphor theory and compared with the conceptual metaphor analysis of the corresponding verses in existing Zulu translations, thereby increasing the empirical basis of the theory, and showing that it is valid for the study of both Biblical Hebrew and Zulu and a useful tool for translators.

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