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Is Translation Always Transfer?
Challenging the Dominant Conceptual Metaphor in African Bible Translation Training

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Abstract: This paper considers the conceptualization of translation in Katharine Barnwell's *Bible Translation: An Introductory Course in Translation Principles*, a popular textbook for Bible translation training programs in Africa. The recurring conceptual metaphors in this text are identified, and the metaphor TRANSLATION IS TRANSFER is analyzed. This research stems from the need to develop African Bible translators who conceptualize translation using concepts (metaphors) in their languages that are indicative of what activity they embark on in translation work. Reading through some of the training materials in use on the continent (specifically Anglophone), there seem to be relatively few that have explored the conceptual tools used by indigenous Africans to think and talk about translation. There is thus a need to investigate the conceptual metaphors used by Africans in their various cultures to conceptualize translation. The implications of this research appeal to trainers of translators to rethink not just the methodological approach to Bible translation programs in Africa but also the contents of course materials.

Keywords
Conceptualization, conceptual metaphor, Cognitive Grammar, translation, transfer, retelling, training

1 Methodology

It is estimated that about 56,600,000 people (2011 census) in the United Kingdom speak English as their first language, while there are about 1,079,609,320

speakers of English as their second language in the world (Eberhard et al. 2022). In many African countries, however, English is neither the first nor second language. There are also many varieties of English spoken in different parts of the world. The present research is not about the study of these different varieties of English spoken in different countries of the Western world, but rather focuses on the English found in the materials (published and unpublished) used in the training of Bible translators in Africa, and the conceptualization of translation encouraged by the English language tradition of discussing this process.

The data presented were collected from the most frequently used textbook for training mother-tongue translators (MTTs) in Anglophone settings in Africa. In particular, this text is used to introduce translation principles before the commencement of a translation project. Considering that these MTTs have varying educational qualifications, some of them may not have any translation experience or training in related fields. Use of introductory level training in this paper refers to any training events for MTTs organized by translation agencies.

In order to ensure that the relevant materials were reviewed, the following translation agencies were contacted: Nigerian Bible Translation Trust (NBTT); Lutheran Bible Translators (Nigeria); Bible Society of Nigeria (BSN); Bible Society of Ghana (BSG); SIL-West Africa (SIL-WAF), Mali; Bible Translation and Literacy (BTL), Kenya; and Bible Society of Kenya (BSK). The sample population for inquiry in these organizations consisted of MTTs who are currently involved in translation projects as well as translation consultants who participate in these introductory level trainings. The most frequently used training material identified is Katharine Barnwell's book, *Bible Translation: An Introductory Course for Bible Translators* (Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1986).

This book is reviewed with a focus on identifying the metaphors used to conceptualize translation and adopted in teaching about translation. In addition, the Cognitive Grammar theory (CG) notion of conceptualization is explored. This theory draws extensively on a cognitive linguistic approach. Langacker states (2008:30),

> Conceptualization is broadly defined to encompass any facet of mental experience. It is understood as subsuming (1) both novel and established conceptions; (2) not just "intellectual" notions but sensory, motor, and emotive experience as well; (3) apprehension of the physical, linguistic, social, and cultural context; and (4) conceptions that develop and unfold through processing time (rather than being simultaneously manifested). So even if "concepts" are taken as being static, conceptualization is not.

In CG, conceptualization is described as a mental phenomenon that is dynamic and flexible because meaning is not static. Rather, it is through conceptualization that meanings of expressions are accessed. For instance, in the expression "*The boy is a peacock found among hawks*", different image schemas are evoked from the terms *peacock* and *hawk*. The apprehension of this expression contextually requires more than primary knowledge of the individual terms. CG's notion of conceptualization is explored as the various schemas provided by the conceptual substrates are examined.

2 An overview of translation training materials used in Africa

As mentioned above, the most frequently used text identified is Barnwell (1986).[1] This book introduces the translator trainee to what translation is and provides help in areas such as planning a Bible translation project, working as a team with other translators, evaluating oneself on mother-tongue language competence, and the cultural worldview of the Bible. The textbook is written using very simplified language, reflecting its focus on translator trainees with minimal formal educational qualifications. The content of the text is influenced by Nida and Taber (1969) and Beekman and Callow (1974).

Barnwell (1986:9) introduces the trainee to the concept of translation as follows: "Translation is retelling, as exactly as possible, the **meaning** of the original message in a way that is natural in the language into which the translation is being made."

The attention of the translator trainee is drawn towards the subject of translation using the metaphor of RETELLING while emphasizing how to meaningfully translate the original content in the new language. The verb *tell* in a basic sense evokes the schema of an agentive subject, a patient who listens, and a message.[2] When used to invoke the idea of translation, *tell* goes beyond the primary sense of narrating an event to another person since it involves more than one language. Secondly, one is not just saying something to someone else,

[1] This is the third edition; the fourth edition was published in 2020, but is not yet widely available and accessible at the grass roots level for some of these translation training programs.

[2] "An agent is an individual who willfully initiates and carries out an action, typically a physical action affecting other entities. It is thus an 'energy source' and the initial participant in an action chain." (Langacker 2008:356). Cognitive Grammar is a linguistic theory propounded by Ronald Langacker in the early 1990s which leans extensively on the cognitive linguistic approach to grammar.

but there is an interpretive resemblance that is involved. In this way, *tell* is used in a secondary sense that involves cross-cultural communication.

As mentioned above, Barnwell (1986) uses the conceptual metaphor[3] TRANSLATION IS RETELLING to describe translation, although she is not the only author who has done so (cf. Hill et al. 2011:97). Her use of RETELLING is metaphorical because two different languages are involved: the source language (SL) and the receptor language (RL). The metaphor of RETELLING resonates with orality, the primary means of communication in the Igbo context,[4] however it does not fully represent the Igbo conceptualization of translation. Even in the context of orality, translation means more to an Igbo speaker than simply RETELLING.

The fact that Barnwell (1986) is mentioned by most translators in Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, and Uganda (and even some translators from Francophone Africa) does not capture how widely the metaphor of RETELLING is used beyond Africa. Conceptual metaphors can be pervasive, and RETELLING has become conventionalized through the influence of Barnwell's text such that translators use it without thinking about it.

Barnwell (1986:31) identifies two steps to follow in translation, namely:

> STEP 1: Study the source text and discover the meaning that is expressed by the words and grammatical patterns of the Source Language.
> STEP 2: Re-express that meaning using different words and grammatical patterns. The meaning should be expressed in a way that is clear and natural in the Receptor Language.

A closer look at the first step shows that the translator's ability to translate into the RL requires discovering the intended meaning in context.

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[3] "A conceptual metaphor is a unidirectional mapping projecting conceptual material from one structured domain called the source domain, to another one, called the target domain" (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014:13; cf. Kövecses 2005:26). The research thus far conducted in the field of cognitive linguistics focusing on the aspect of conceptual metaphors shows that human beings do not just make assertions without relying on their conceptual systems that consist predominantly of their embodied nature and experiences. In particular, Gibbs (1998), through his experiments, established that conceptual metaphors are real, and are in our conceptual systems, not just in the language (Kövecses 2005:29).

[4] Igbo is this researcher's mother tongue, used as the case study for the research. It is one of the major languages spoken in Nigeria in West Africa. The Igbo people are located in the South-eastern part of Nigeria with an estimated population of about 30 million people (Eberhard et al. 2022).

Several times in Barnwell's text, the conceptual metaphor TRANSLATION IS RETELLING is indicated using the word *re-express*. However, the salient and embedded conceptual metaphor echoed implicitly throughout the text is TRANSLATION IS TRANSFER. Firstly, the continuous use of *receptor language* in reference to the target language implicitly suggests that there is movement taking place in the translation process, an activity evoking the schema of TRANSFER. Secondly, the prefix *re-* in *re-express* is used deliberately to describe translation activity as metaphorical. The mapping of the semantic domain of this linguistic particle *re-* evokes the schema of motion, though not progressing to a new path but suggesting backward motion towards an original condition (like a former state of something). Thus, the notion of *re-express* is not a mere reporting of speech: it refers to presenting the same message of a source language in a receptor language.

The metaphor of TRANSFER becomes explicit towards the end of the book:

> When translating questions, you must first decide whether the question is a REAL or a rhetorical QUESTION. If it is a RHETORICAL question, then you need to consider carefully exactly what the meaning or purpose of the question is in context. This is necessary in order to be sure of transferring the correct meaning and implications into the translation (Barnwell 1986:165, emphasis is original).

This point is reiterated thus, "Having analyzed the actual meaning of each rhetorical question in its context, consider how best to transfer that meaning into the receptor language" (1986:168). This is illustrated as follows (1986:166):

(1) 1 Samuel 17:8 "Am I not a Philistine?" [Negative question] means "I am most certainly a Philistine." [Positive statement]

In Barnwell (1980), the metaphor of TRANSFER is again used explicitly: "Semantics includes the *transfer* or *translation*, of meaning from one language to another" (1980:9). By contrast, in Barnwell (1986), this metaphor is used implicitly. The notion of *transfer* is welded into the text as a theory of translation. The inference of movement across languages applies here in theorizing the use of *transfer*. Barnwell (1986) is especially in focus here in Africa, because every translation agency contacted employs it in training translators before the commencement of a Bible translation project.

The metaphor of BRIDGE is also found in the training materials. For example, Barnwell (1986:77) writes, "Also keep alert to find ideas, customs and terms that could serve as a bridge to help people understand biblical truth." Using the metaphor of BRIDGE evokes the notion of barrier, which forms part of the semantic schemas evoked by TRANSFER. Difficulties may arise and become

barriers to effective communication because of differences in peoples' ideologies and cultural values. Failure to navigate these barriers can lead to unnaturalness, difficulty in reading, and even the mistranslation of key terms.

Nonetheless, noting that the translator needs to think about the meaning suggests that potential barriers can also be overcome. According to Barnwell, the construction of a BRIDGE is possible as when she writes, "It is a great help to communication if you can build on an idea that is already known" (1986:78). In building this bridge Barnwell reiterates,

> THE TRANSLATOR NEEDS TO KEEP THE PEOPLE FOR WHOM HE IS TRANSLATING CONSTANTLY IN MIND. He needs to be constantly alert to recognize anything that might block the effective communication of the message, especially that part of the meaning that is implicit in the original message (1986:85, emphasis is original).

For example, the concept of priesthood is a traditional part of Igbo cultural knowledge. Thus, employing words for 'priesthood' in Igbo texts translated from other languages ought not be a completely new concept for most Igbo speakers. However, the widely used term for a priest today is *ụkọchukwu*, meaning 'God's emissary'. (The modifier *ụkọ* glossed as 'messenger' in the compound *ụkọchukwu* is difficult to trace with respect to its root.) Meanwhile, six versions of the Igbo Bible[5] translate priest as *onye nchụ aja*, that is, 'someone who performs sacrifices'. This echoes the familiar conceptualization of a *priest*.

This suggestion implies taking into consideration the translation audience while striving to apprehend the message in the SL. The translator's ability to understand the conceptual framework of a target audience is important, to facilitate identification of other ideas that might hinder communicating the message of the text appropriately and with clarity. The concept of BRIDGE may evoke the notion of a gap between the SL message and the target audience. Therefore, the Bible translator can become part of the BRIDGE which s/he is constructing through translation. At the completion of a translation project, the MTT becomes invisible, as the text in a RL assumes the position of the bridge in facilitating access to the message in the SL.

In another text used for training, the same metaphor was used by Fee and Stuart (2014:66), as they write,

> *Theory of translation* has basically to do with whether one puts primary emphasis on formal or on functional equivalency, that is, the degree

[5] Union Bible New Testament (UIBN); Union Igbo Bible (UIB); Niger Igbo Bible (NIB); Igbo Living Bible (ILB); Igbo Revised Edition (IRB); and Igbo New World Translation (INWT). Note, however, that the Igbo Catholic Bible (ICB) translates 'priest' as *ụkọchukwu* (Oyali 2018:295).

> to which one is willing to go in order to bridge the gap between the two languages, either in use of words and grammar or in bridging the historical distance by offering a modern equivalent. For example, should "lamp" be translated "flashlight" or "torch" in cultures where these serve the purpose a lamp once did? Or should one translate it "lamp," and let readers bridge the gap for themselves?

This statement was excerpted from a textbook for teaching *New Testament Hermeneutics* during a training seminar organized by the United Bible Societies (UBS) for Bible translators in an English-speaking region of Africa. I infer that there is more than one gap to be filled in order to derive the meaning of a message that is sought in a SL text. The translated text in a RL is expected to bridge the gap by communicating the message of a SL in the most relevant way. The metaphor BRIDGE stands out in conceptualizing the translation process and its interpretive nature. Fee and Stuart continue their discussion stating (76),

> A formal-equivalent translation tends to abuse or override the ordinary structures of the receptor language by directly transferring into it the syntax and grammar of the original language. Such direct transfers are often *possible* in the receptor language, but they are seldom *preferable*.

The TRANSFER metaphor flows naturally from Western authors for whom it seems to be a normal way to talk about the translation process, to the extent that in Anglophone Africa the same notion continues to be propagated in tranlsator training. In one of the translation training meetings I attended, while having a conversation with a Bible translator from another African country, the notion of how translation is conceptualized in their culture arose. This translator responded that the natural way of talking about translation in their culture is TRANSLATION IS REWRITING. This is illustrated by:

(2) *ẹge* *ọnu* *eḅeke*[6]
write mouth foreign (English)
"Translate into English."

However, during the training the translator added the metaphor TRANSLATION IS TRANSFER, and so he said he hoped to raise awareness about this when he returned to the base of his Bible translation work. This is an example of how metaphors used in translation training programs can influence a trainee's conceptual framework by obscuring the existing metaphor in his/her cognitive environment.

[6] This is the Ogbia language, which is spoken in the southern part of Nigeria.

As another example, the Igbo translation of *good morning* is considered an effect of misconstruing the concept of translation, as illustrated by the interview excerpt below.

(3) *ndị* *Igbo* *nwere* *otu* *ha* *sị* *e-kele* *ekele*
PL[7] Igbo have way 3PL how PTCP-greet BCN
"The Igbos have a way of greeting

tupu *onye-ọcha* *a-bịa*
before person-white PTCP-come
before the white-man came.

nwa-bekee *na-a-sị* *good* *morning,*
child-English PROG-PTCP-say good morning
The Englishman says good morning,

mana *ndị* *Igbo* *na-a-sị* *ị-bọ-la-chi?*
but PL Igbo PROG-PTCP-say 2SG-wake-PERF-destiny
but the Igbos do say, 'Have you woken up (to destiny)?'

ị-bịa *sị* *ụtụtụ* *ọma*
2SG-come say good morning
[If] you come [and] say good morning,

ọ-pụta-ra *na* *ị-tụ-ghari-rị* *okwu* *ahụ*
3SG-exit-PST that 2SG-turn-around-PST word DEM
it means that you translated that word

dịka *nwa-bekee* *si* *na-e-kwu* *ya*
like child-English how PROG-PTCP-speak it
like the Englishman says it."

3 The conceptualization of *translate* in English

The etymology of the English verb *translate* and Middle English *translaten/ transferren* is traced to the Old French *translater* 'to translate', which is borrowed from Latin *translatus* 'transferred', the past participle of the verb *transferre* 'transfer' (Skeat 1961:659–660). Similarly, the English word *transfer* is borrowed from the Latin word *transferre*.

[7] Note the following abbreviations used in data examples: BCN = Bound Cognate Noun; DEM = Demonstrative; PERF = Perfective aspect; PL = Plural; PROG = Progressive aspect; PST = Past tense; PTCP = Participle; SG = Singular; and the numerals 1, 2, and 3 indicate First, Second, and Third persons, respectively.

The uses of *transfer* in English cross several different semantic domains, and thus it is difficult to characterize its use in communication. It is a polysemic word whose meanings are best described based on context. The word *transfer* is used to evoke scenes of primary experience in daily life while also extended to metaphorical uses. One of the primary senses of *transfer* is movement (of an object or person) from one location, position, or place to another with the possibility of encountering barrier(s) during the movement. The basic meaning of *transfer* is illustrated using the following CG diagram:

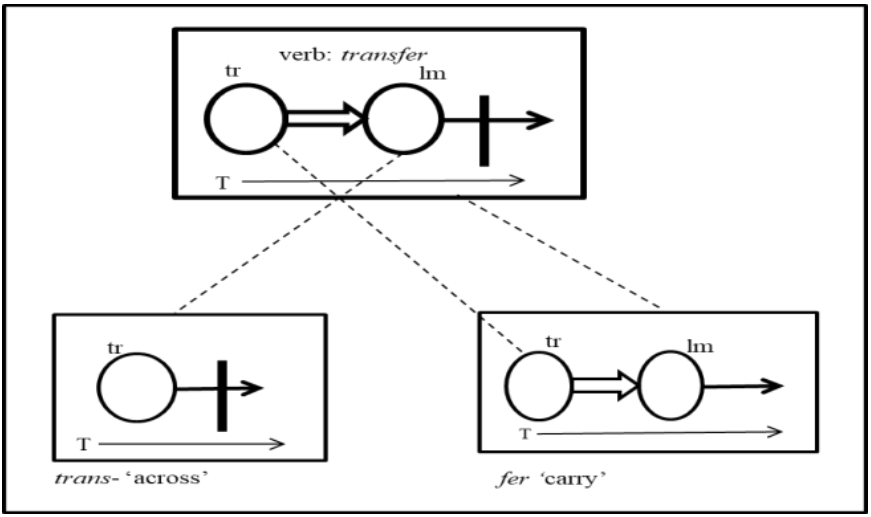

Figure 1: The basic meaning of transfer using the CG theory.[8]

The highlighted entities in figure 1 represent some of the schemas evoked by *transfer*. This is described as a kind of cause-motion action seen between a trajector and landmark in an expression. In CG, the terms 'trajector' and 'landmark' are used to demonstrate focal prominence in an expression. For instance, the trajector (labeled "tr" in the diagram) refers to the entity of primary focus, while landmark ("lm") designates an entity of secondary focus (Langacker 2008:70). The small ovals encased in rectangular boxes are referents for either agents or objects (concrete or abstract). The single line arrows are extension lines showing direction. The single dotted lines are corresponding lines, linking similar entities.

In figure 1, the first rectangular box at the base shows the schema of motion evoked by *trans*, which the single arrow indicates. The highlighted thick line intersecting the single line arrow could be an indication of a boundary,

[8] This figure and the one which follows are the creative work of this author.

limit, or space to be crossed or even a barrier (concrete or abstract). In this way, *trans* evokes a schematic boundary which could be instantiated by a barrier, boundary, or limit of some kind. This survives in *transfer* where it can evoke the boundary between two institutions (e.g., banks or football clubs) or simply the 'boundary' (outer wall) of a container. Additionally, the second box at the base shows the cause-motion action evoked by *fer*.[9] The double arrow line illustrates the force exerted on the landmark, which invokes the cause-motion action. The box at the top shows the schema evoked by *transfer* in a transitive construction. In the schema of *transfer*, the entity that moves is the trajector denoted by *trans* and landmark, indicated by *fer* to derive *transfer*. The discussions of the concepts of *translate* and *transfer* primarily focus on the conceptual schema/frame of *transfer*, and not necessarily on their grammatical category as verbs.

4 The non-figurative use of *transfer*

The examples presented in this section show some of the image schemas evoked by *transfer* in various domains of its use. In these examples, *transfer* primarily evokes the schema of motion showing movement of an entity (an object or thing) from one place, position, job, vehicle, person, or group to another. Examples illustrating non-figurative uses include:

(4) *She transferred her gun from its shoulder holster to her handbag*. (Procter 1995)

The verb *transfer* in Example 4 illustrates a literal act of moving an object from one location to another, which involves motion initiated by the sentence's agentive subject. The entity caused to move is the gun, an object that can be seen and handled physically. Oftentimes, *transfer* collocates with *from* and *to*, as part of its semantic structure. The gun simply changed location crossing boundaries involving space allocation because it is still within the dominion[10] of the agent. The conceptualization of *transfer* as involving movement between two locations (A → B) is prototypical. In this conceptualization, (A) signifies an initial conventional location of the gun which is conceptualized first before movement of the gun to point (B) implying that some sort of boundary or space must be crossed. The change in location of the gun involves concrete movement.

(5) *He transferred money from the bank to the partner*.

[9] *Fer* is not clearly conceptualized in English except for in the multi-morpheme words where it occurs. It is not clear to what extent, if any, its uses in different words (e.g., *offer, refer, infer, prefer, confer*) are linked in the minds of ordinary speakers.

[10] *Dominion* is a CG term used here as a referent to the sphere of control of someone.

Example 5 represented in figure 2 (below) introduces the image schema of source-path-goal. This is illustrated with *from* (source) and *to* (target), used frequently in the definition of translation. Roberts and Nicholson assert (2003:281),

> The word 'translation' refers globally to the *transfer* of a message from a S(ource) L(anguage) to a T(arget) L(anguage) or R(eceptor) L(anguage), whether the languages are in written or oral form. Such interlingual message transfer is often categorized, according to the language mode employed, as translation (written discourse) vs. interpretation (oral discourse).

The prepositions *from* and *to* in the examples show the direction of movement of entities in each linguistic expression where they are used. This is illustrated in figure 2. The landmark (money) moved from the bank (source), which is indicated using *from*, goes to the partner (target), indicated by using *to*. The partner receiving the money gives the partner control at that moment. This is an example of concrete motion in space.

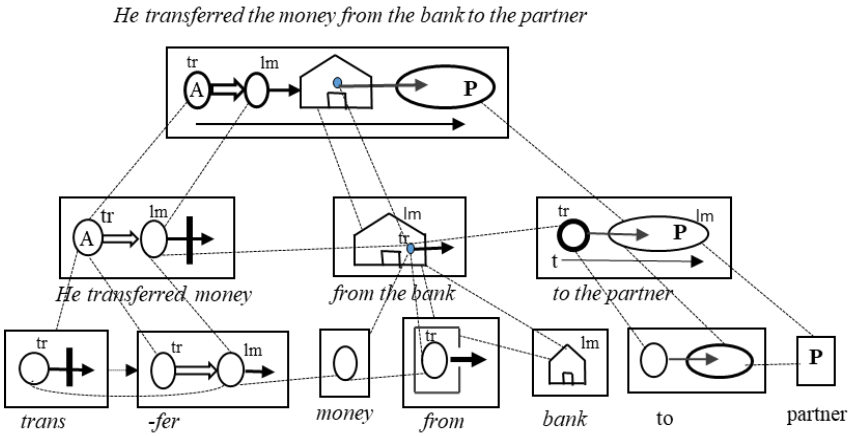

Figure 2: *He transferred the money from the bank to the partner.*

Another schema evoked by TRANSFER is the notion of control. This is a metaphorical extension in conceptualizing TRANSFER because it does not involve physical movement of objects. In examples 6a and b, the properties "transferred" are physical structures that did not actually move from their physical locations; instead, the sphere of control changed from one individual to another. This is indicated by the preposition *to* in these sentences. Each property remained within the subject's control until the path indicated by using *to* is followed, leading to an end point that is the dominion of the second person.

(6) a. *If you transfer property to someone, you make them the legal owners of it.* (Procter 1995)

b. *She transferred the house to her daughter before she died.* (Procter 1995)

Some dictionary definitions of *translate* are as follows: to *render* in another language; to *explain* or *interpret*; to *express* in different words, paraphrase; to *change* from one form, function, or *state* to another; *convert* or *transform*; *translate* ideas into reality; and to *transfer* from one place or condition to another (The American Heritage Dictionary of English 1996:1902; cf. Ehrlich et al. 1980:730; Brown 1993:3371; and Stein 1983:1505). Transfer seems to be the earliest meaning of the Old French root *translater*. Later, in Middle Latin, the meaning of *translater* is associated with translation as turn from one language into another (Brown 1993:3371). For instance,

(7) a. *I laughingly begged him to translate the remark, which he did with a smile.*
b. *I do not like to translate things, so I was exempted from the translation task going on.* (Collins 2012)

Examples (7a–b) show the verb *translate*, used in the domain of translation studies as the examples evoke the schema of someone attempting to render the meaning of an expression in each context. The abstract objects to the verb *translate*, in both examples suggest metaphorical use. Examples (7a–b) are in the same domain, illustrating translation activities in oral and written form without explicitly indicating any directional movement involving two locations.

The semantic schema of TRANSFER discussed thus far also applies to the Translation Studies domain. Roberts et al. note (2003:281),

> The knowledge, skills and aptitudes required for these two activities (translation and interpretation) are very similar: a mastery of at least two languages, a wide general knowledge, and the techniques of the message *transfer* and language switching.

Movement of entities can be inferred by this reference to two languages, preceding notions of the message transfer and language switching. The metaphor of TRANSFER for the activity of linguistic translation is also observed from this expression, "The transfer operation must be carried out within the conceptual framework of the target cultural system, that is, their worldview, value system and way of life, social institutions and so forth" (Wendland 2006:39). The use of the TRANSFER metaphor continues as translators are described thus,

> Translators mediate between cultures (including ideologies, moral systems and socio-political structures); seeking to overcome those

> incompatibilities which stand in the way of transfer of meaning (Hatim and Mason 1990:223).

Hatim and Mason's assertion also evokes the notion of boundaries and barriers mentioned earlier as semantic schemas of *transfer*.

The *transfer* schema evoked by the concept of *translate* predominates in the translation training material presented here. As these quotes show, theorizing has been influenced by the TRANSFER metaphor. In some texts this metaphor is explicit, while in other texts the metaphor of TRANSFER is covert but nevertheless present.

5 Other conceptualizations of translation

Wendland (2006b), writing on *Translator Training in Africa*, recommends an inductive method of teaching that is Africanized using indigenous proverbs, riddles, stories, myths, and songs. This recommendation was made primarily with the notion of driving home the biblical message, and not necessarily with a focus on conceptualizing translation before embarking on the actual task. He sums up by making some proposals for improvement, stating (2006:60):

> I am certainly no expert in this field, but based on my own teaching experience over the years and some reading on the subject, there are several characteristics that I would like to see applied more consistently in my own courses of translation instruction in Africa. It may be that as I urge myself to think through these methods more seriously and to actually put them into practice, others will pick up some ideas that they might be able to use or adapt to their own situation. Or better perhaps, others more expert in the field of education—including African translator-students who have been through a training program of one kind or another—will be able to shed a brighter light on the subject and contribute more precise advice, specific to context, on what needs to be done to improve our translation teaching.

Wendland's observation stems from his years of teaching African students, having served in Africa since 1968 as a UBS translation consultant and teacher. As one of those African students who has been taught within Africa by both Western and African teachers using varying teaching techniques, I have observed that something is still missing from the content of the training materials. In fact, it does not necessarily matter who the teacher happens to be because the content delivered remains the same, and that content is usually Eurocentric in nature. Therefore, this paper seeks to increase awareness of the needs already identified by some scholars using Wendland as an example, who

highlighted the need for improving on the methodology and practice of teaching.

The content of the materials used through the years in translation training programs needs to be reevaluated. This is true both in indigenous training programs organized by Bible translation agencies and in universities within Africa. The language data presented below are excerpts from conversations with translators, presented here to demonstrate the need to identify and embrace alternate conceptualizations of translation.

(8) *wo* *siɛ* *kɔsɔ̀*
word turn over
"Translate (the) expression."

(9) *anyị* *a-bịa* *tụ-gharịa* *ya* *na* *Igbo*
1PL PTCP-come turn-around 3SG in Igbo
"We will come and translate it in Igbo."

(10) *wurliji* *gidam* *gamu* *kemo*
turn book over this
"Translate this book."

Example (8) is from the Dan language spoken in Liberia, example (9) is from Igbo, while example (10) is from the Otoro language spoken in Sudan. Other examples of conceptualization are *kɛ̀ɛ̀nŋɛ̀* 'turn over' in Supyire, a language spoken in Mali. In Uganda, the Kumam people use the term *gonyo* 'untie, unwrap, undress; translate' that seems to point to thinking about translation as revealing something which would otherwise not be visible. Analyzing the Igbo conceptualization of translation using the verb *tụgharịa* 'turn around', I found that it does not evoke the translational motion of movement from point A to B, which the *transfer* metaphor evokes.[11] The primary sense of *tụgharịa* first needs to be understood before understanding its secondary sense as translation. These examples demonstrate that there are multiple metaphors thinking and talking about translation. The data illustrate that the metaphor TURN-OVER can be observed in many parts of Africa.

The variety of metaphors of conceptualization in languages across Africa points to the need for improvement of what is taught during training sessions. At present training materials are usually translations of Western texts. Although

[11] The analysis of *tụgharịa* is found in the doctoral dissertation: Wabara, Uloma (2023, forthcoming). *An exploration of the conceptualization of ntụgharị 'translation' in Igbo and its implications in translation training programmes*.

these books are in African languages, the content remains decidedly Eurocentric.

It does not appear that training materials have been fully processed cognitively by African trainers within their African context. African metaphors are yet to be fully discovered and considered. Ideologies carried within translation theories need to be communicated for the ordinary translator whose indigenous conceptual tools have not been identified and factored into teaching manuals so as to deliver content using indigenous concepts.

6 Conclusion

Having analyzed *tụgharịa* and *transfer* as concepts evoking the schema of translation in different cultures, I recommend beginning translation training workshops with simple translation exercises aimed at helping participants discover their own conceptualizations of translation. Prospective MTTs can, for example, be assigned simple expressions to translate from SLs of the Bible translation project, whether English, French, or Portuguese, depending on the context and location. The initial exercises would help to activate and evoke for translator trainees schemas of conceptualizing translation.

The goal of these initial exercises would be to ensure that existing metaphors in the conceptual framework of translator trainees serve as a bridge right from the beginning of their training. Through these initial translation exercises, the trainer may detect the embedded metaphors in the cognitive domains of translator trainees. Any metaphor(s) discovered would then be adapted into contextualized training materials. Once existing metaphors have been secured, metaphors such as TRANSFER may later be introduced as additional ways of conceptualizing translation.

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