Translating metaphors and metonymies in the subtitling of House of Cards (U.S. TV Series)

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Abstract

Spoken and written language is seen as the richest means of our communication. In a communicational surrounding dense with information there are many words that we can and should interpret literally. There are, however, many words with no literal meaning, conveying some other, abstract information. Despite the non-literal meaning of many words we can convey and interpret meanings accurately. In case of conceptual metaphor and metonymy we can discuss from a position of almost five decades of research, meaning the pioneers' work is already complete and there already are some answers to our questions. This paper's interest is not to expand on the theory behind metaphors and metonymy. The objective of this paper is to compare a selection of metaphors and metonymies from the first season of *House of Cards* in English as source and Croatian as the target language and present and analyse the results of the findings. The thesis consists of the theoretical part covering the theoretical framework needed for the analysis and of an analytical part where metaphors and metonymies are analysed. This thesis greatly relies on metaphorical and metonymical expressions from *House of Cards,* an American Netflix series, *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and typology proposed by Schmidt (2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, etc.). The expressions in the analysis appear in a chronological order. Every item in the analysis is accompanied by season and episode numbers as well as with timecodes for the subtitles.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor theory, metonymy, comparative analysis, translation, cognitive linguistics

Sažetak

Na govoreni i pisani jezik se gleda kao na najbogatiji način naše komunikacije. U komunikacijskom okružju gustih informacija nalaze se mnoge riječi koje se može i mora doslovno tumačiti. Međutim, postoje mnoge riječi bez doslovnog značenja te nose neke druge, apstraktne informacije. Unatoč nedoslovnom značenju mnogih riječi možemo ih točno prenositi te tumačiti njihova značenja. U slučaju konceptualne metafore i metonimije možemo razgovarati o gotovo pet desetljeća istraživanja, što znači da je rad pionira na ovom polju završen te da već postoje određeni odgovori na naša pitanja. Ovaj rad ne zanima širenje teorije iza metafora i metonimija. Cilj ovog rada je usporediti odabrane metaforične i metonimične izraze iz prve sezone serije *Kuća od karata* na izvornom engleskom jeziku i hrvatskom kao ciljnom jeziku, predstaviti te analizirati rezultate istraživanja. Diplomski rad sastoji se od teorijskog dijela koji pokriva teorijski okvir potreban za analizu te od analitičkog dijela gdje se analiziraju metafore i metonimije. Rad se uvelike oslanja na metaforične i metonimične izraze preuzete iz američke Netflixove serije *Kuća od karata, Metaphors We Live By* od Lakoffa i Johnsona te tipologije predložene od strane Schmidta (2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, itd.). Pojmovi u analizi se pojavljuju onim redom kojim su se pojavljivali u seriji. Svaki analizirani pojam nosi prateći broj sezone i epizode uz vremensku oznaku titla.

Ključni pojmovi: teorija konceptualne metafore, metonimija, komparativna analiza, prevođenje, kognitivna lingvistika

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I also acknowledge most of my professors at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek. They led me to new skills and knowledge and also earned my respect.

To my caring parents: Thank you and forgive me for all the unpleasantness and stress caused during the creation of this thesis. At times I mistook your worries for resentment and frustration, but that pales in comparison to my deeds. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

I hope I will give as much support and love as you gave to me during this time, Nikolina. I am in your debt for years to come.

I also extend my gratitude to all friends and colleagues for both support and making the bearable experience of studying at a faculty more bearable, enjoyable even.

Finally, I apologise to this thesis for prolonging it unnecessarily and to myself for testing everyone's patience.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations used:

CMT – conceptual metaphor theory

CM – conceptual metaphor

Mtm - metonymy

SD – source domain

TD – target domain

1. Introduction

The humankind's ability to exist in large contemporary societies relies, among other things, on elaborate communication. Languages are cornerstones of that human communication. Spoken and written words even are in our early memories and we use them throughout our lives, usually many times a day, consistently and frequently. We as users of language must often interpret some words and expressions in a non-literal way, which also starts at an early age. Some of these non-literal expressions are metaphors and metonymies; most commonly we already understand them sub-consciously, it is not necessary to actively think of metaphors and metonymies in communication. Where do we separate the literal, metaphor and metonymy in a sentence such as "So, you want a bill just two steps left of Karl Marx." (House of Cards) and how is that done? The next question would be: how are metaphors and metonymies from the original English subtitles translated to subtitles in a particular target language? With a rising number of questions we can state that research of this topic will produce answers. This paper aims to compare and analyse metaphorical and metonymical expressions in subtitles in the source language, English, to metaphorical and metonymical expressions in subtitles in the target language, Croatian.

It should be noted that a primary source for this paper is the Netflix series *House of Cards.* The following Section should provide a description of the primary source. As for the secondary sources, there are multiple; most notably *Metaphors we live by, Master Metaphor List* and works by Schmidt (2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, etc.). When it comes to the former, it is said by Goodreads that *Metaphors we live by* is a now-classic influential book that became a cornerstone of contemporary understanding of expressing thoughts in a language. That and *Master Metaphor List,* also by Lakoff, create a base for identifying metaphors in the primary sources. When it comes to matters of categorisation, Schmidt's typology provides us with a framework needed to compare and contrast metaphors in source and target languages.

In Chapter 2 and its Sections, crucial theories, concepts and definitions on metaphor and metonymy are presented. Chapter 3 presents elementary theoretical background on subtitling whereas Section 3.1. explains the motivation, reasoning and steps of a software-assisted extraction of subtitle files from the primary source. In Chapter 4 and its Sections the typology needed for the analysis is established, selected items from the primary source are analysed according to the established typology and findings of the analysis are gathered, summarily explained and, if

possible, compared to a recent similar research; any interesting findings, issues and proposals are also going to be addressed in the Sections of Chapter 4. Chapter 5 concludes this paper by checking what was done, success of the analysis, aims, what was learned and possible implications. Charts and graphics for visual representation are provided in the Appendix.

1.1. On *House of Cards* as the corpus

House of Cards is an American TV series that is an adaptation of a 1989 novel of the same title written by Michael Dobbs. It is a political drama and thriller by genre. It first aired in 2013 and received multiple Primetime Emmies and Golden Globes across six seasons. It also boasts first ever *webisode* (because it first appeared on Netflix, an on-demand streaming service for films and TV shows) to receive a Primetime Emmy. This thesis intents to analyse episodes from Season 1, totalling 4 episodes (*Chapter 1, Chapter 2, Chapter 3, Chapter 4*). The setting includes protagonists' surroundings, mainly places of political power in the United States, such as the White House or the United States Congress and some other places. Due to two main figures being overly ambitious politicians, the plot provides many instances of spoken communication where negotiation and show of power appear through formal and informal communication. Those instances provide the content needed for the analysis.

2. Theoretical background: conceptual metaphor, metonymy and subcategories

This segment gives the theoretical background of conceptual metaphors and metonymy, since many examples of those appear in the corpus. Kövecses states that "in the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain." (Kövecses 3) As speakers, we are not necessarily aware of the extent metaphors form our language and way of thinking, according to Lakoff and Johnson. There are concepts built in many sentences we use every day…As Kövecses explains, The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain (21.) In other words, these conceptual domains are connected by mapping, which are systematic correspondences across […] domains (Lakoff 246). For clarity, it is necessary to stress the unidirectional correspondence between conceptual domains, i.e. in a set mapping the source and target domains cannot change roles, we always use SD to express TD, it does not work in opposite direction.
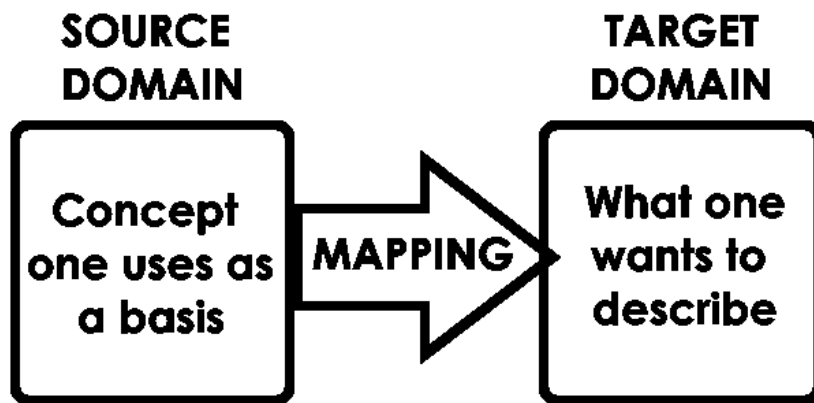

Figure 1: Conceptual mapping

Conceptual metaphors are numerous in English language. In his 2011 lecture at UC Berkeley, Lakoff connects brain circuitry to simple schemas, simple schemas to frames and explains that all words are somewhere on the frame in relation to other words. When we listen to a word said, our brain finds the word on the frame and that is involuntary, which is displayed brilliantly in Lakoff's commonly used anecdotal command: "Don't think of an elephant." Once a

listener understands the meaning of the sentence it is already too late to perform the command, it cannot be unheard. The same can be applied to metaphors. A said/read metaphor always starts a sequence of involuntary events in our brains that evoke an image, a schema or a concept.

The more we look into our language, the larger the role of our body as an intermediary becomes. The following metaphor relies on our vision: MORE IS UP. It is grounded in the co-occurrence of two types of experiences: adding more of a substance and seeing the level of the substance rise (ibid. 156). Here are some example sentences: The number of traffic accidents is *on the rise*. The amount of money needed to buy that car has just *gone up.* Their numbers *rose* by the day. The same metaphor, MORE IS UP can appear in an example such as: prices of graphics cards *skyrocketed* last year. Here, however, we can't see the level of the substance rising.

2.1. Structural metaphors

Structural metaphor is a subtype of the conceptual metaphor. In this kind of metaphor, the source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target concept. In other words, the cognitive function of these metaphors is to enable speakers to understand target A by means of the structure of source A. (Kövecses 33). Also according to Kövecses (33-34) here are some examples:

TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT

The time will *come* when . . .

The time has long since *gone* when . . .

The time for action *has arrived*.

In the weeks *following* next Tuesday . . .

On the *preceding* day . . .

I'm looking *ahead* to Christmas.

Thanksgiving is *coming up* on us.

Time is *flying by*.

The abovementioned metaphor is used frequently in everyday communication. Another set of examples revolves around ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor provided by Lakoff and Johnson. (5)

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak* point in my argument. His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot*! If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*. He *shot down* all of my arguments.

Simply said, the structure of warfare applies to having arguments with other people enough to map the SD (war) to TD (argument).

2.2. Orientational metaphors

There are other subtypes, such as orientational metaphors. By its name one could suggest what they provide to conceptual domains is orientation rather than structure, which is confirmed by Johnson and Lakoff's (15) explanation: We will call these orientational metaphors, since most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. The authors warn that these spatial relations are in no way arbitrary, but a result of our bodily and cultural experiences, offering some recognisable examples: (ibid: 15-16).

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

I'm feeling *up*. That *boosted* my spirits. My spirits *rose*. You're in *high* spirits. Thinking about her always gives me a *lift*. I'm feeling *down*. I'm *depressed*. He's really *low* these days. I fell into a *depression*. My spirits *sank*.

HAVING CONTROL or FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL or FORCE IS DOWN

I have control *over* her. I am *on top* of the situation. He's in a *superior* position. He's at the *height* of his power. He's in the *high* command. He's in the *upper echelon*. His power *rose*. He ranks *above* me in strength. He is *under* my control. He *fell* from power. His power is on the *decline*. He is my social *inferior*. He is *low* man on the totem pole.

By observing these and other orientational metaphors, one could argue that in most mappings, *up*-SD is seen as positive whereas *down*-SD is perceived as negative.

2.3. Ontological metaphors

After dealing with how metaphors provide structure and orientation to conceptual domains, we must also observe ontological metaphors. When talking about "experiences in terms of objects and substances allowing us to pick out parts of our experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 26), we can treat them as entities or substances of a uniform kind, further allowing us to evoke and manipulate those uniformities. These are the ontological metaphors (ibid. 26). Their commentary shows clear differences between orientational and ontological metaphors:

> "Just as the basic experiences of human spatial orientations give rise to orientational metaphors, so our experiences with physical objects (especially our own bodies) provide the basis for an extraordinarily wide variety of ontological metaphors, that is, ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances." (ibid.)

Same as before, relevant examples are offered in *Metaphors we live by* (ibid. 27).

INFLATION IS AN ENTITY

Inflation is lowering our standard of living.

If there's much *more inflation,* we'll never survive.

We need to *combat inflation.*

Inflation is hacking us into a corner.

Inflation is taking its toll at the checkout counter and the gas pump.

THE MIND IS A MACHINE

We're still trying to *grind out* the solution to this equation.

My mind just isn't *operating* today.

Boy, the *wheels are turning* now!

I'm *a little rusty* today.

We've been working on this problem all day and now we're *running out of steam.*

THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT

Her ego is very *fragile.*

You have to *handle him with care* since his wife's death.

He *broke* under cross-examination.

She is *easily crushed.*

The experience *shattered him.*

2.4. Metonymy

This theoretical segment covers metonymy. As defined by Lakoff and Johnson, when one uses metonymy, "we are using one entity to refer to another that is related to it. This is a case of what we will call metonymy." (ibid. 30) Or in Kövecses's words, "We try to direct attention to an entity through another entity related to it. In other words, instead of mentioning the second entity directly, we provide mental access to it through another entity." (Kövecses: 144)

The two authors also show a list of all metonymic relations with proper examples. (Lakoff & Johnson 30)

THE PART FOR THE WHOLE	Get your butt over here! We don't hire longhairs.
PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT	He bought a Ford. He's got a Picasso in his den. I hate to read Heidegger.
OBJECT USED FOR USER	The gun he hired wanted fifty grand. The sax has the flu today.

	Nixon bombed Hanoi. Ozawa gave a terrible concert last night. Napoleon lost at Waterloo.
CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED	Nixon bombed Hanoi. Ozawa gave a terrible concert last night. Napoleon lost at Waterloo.
INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE	Exxon has raised its prices again.
THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION	The White House isn't saying anything.
THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT	Let's not let Thailand become another Vietnam. Watergate changed our politics.

Table 1. A list of metonymic relations by Lakoff and Johnson

Furthermore, they identify synecdoche as a subtype of metonymy: "We are including as a special case of metonymy what traditional rhetoricians have called synecdoche, where the part stands for the whole… In these cases, as in the other cases of metonymy, one entity is being used to refer to another" (ibid. 30).

2.5. Metaphor versus Metonymy

It can be very easy to confuse metaphor and metonymy at times. Metonymy does use strategies similar to metaphors to achieve certain linguistic effect, but it is definitely not identical with it. The big difference lies in the mapping formula.

The authors do not deny similarity, but they explain the differences in detail:

"Metaphor and metonymy are different kinds of processes. Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another. But metonymy is not merely a referential device. It also serves the function of providing understanding. For example, in the case of the metonymy 'the part for the whole' there are many parts that can stand for the whole. Which part we pick out determines which aspect of the whole we are focusing on. When we say that we need some good heads on the project, we are using 'good heads' to refer to 'intelligent people.' " (Lakoff & Johnson 30)

Kövecses's take on the issue is similar: "Similar to metaphor, most metonymic expressions are not isolated but come in larger groups that are characterized by a particular relationship between one kind of entity and another kind of entity." (144)

3. Theoretical background: on subtitling

When it comes to subtitling, one could say that the term is self-explanatory, but it is important nevertheless to support our knowledge absorbed from the common, everyday use of subtitles with the excerpts from the relevant works on translation studies. As for the definition itself, Hillman provides us with a straightforward definition:

"Subtitles convey dialogue. They seek to render an SL in a TL, as a modified translation, the modification being determined by the constraints examined below. Not completely congruent with dialogue, subtitles can also apply to other information within the frame […] or else present on the soundtrack (song lyrics; railway announcements)." (Hillman, 379) Luyken also mentions that subtitles' appearance and disappearance coincides in time with the corresponding portion of the original dialogue and are, as a rule, added to the screen image separately, at a later date, in post-production. (qtd. in Georgakopoulou 2009: 21)

The final point about subtitles is their division in three types provided by Caimi: interlingual (or standard) subtitles that provide translation of the dialogues into the viewers' language, reversed subtitles that are translated to a foreign language with the soundtrack in the native language, and intralingual subtitles or same-language subtitles. (240-242) Díaz Cintas and Remael offer a similar division as can be seen in the following picture.
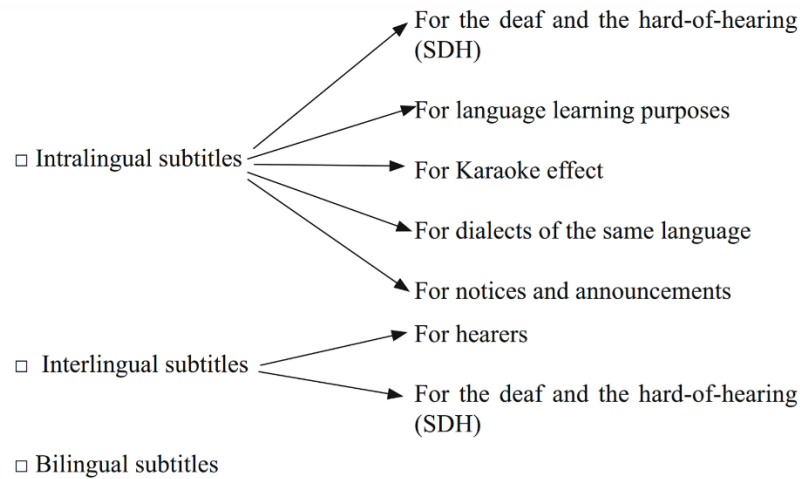
Fig. 2. Division of subtitles by Díaz Cintas and Remael

The analysis of the corpus, with the point above taken into account, was placed in two environments, intralingual (the one where English subtitles were examined) and the interlingual one, where corresponding subtitles translated into Croatian were observed.

3.1. How subtitles were extracted from Netflix

This segment explains what tools and procedures were used in order to extract human-readable subtitles from Netflix. Some technical details are intentionally omitted because that is not in the focus of this thesis. Furthermore, functioning, step-by-step manuals are cited here. Our explanations are just a proof of process.

For many years, using .srt, i.e. SubRip Text file format for writing and editing subtitles has been a movie community standard for professionals, fans and enthusiasts alike as technological advancements made the compiling, manipulating and distribution easily accessible to fans. (Díaz Cintas and Remael 26-27) One could argue that *fansubs* (ibid. 26-27) have been improving in quality over time, but that does not influence this research in any way, since no fan-made subtitles are going to be used and therefore quality of translation or adaptation should be of appropriate quality. On physical copies, such as DVDs or BluRays, .srt files are most often already present. In this analysis, however, finding ready-made subtitles in both Croatian and English languages was not an option due to Netflix being an online on-demand streaming service that does not provide downloadable movies or subtitles. The simplest solution would have been to type or write down all subtitles from all thirteen episodes for both languages. Understanding that the episodes last

from 47 to 54 minutes (Netflix), that typing/writing takes much more time than watching and that typing/writing mistakes increase as concentration drops over time, we see that the simplest solution isn't the most efficient one. The solution of choice was the use of particular text extraction tools.

The first step starts in Google Chrome web browser and does not require additional tools. After opening a desired episode on Netflix, one must open Developer tools → Network, activate desired captions in the corresponding tab's media player, resume playing, look for a specific file and download it to a local drive.
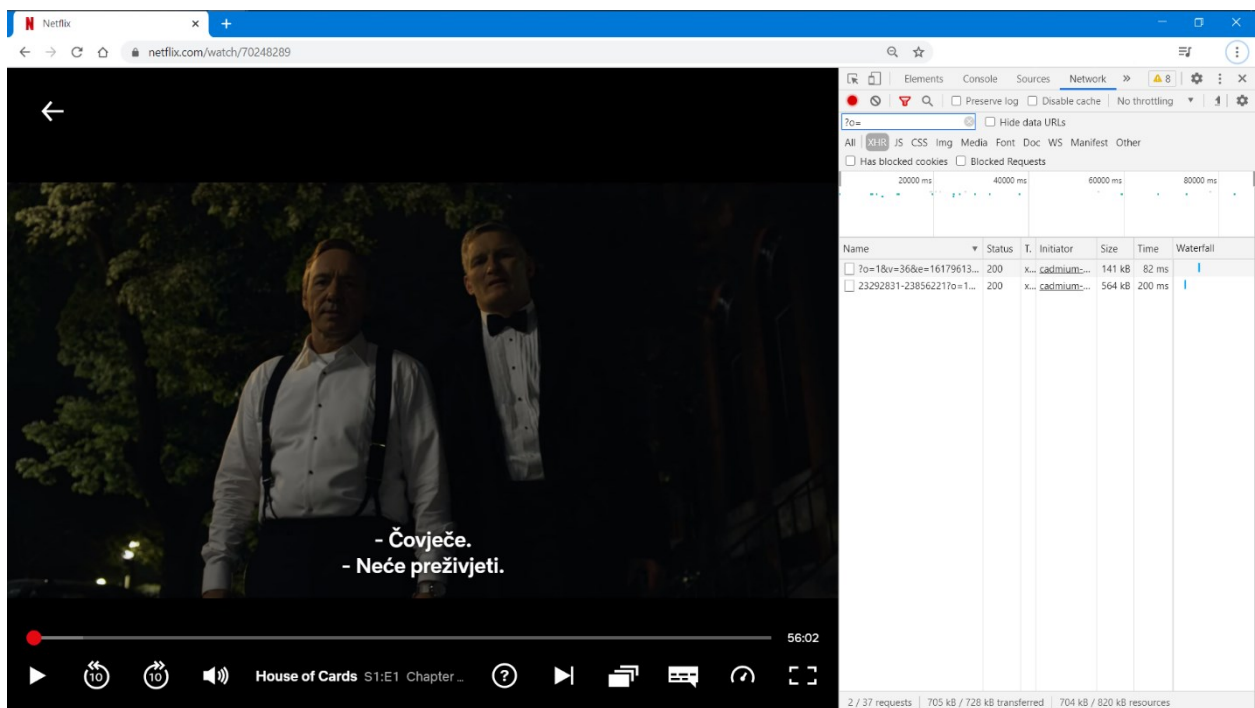

Picture 1. Locating subtitles in the web page's files, as seen in *Google Chrome*

This can be repeated for any number of languages provided and allowed by Netflix. NB: If one accesses Netflix from a country different from the author's, one can possibly have a different selection of languages, i.e. subtitles to choose from. This step results in a .xml file that is easy to access but not easy to read.

Picture 2. Raw subtitles downloaded, not easy to read, lacking clear timecodes, as seen in *MS Notepad*

Second step includes one-time installation (if one already didn't install) of Python programming language and a one-time download of a Python script found on GitHub. After that, every time the said script is executed on an .xml file it will create a .txt file with complete episode's subtitles, much easier to read and navigate and very easy to access.
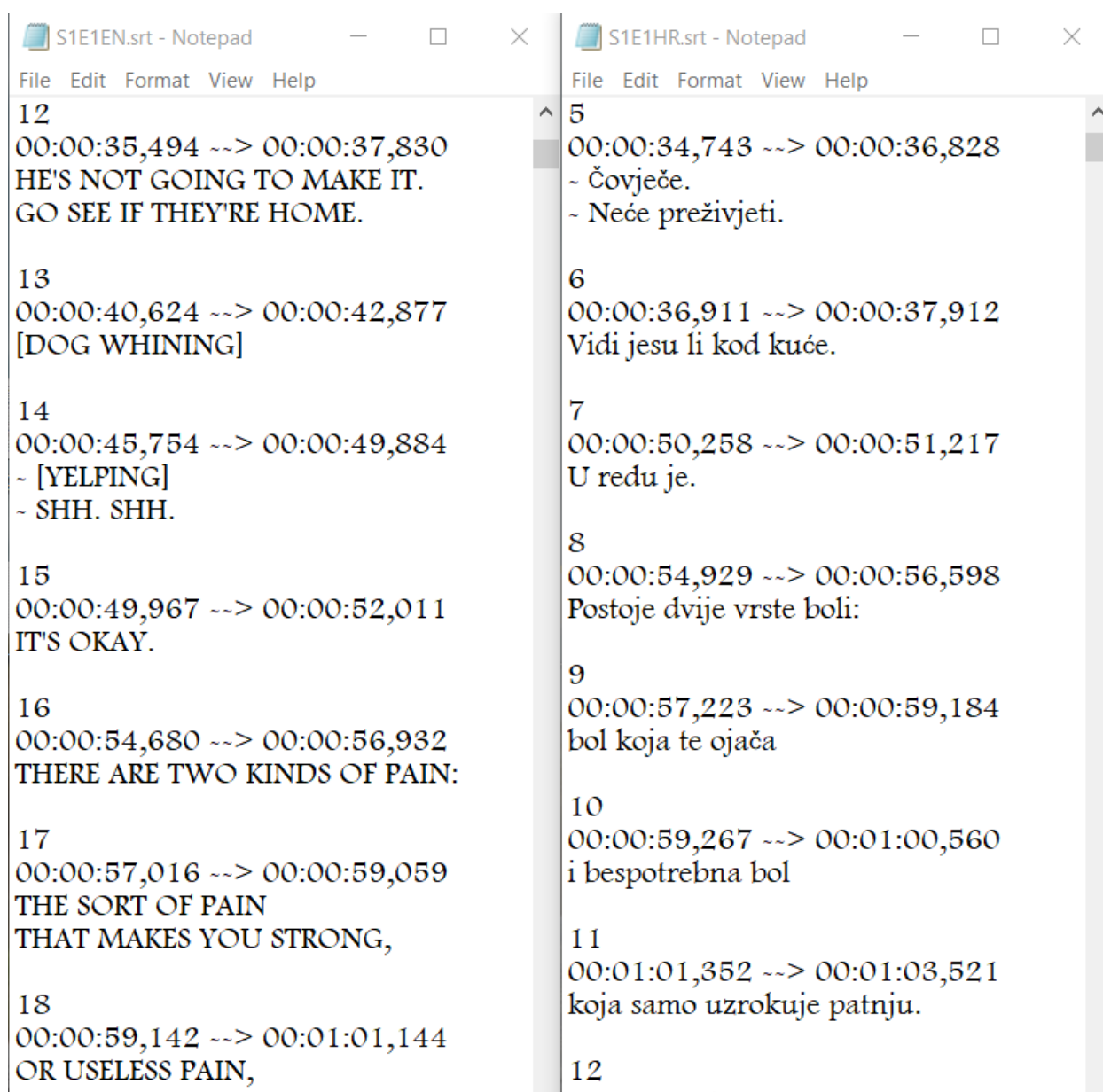
Picture 3. Final products, subtitles in both languages shown side by side, easy to read and with clear subtitle numbers and timecodes, as seen in *MS Notepad*

On a final note, Netflix's video player interface did not stop the author of this thesis from extracting desired subtitles, despite making it not very easy. It is understandable that Netflix doesn't have an incentive to distribute subtitles separately and with ease of access; it is also understandable that this thesis does not revolve around arduous copying, it wants to analyse. From the user's standpoint, it makes little sense that a monetised subscription service lacks in utility whereas free tools in public domain improve the quality and efficiency of the compiled data, i.e. corpus, greatly.

4. Analysis

The main segment covers analyses of 51 items in both English and Croatian subtitles found in thirteen episodes of the first season of *House of Cards.* The typology used in the analysis is based on marginally modified Schmidt's methodology (2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, etc.) and is explained in the following subsection.

4.1. On typology used

A typology, as Bailey writes, is one approach to classification used in research that is conceptual in its nature (1). This typology, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is a slight modification of Schmidt's typology. The Schmidt's original typology is appropriate for analyses of conceptual metaphors. Due to aim of the analysis covering both metaphors and metonymies (see *Introduction*), the model has to allow the possibility of metaphors as well.

According to *Applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory in Cross-linguistic and Translation Research* (2015), Schmidt uses Gideon Toury's typology and Kövecses's parameters (qtd. in Schmidt 2015: 14).

Below is the typology that is going to be used in this analysis. Every translation solution predicted for both metaphorical and metonymical expressions is shown here:

1. (CM → CM)

    a. *m → m* - a metaphorical expression is translated by a metaphorical expression of the same conceptual metaphor with the same mapping and the same meaning

    b. *m → m'* - a metaphorical expression is translated by a metaphorical expression of the same conceptual metaphor with a different mapping and a similar meaning

2. (CM → CM1)

    m → m1 - a metaphorical expression is translated by a metaphorical expression of a different conceptual metaphor with a different mapping and a similar meaning

3. *m → non-m* - a metaphorical expression is translated by a non-metaphorical expression with a similar meaning (also known as a paraphrase)

4. *m → Ø* - a metaphorical expression is translated by a zero-element (also known as deletion, omission or zero-translation)

5. *non-m → m* - a non-metaphorical expression is translated by a metaphorical expression with a similar meaning

6. *Ø → m* - a zero-element is translated by a metaphorical expression

7. (Mtm → Mtm)

Mtm → Mtm - a metonymical expression is translated by a metonymical expression of the same mapping within the same domain with the same meaning

8. (Mtm → Mtm1)

Mtm → Mtm1 - a metonymical expression is translated by a metonymical expression having a different domain and a similar meaning

9. *Mtm → non-Mtm* - a metonymical expression is translated by a non- metonymical expression

10. *Mtm → Ø* - a metonymical expression is translated by a zero-element (also known as deletion, omission or zero-translation)

11. *Ø → Mtm* - a zero-element is translated by a metonymical expression

Translation solution types 1.-6. apply CM translation classification, elements 7.-11. are valid for the classification of metonymies. Since metaphors and metonymies both include similar mapping schemes, there was no need for any other adjustments of the model proposed by Schmidt.

Seen below is an analysis template that is going to be used throughout the analysis:

(NUMBER OF THE CM/Mtm) NAME OF THE MAPPING OF THE ORIGINAL EXPRESSION

SEASON AND EPISODE NUMBER, e.g. S1E3

Timecode in English subtitle, showing duration of the subtitle

"**Analysed** source language (English) sentence with the analysed expression underlined."

"**Analysed** target language (Croatian) sentence with the analysed expression underlined."

Classification according to analysis typology, e.g. *m → Ø*

Commentary containing: necessary context of the expression or sentence in the plot of the episode, explanation of the choices made in translation of the CM or Mtm, any other pertinent commentary.

4.2. Items analysed

This Section contains metaphorical and metonymical expressions found in episodes 1-4 (*Chapter 1, Chapter 2, Chapter 3, Chapter 4)* of the first season of *House of Cards*. The template used is presented in the previous Section. The expressions in the analysis appear chronologically.

(1) IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS

S1E1

00:02:16,344 → 00:02:18,097

"Do I believe in him? That's **beside the point**."

"Vjerujem li u njega? To **nije bitno**."

m → non-m

The first CM in the source language is a common mapping scheme in English language. This is protagonist's address to the audience, looking right at the camera and talking about the fictional President of The United States, Garret Walker. Francis Underwood is not particularly loyal to the President, but is perceived as such. His personal advances are his top priority, and he wants the audience to know that. At first this metaphor can be somewhat difficult to map in terms of SD and TD, the difficulty comes from the word *point* and its meaning in this expression. We will understand this metaphor if we understand why English speakers refer to ideas as points. A *point* can be a particular, physical place or an idea, information (Cambridge), with the former meaning seemingly absent here; the latter meaning being present. It can be very well argued,

however, that both meanings are present. If we include the latter meaning we can think of the spatial relation, *beside*, but we come to the same conclusion if we include the literal meaning. In both hypothetical cases the result is metaphorical. If we look for another example in the SL including a preposition followed by *point* we can find *on point* in a dictionary. Literally it would mean 'at the exact location'; as an idiom 'as it should be, perfect.' (Cambridge). If we compare meanings it is evident that use of *point* is very metaphorical and not easy to separate from the literal meaning. We map the location's spatial properties with the idea, therefore: IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS. In the Croatian translation we find a non-metaphorical expression that can be literally translated to English as *That is not important.* We can also interpret the expression *beside the point* as IMPORTANCE IS LOCATION mapping because the expression implies distance and an idea.

(2) INTIMATE ASSOCIATION IS PHYSICAL ATTACHMENT

S1E1

00:02:27,815 → 00:02:30,651

"I **latched onto him** early on and made myself vital."

"**Uhvatio sam ga se** na početku i učvrstio svoj položaj."

m → m'

In this instance the protagonist is still addressing the audience of the show, still talking about his relation to the President. The CM from the source text is translated by a CM with same meaning and similar mapping in the Croatian translation.

(3) UNDERSTANDING IS SMELLING, PART FOR PART

S1E1

00:02:30,734 → 00:02:35,030

"After 22 years in Congress, I can **smell** which way the wind is blowing."

"Nakon 22 godine u Kongresu, mogu **nanjušiti** kamo vjetar puše."

m → m

This sentence from the source text is interesting because there are two CMs next to each other in a sentence. As on multiple occasions in this analysis, understanding of a metaphor or metonymy can be greatly improved by asking the right question – why does the speaker refer to smelling in this context? Here we analyse the former expression. By *smelling* Underwood *perceives* or *deducts* any changes in his political party, in his political surroundings. Use of smell includes sensory perception, therefore it might be a metaphor such as PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION. SDs and TDs match perfectly in two languages, seemingly further solidifying this course of analysis. This explanation is, however, misleading. Expanding further into the metaphorical potential of the verb, *smelling* is strongly connected to *good* and bad, explaining why we can smell success or danger. (Changing Minds) Reinterpreted, one understands something by smelling, so a much more accurate CM is UNDERSTANDING IS SMELLING.

By identifying the more accurate conceptual metaphor we can also think of an alternative including a metonymical relation. Since our initial TD was PERCEPTION, we can look for more clues in its definition. One definition of *perceive* defines it as "*to become aware of through the senses especially: see, observe.*" (Merriam-Webster) Analogous to *see, smell* now appears at two instances within the same domain, as seen in this interpretation: *becoming aware through the senses is becoming aware through sense of smell.* Therefore, this expression can also be seen as a PART FOR PART relation within the same conceptual domain.

(4) EXTERNAL CONDITIONS ARE CLIMATE

S1E1

00:02:30,734 → 00:02:35,030

"After 22 years in Congress, I can smell **which way the wind is blowing**."

"Nakon 22 godine u Kongresu, mogu nanjušiti **kamo vjetar puše**."

m → m

In the same sentence we find another CM and, interestingly enough, both of these are translated as CMs with the same mapping and meaning. If we paraphrase both CMs within context, we could say that Francis Underwood can *perceive conditions* in his political party.

(5) TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY

S1E1

00:07:06,343 → 00:07:09,096

"You are **stuck in the 20th century**, Lucas. You lack imagination."

"**Zapeo** si **u 20. stoljeću**, Lucase. Nisi dovoljno maštovit."

m → m

  This sentence is from a scene where Zoe Barnes, young and ambitious journalist, is trying to influence Lucas, her work colleague. She wants to work better formats and topics, but at that moment she gets no positive feedback at her work. The adjective *stuck* implies a spatial relation or a narrow place. If we think of centuries as separate boxes we can think of TIME IS A CONTAINER CM. Upon closer observation it is evident that an expression implies movement of time; figuratively speaking Lucas is not moving in time, the initial spatial relation is more related to the movement rather than containers. This can be seen in the SD - TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY.

(6) BAD IS DOWN, CLIMBING UP/DOWN THE SOCIAL LADDER IS RISING/FALLING

S1E1

00:14:27,033 → 00:14:29,577

"When you don't involve me, we're in **free-fall**."

"Ako me ne uključiš, osjećam se kao da **propadamo**."

m → m'

  This is a sentence from Claire Underwood, after Francis had found out he was not going to be named Vice President. She reminded him of their cooperation as the only way to their success. The CM in a source language is translated by the same CM with a similar mapping. A free-fall is a specific manner of falling, whereas *propadati* can be translated as *fall* or *fall through*. When identifying the exact CM in this case there are few options depending on whether we start the identification from an umbrella metaphor or from a particular metaphor. Starting from the former, we arrive to BAD IS DOWN. Continuing downwards to the latter a CM fit to the former: CLIMBING

UP/DOWN THE SOCIAL LADDER IS RISING/FALLING. It fits the context of the dialogue, is more particular and specific and has a SD analogous to the umbrella metaphor.

Alternatively, we can think of this expression as of CAREER PROGRESS IS VERTICAL MOVEMENT. It is analogous to the CMs proposed for this expression, this one however stems from a different umbrella metaphor, CAREER IS A JOURNEY.

(7) SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES ARE POSITIONS

S1E1

00:18:36,198 → 00:18:40,327

"Never again will we allow ourselves to be **put in such a position**."

"Nikada si više nećemo dopustiti da se **nađemo u tom položaju**."

m → m'

This is a sentence from Francis Underwood to Doug Stamper, his loyal subordinate, after Francis had found out he was not going to be named Vice President. Francis sets new objectives for him and Stamper in order to gain the seat of the Vice President anyway. The CM in a source language is translated by the same CM. The mapping in the target language is slightly different.

(8) COMMUNIST IS LEFT, POLITICAL ORIENTATION IS SPATIAL ORIENTATION

S1E1

00:27:52,379 → 00:27:56,383

"So, you want a bill just **two steps left of Karl Marx**."

"Želite prijedlog zakona **koji je dva koraka ulijevo od Karla Marxa**."

m → m

In this particular scene the protagonist is tasked with helping new Secretary of Education, Donald Blythe, create a new education bill in record time. Upon hearing the news, Francis expresses his political opinion on the bill and the Secretary of Education in a very metaphorical way. The perceived location, i.e. (political) orientation comes from *two steps left of.* If we take

Marx's political communism and leftism (Feuer, McLellan) into account we can start identifying relations in this complex expression. The mapping and meaning remain identical in the Croatian translation. If we further analyse the underlined expression we could separate *Karl Marx* as a metonymical expression where we take PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, i.e. we can say that his *The Communist Manifesto* had politically a far-left orientation, but we refer to it by mentioning the writer.

(9) THINKING ABOUT A PROBLEM IS PUTTING THOUGHTS INTO A CONTAINER

S1E1

00:30:41,381 → 00:30:43,258

"I've **put a lot of thought into** it."

"**Dugo sam razmišljala**."

m → non-m

In this scene Claire Underwood explains to Evelyn, an office manager in her charity foundation, why firing half of the charity personnel is necessary and Evelyn is shocked by Claire's request. The Croatian translation is non-metaphorical, so we can focus on the CM in the source text. If the TD were something non-abstract, we would talk about putting things into some confined space. According to Lakoff, the introduction of *into* implies CONTAINERS as the SD. Literally, Claire was thinking about the problem, thus we come to this TD. Still, it is not possible to relate thinking of problems to containers directly, but it is possible and fitting to relate thinking about a problem to putting thoughts into something (a container).

(10) IMPORTANCE IS SIZE

S1E1

00:34:24,187 → 00:34:29,484

"I never make such **big decisions** so long after sunset and so far from dawn."

"Nikada ne donosim **važne odluke** ovako dugo nakon sumraka i toliko daleko od zore."

m → non-m

In this scene, Zoe Barnes made first contact with Francis Underwood. She offers to write anything he leaks to her about the US Government officials in exchange for exclusivity. Underwood would benefit from such an arrangement, but saying yes immediately would seem weak in front of Barnes. He postpones a definite answer to the offer with the sentence in question. The metaphorical expression in the source language is translated by a non-metaphorical expression ("važne odluke" = "important decisions").

(11) TIME IS A LANDSCAPE WE MOVE THROUGH, TIME IS SPACE

S1E1

00:34:24,187 → 00:34:29,484

"I never make such big decisions so **long after sunset and so far from dawn**."

"Nikada ne donosim važne odluke ovako **dugo nakon sumraka i toliko daleko od zore**."

m → m

In the same sentence (see the previous item) there is another CM. This one is translated as a metaphor with the same mapping and meaning. The overarching CM is TIME IS SPACE.

(12) IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT

S1E1

00:39:24,154 → 00:39:27,073

"They want your name because **it carries weight**."

"Žele tvoje ime jer **ima težinu**."

m → m'

This is a sentence from Francis Underwood discussing education reform bill with Donald Blythe, Secretary of Education. The difference in mapping between the metaphorical expression in the source and the target language comes from the choice of verbs ("ima težinu" = "has weight"). The meaning is the same in both languages.

(13) BAD IS DOWN

S1E1

00:39:52,682 → 00:39:54,976

"Good. And, Donald, don't let this **get you down**, all right?"

"Dobro. Ne daj da te ovo **pogodi**."

m → m1

  In the same scene (see item 12), Francis seemingly encourages Secretary of Education after problems with the first draft of the bill. The addressee (Donald) looks unhappy with the current state of the draft. The metaphorical expression in the source language has a mapping we see in *item 6* of this analysis. In the target language, however, we find a different CM with a different mapping and a similar meaning ("Ne daj da te ovo pogodi"= „Do not let this hit/hurt you.")

(14) POWER IS REAL ESTATE

S1E1

00:48:30,949 → 00:48:39,834

"**Power is a lot like real estate**. It's all about location, location, location. The closer you are to the source, the higher your property value."

"**Moć je poput nekretnina**. Važna je samo lokacija. Što ste bliže izvoru, veća vam je tržišna vrijednost."

m → m

  In this scene, Francis Underwood is attending the President's inauguration speech. A very particular choice of a camera pan shows people and the distance between the President and Underwood. He is not the closest person to him, but he is not very far from him. As the speech progresses, Underwood directly addresses the audience once again, same as before in this episode. What is so interesting from a linguistic point of view is that the protagonists, by directly explaining his actions and himself, provides a perfect CM in the first sentence comparing *power* to *real estate.* If we think of *power* as a TD and *real estate* as SD, we come to POWER IS REAL ESTATE. By reading

further into the scene we arrive to another metaphorical expression that is going to be examined next.

(15) IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY, INTIMACY IS A PHYSICAL PROXIMITY

S1E1

00:48:30,949 → 00:48:39,834

"Power is a lot like real estate. It's all about location, location, location. **The closer you are to the source, the higher your property value.**"

"Moć je poput nekretnina. Važna je samo lokacija. **Što ste bliže izvoru, veća vam je tržišna vrijednost.**"

m → m

In the same scene, Francis connects two more sentences into one meaningful set of sentences. We can interpret the second sentence as a description and the final sentence as another CM connected to the one in the first sentence (see 14). We can think of POWER IS STRUCTURE as an overarching CM. In an alternative approach to this metaphorical expression we can include a general truth: politicians close to one another are usually politically intimate. The alternative CM for this expression is therefore INTIMACY IS A PHYSICAL PROXIMITY.

(16) PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY

S1E2

00:02:46,374 → 00:02:49,461

"Republicans are gonna **ram this up our ass**. I would if I was them."

"Republikanci će nam **ovo nabiti u guzicu**. I ja bih na njihovom mjestu."

m → m'

Without context it is easy to mistake this for a non-metaphorical expression. In this scene Francis Underwood, Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Majority Leader comment on a recent leak of the first draft of the controversial education reform bill to the public. This

sentence comes from Bob Birch, Speaker of the House, predicting what the Republican Party will do with the breaking news to discredit freshly-elected Democrat government under President Walker. Both Croatian and English expressions are considered profanities and both contain the same CM with a slight difference in mapping. The difference comes from the choice of prepositions ("up"= "gore"; "u"="in").

(17) SEEKING IS HUNTING

S1E2

00:03:42,806 → 00:03:44,516

"I'm gonna **track down that check**."

"Gospodo, ja častim. **Idem po račun**."

m → non-m

 At the end of the same scene as in Item 16, Francis Underwood volunteers to pay the receipt for their meal. In order to pay the receipt, he has to find it first and speaks of it in terms one would use when talking about hunting a designated animal. In the target language, however, we find a non-metaphorical expression.

(18) MONEY IS A LIQUID

S1E2

00:03:59,823 → 00:04:02,117

"But when **the tit's that big**, everybody gets in line."

"Ali kad je **korist tolika**, svi staju u red."

m → non-m

 In another address to the audience, Francis tells the truth about money coming from corporations into political parties; stating that professional pride is not important when someone offers enough money to fund politicians' campaigns across the United States. If we think of the product of a woman's breast, we think of milk. Now the mapping scheme becomes clear: babies

25

need milk to develop, politicians need money to develop their campaigns or career, therefore MONEY IS A LIQUID is a correct CM in the source language. In the target language we find a non-metaphorical expression with similar meaning.

(19) CONTROL IS UP

S1E2

00:04:06,287 → 00:04:07,664

"Tell them I'm **on top of it**."

"Reci im da je **pod kontrolom**."

m → m'

As Remy Danton, a lobbyist for a big corporation, warns Francis of his unfulfilled commitments to his employers, Francis tries to soothe Remy by saying he controls the situation, as we can see in the sentence. The mapping in the target language is slightly different, but stills relies on the same CM as in the source language.

(20) MONEY IS A BUILDING

S1E2

00:04:47,746 → 00:04:58,339

"**Money is the McMansion in Sarasota that starts falling apart after ten years**. Power is the old stone building that stands for centuries."

"**Novac je vila na lošim temeljima koja se počne raspadati nakon deset godina**. Moć je stara kamena kuća koja stoji stoljećima."

m → m'

Explaining to the audience that he does not really respect Danton, Underwood comes to this statement. In this case the protagonist insist on his own metaphorical expression in a very descriptive manner. In the underlined expression he doubts the money's utility and stability over time. In the source language the metaphorical effect is strengthened by the use of *Mc*-prefix

evoking imagery of cheap, bland and fast food of low quality (Tréguer) together with Sarasota, a county and a principal city in Florida known for its nature, beaches and tourism. The mapping in the target language is slightly different, but stills relies on the same CM as in the source language.

(21) POWER/INFLUENCE IS A BUILDING

S1E2

00:04:47,746 → 00:04:58,339

"Money is the McMansion in Sarasota that starts falling apart after ten years. **Power is the old stone building that stands for centuries**."

"Novac je vila na lošim temeljima koja se počne raspadati nakon deset godina. **Moć je stara kamena kuća koja stoji stoljećima**."

m → m

In the continuation of his talk on differences between power and money, Francis contrasts the first metaphorical expression in the following sentence. In other words, he states that power outlasts money because of the building material. When we think of buildings, building blocks and materials come to mind. The same can be applied to power: It is built out of a more durable material, it is more durable, same as buildings in a non-metaphorical way.

(22) CONTROL IS ALIGNMENT

S1E2

00:05:46,888 → 00:05:49,141

"You were supposed **to keep Donald in line**. You assured me that you--"

"Trebao si **motriti Donalda**. Uvjerio si me..."

m → non-m

This sentence comes from Linda Vasquez, White House Chief of Staff. Oblivious to the fact Francis Underwood himself leaked the controversial bill draft to Zoe Barnes, Vasquez scolds him for not monitoring Donald Blythe. The metaphorical expression in the source language comes

from what we see. When any group of objects is literally aligned the arrangement looks like a controlled effort.

(23) THE PART FOR THE WHOLE

S1E2

00:08:26,089 → 00:08:34,931

"When I ask my colleagues, your bosses, **who are the smartest minds in education**, out of hundreds, we arrived at you--"

" Kad sam pitao svoje kolege, vaše nadređene, **tko su najbistriji umovi u obrazovanju**, od stotina ljudi izabrali smo vas,"

Mtm → Mtm

In order to produce a bill draft without depending on Donald Blythe, Secretary of Education, Francis Underwood gathers some of the smartest students in education to do it in record time. When they doubt at the feasibility of the bill draft, Underwood responds with this sentence, reminding them they are more capable than they think. Here we find a metonymical expression with the same mapping in source and target languages.

(24) COMPETITION IS WAR

S1E2

00:10:23,331 → 00:10:26,501

"The truth is **my heart is not in this fight**."

"Iskreno, **nemam dovoljno strasti za ovu borbu**."

m → m1

When approaching this metaphorical expression we must think of the circumstances that lead to this sentence. Surprised his bill draft was leaked to the public, Blythe confesses to Francis Underwood. He included many of his beliefs and his ideology in that draft, he is not happy to change anything in it and is not good at political negotiations. In terms of CM, we can think of this

contest as of a competition – Blythe still has to compete with many influential politicians and union representatives in order to get this bill draft approved; therefore COMPETITION IS WAR. Additionally, if we focus on *my heart,* we can relate it to emotions, i.e. Blythe is not emotionally connected to the process and EMOTIONS ARE ENTITIES INSIDE OF A BODY also comes to mind.

(25) THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION

S1E2

00:33:55,659 → 00:33:59,746

"Janine, anything new on Michael Kern? - **The White House is dodging**."

"Janine, ima li novosti o Michaelu Kernu? - **Bijela kuća izbjegava odgovor**."

Mtm → Mtm

This an obvious example of metonymy. The Press Secretary or some other politician close to the President can answer, not the building.

(26) WORDS ARE WEAPONS, IDEAS ARE PROJECTILES

S1E2

00:33:55,659 → 00:33:59,746

"Janine, anything new on Michael Kern? - The White House **is dodging**."

"Janine, ima li novosti o Michaelu Kernu? - Bijela kuća **izbjegava odgovor**."

m → m

In the same sentence we also find a CM. The danger of questions, or words in broader terms, is shown as danger of weapons. One wants to avoid getting hit by a dangerous weapon; one also wants to avoid getting asked dangerous questions, we dodge weapons and projectiles and we also dodge questions. The mapping scheme and the meaning remain unchanged after translation.

(27) THE MIND IS A MACHINE, MEMORIES ARE PEOPLE

S1E2

00:34:57,136 → 00:35:00,139

"**If memory serves me**, it was Mr. Kapeniak who wrote it."

"**Ako me pamćenje služi**, napisao ga je g. Kapeniak."

m → m

This statement comes from Michael Kern, a senator in process of becoming the Vice President of the United States, after receiving lots of criticism for an editorial he allegedly wrote. He speaks of his memory as of a person or a machine serving him.

(28) EVENTS VARYING IN IMPORTANCE ARE FOOD IN VARYING AMOUNTS, HIERARCHY OF EVENTS IS A HIERARCHY OF EATING

S1E2

00:37:16,735 → 00:37:21,823

"**Kapeniak and Kern were appetizers**, Miss Barnes. **Catherine Durant is the meal**."

"**Kapeniak i Kern samo su predjelo**, gđice Barnes. **Catherine Durant glavno je jelo**."

m → m

This metaphorical expression spans across two sentences. When asked by Zoe Barnes about his agenda at another secret meeting, Francis Underwood gives this response. Zoe was instrumental in all three events: leading the American main-stream media to focus on Kern's alleged anti-Zionism, receiving a phone call from Roy Kapeniak and pushing the idea of Catherine Durant becoming the new Vice President; all according to Underwood's instructions. Since these events differ in importance and chronological time of appearance, we can come to two CMs: EVENTS VARYING IN IMPORTANCE ARE FOOD IN VARYING AMOUNTS and HIERARCHY OF EVENTS IS A HIERARCHY OF EATING.

(29) RUMOURS ARE OBJECTS

S1E2

00:40:03,526 → 00:40:07,322

"Somehow **the rumor is flying around** that we're gonna nominate Catherine Durant."

"Nekako **su se proširile glasine** da ćemo nominirati Catherine Durant."

m → m'

In one of the final scenes in the second episode, Linda Vasquez, Chief of Staff, mentions this to Francis Underwood. Not knowing it was him through Zoe Barnes who spread the rumour, Vasquez asks him for his opinion. In the source language the rumour is given attributes of a flying object. In the target language, the rumour is described as an object spreading, which is the same CM as in the language with different mapping and similar meaning.

(30) TIME IS A RESOURCE

S1E3

00:00:21,521 → 00:00:23,148

"Then we're all **wasting** our **time**."

"**Gubimo vrijeme**."

m → m

In the first scene of the third episode, Marty Spinella, the representative of the Teacher's Union warns Francis Underwood that there's no deal without concessions. Spinella speaks of time as of a limited resource. In the source language we find a metaphorical expression, in the target language we find a metaphorical expression with the same mapping and meaning.

(31) OBJECT USED FOR STATUS

S1E3

00:01:41,226 → 00:01:42,811

"He's **after my seat** again."

"Ponovno želi **moju fotelju**."

Mtm → Mtm

This sentence comes from Francis Underwood, after discovering Oren Chase, his Republican opponent in Gaffney tries to blame him for a scandal involving a dead teenager. By smearing Underwood, Chase would compromise his position at the Congress. In this metonymical expression in the source language, Francis refers to his *seat*, actually referring to his own Congressman status. In the target language we find a metonymy with the same mapping.

(32) DECIDING TOO EARLY IS JUMPING INTO DECISION, DECISIONS ARE CONTAINERS

S1E3

00:09:37,660 → 00:09:39,412

"We don't have to **jump into** anything."

"**Ne žuri nam se**."

m → non-m

This sentence comes from Claire Underwood, offering a job to Gillian Cole. Pretending she's not in need of skilled employees right away, Claire says this sentence. Gillian has her reservations towards people connected to big corporations and is not ready to decide immediately. In the target language we find a non-metaphorical expression. In the source language, the mental activity of deciding too early is being related to physical activity of jumping into a container.

(33) MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS

S1E3

00:11:05,498 → 00:11:09,502

"**That girl's blood is on your hands**, and I'm taking you to task for it."

"**Krv te djevojke na tvojim je rukama**, a ja ću te kazniti za to."

m → m

This sentence comes from Oren Chase, trying to blame Francis Underwood for a fatal car accident. He didn't directly cause the fatal car crash, but Chase implies it. According to Chase,

Francis is morally responsible for the lethal outcome. Clean hands imply absence of guilt and responsibility, and blood metonymically stands for dying or murder. In the target language we find an identical CM with the same mapping and meaning as in the source language.

(34) A STAGE IN AN ACTION IS A LOCATION ALONG A PATH, PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT

S1E3

00:13:23,302 → 00:13:25,930

"**We can't move forward without addressing this point**."

"**Ne možemo nastaviti ako o tome ne odlučimo**."

m → m'

This sentence comes from Marty Spinella, the representative of the Teacher's Union, giving the Union's opinion on the terms of the education bill draft. In every negotiation there are at least two parties and every party has negotiable and non-negotiable terms. This negotiation will stop if two parties don't solve a specific part of the draft. From a linguistics standpoint, we come to PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT or A STAGE IN AN ACTION IS A LOCATION ALONG A PATH.

(35) TIME IS A RESOURCE

S1E3

00:13:29,141 → 00:13:31,310

"**Give me five minutes**, Marty. I'll call you right back."

"**Dajte mi pet minuta**. Nazvat ću vas."

m → m

In the same scene as in Item 34 (above), Francis Underwood, talking on the phone with Marty Spinella, asks for a postponed discussion on the draft. The choice of this CM comes from verb *to give* in the source language, same as *dati* in the target language. If we think of time as a commodity, one person may give another time. The mapping is identical in both languages.

(36) MONEY IS A LIQUID

S1E3

00:13:51,914 → 00:13:55,084

"**<u>We can't be pouring money into a settlement</u>** when we can barely afford to run the city."

"**<u>Ne možemo dati novac za nagodbu</u>** kad jedva imamo novca za upravljanje gradom."

m → non-m

  In this scene Francis Underwood comes to Gaffney Town Council to discuss a possible solution to a worrisome situation started by the fatal car crash. Gaffney's budget is not capable of providing funds for settlement without putting Gaffney at risk of going bankrupt. Travis Shore, a member in the Town Council, comes to that conclusion. In the source language we find a CM that connects money to something liquid. In the target language, however, we find no metaphorical expression.

(37) RULES ARE BRITTLE OBJECTS

S1E3

00:14:12,851 → 00:14:15,938

"**<u>She was breaking the law</u>**. End of story. You can't text while you drive."

"**<u>Ona je kršila zakon</u>**. Kraj priče. Ne smiješ slati poruke dok voziš."

m → m'

  In the same scene as before, Travis Shore continues to support the non-settlement solution, one that includes going to court. These three sentences are further arguments by Shore. In the source language, the metaphorical expression includes law as something rigid or something that can be broken, as seen by the choice of verb *to break*. In Lakoff's list of SDs we already find BRITTLE OBJECTS, which is an appropriate domain in this CM. In the target language we find the same CM with a different mapping and similar meaning.

(38) TYPE OF EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS MANNER OF CONTACT

S1E3

00:14:47,887 → 00:14:53,058

"**Then you can chew my ear off about principles**, because we'll all have nothing but time on our hands."

"**onda možete razglabati o načelima** jer nećemo imati ništa osim vremena."

m → m1

      Still in the same scene, Gaffney Town Council members and Francis Underwood think of possible solutions, but the situation seems very difficult. After being challenged by Travis Shore for talking in a condescending manner, Underwood says the mentioned sentence. In the target language we find a different CM with different mapping and similar meaning.

(39) TIME IS A RESOURCE

S1E3

00:14:47,887 → 00:14:53,058

"Then you can chew my ear off about principles, because **we'll all have nothing but time on our hands**."

"onda možete razglabati o načelima jer **nećemo imati ništa osim vremena**."

m → m'

      In the same sentence we find another metaphorical expression and a CM already seen in Items 30 and 35 in this Section. In this sentence in the target language we find same CM with slightly different mapping and similar meaning.

(40) TO RISK IS TO ROLL THE DICE

S1E3

00:18:14,093 → 00:18:15,844

"Let's roll the dice. Shall we?"

"Riskirat ćemo.“

m → non-m

This a sentence from Francis Underwood, walking into a commemoration service for late Jessica Masters. Underwood's bodyguard, Edward Meechum advises the congressman against walking into a crowd without a bodyguard because that would be a security risk. Underwood is willing to take the risk. In the source language risking is related to rolling the dice. In the target language we find a non-metaphorical expression.

(41)   CAREER PROGRESS IS VERTICAL MOVEMENT, CLIMBING THE SOCIAL LADDER IS MOVING UP/DOWN

S1E3

00:26:41,599 → 00:26:45,729

"**You've moved up from the metro pages to the front page Sunday edition**."

"**Došli ste s lokalnih vijesti na naslovnicu nedjeljnog izdanja**.“

m → m1

This sentence comes from a CNN hostess interviewing Zoe Barnes live on television. The interview hostess states Barnes's articles improved in quality, but also in position. This also affects her career at the Washington Herald, her workplace. As we can see in the source language, this CM is a specific case of GOOD IS UP and refers to a vertical change in career. In the target language we find a CM, but the spatial component of the expression is not explicitly vertical, it can also be horizontal, therefore we talk about two different CMs. Similar to Item 6 of this analysis, we can interpret this CM as CLIMBING THE SOCIAL LADDER IS MOVING UP/DOWN. This scene is, after all, a part of a prestigious interview for a young journalist. Barnes previously had not been eligible for such an interview; she climbed the social ladder by writing influential high-profile news pieces, therefore the interview is possible.

(42) PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER

S1E3

00:27:39,407 → 00:27:42,369

"**Should newspapers adapt to the times we live in?**"

"**Zar se ne bi novine trebale tome prilagoditi?**"

Mtm → Mtm

This sentence comes from a CNN hostess interviewing Zoe Barnes live on television. The interview hostess questions the adaptability of the Washington Herald in the age of the Internet and social media. In the source language we find a metonymical expression. The newspapers are related to the publishing company, where newspaper is the product and the publishing company is the producer. In the target language we find the same metonymical expression with the same meaning.

(43) ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

S1E3

00:29:26,723 → 00:29:43,031

"I know all about **hate. It starts in your gut, deep down here, where it stirs and churns. And then it rises. Hate rises fast and volcanic. It erupts hot on the breath**."

"Ja znam sve o **mržnji. Započinje u vašoj utrobi, duboko ovdje, gdje se miješa i mućka. Onda se podiže. Mržnja se podiže brzo i nalik je vulkanu. Eruptira kroz vrući dah**."

m → m

This scene takes place in a church in Gaffney when the reverend asked Francis Underwood to deliver a eulogy. In these sentences Underwood describes the hatred towards God when somebody's family member dies. If we think of hatred as of a form of anger, ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER applies in the source language. In the target language we find the same CM with no differences in mapping and meaning.

(44) LATE IS BEHIND, TIME IS SPACE

S1E3

00:42:11,904 → 00:42:13,864

"**I'm behind on it**."

"**Kasnim**."

m → non-m

     This sentence is from Peter Russo, explaining to Christina, his employee and lover that he must work on Sunday morning because he is late. The metaphorical expression in the source language can be either LATE IS BEHIND or TIME IS A LANDSCAPE WE MOVE THROUGH. In the target language we find a non-metaphorical expression.

(45) A DANGER TO A CAREER IS A HARM TO LIFE

S1E4

00:02:06,501 → 00:02:10,255

"I allow this to go to the floor, **I get murdered next election**."

"Ako pustim prijedlog na raspravu, **gotov sam na sljedećim izborima**."

m → m1

     This sentence comes from Bob Birch, Speaker of the House, in a discussion with Francis Underwood. Underwood presents him a version of the education bill draft very different from the version he negotiated with Marty Spinella. Birch warns Underwood of some consequences that might occur if such draft is presented to the floor. In the source language we find a metaphorical expression. Birch's life isn't at risk, his political career can be if he listens to Underwood. In the target language we find a different CM with different mapping and similar meaning.

(46) OBSTACLES TO ACTION ARE OBSTACLES TO MOTION, ARGUMENT IS WAR

S1E4

00:03:50,355 → 00:03:54,693

"But without Birch's cooperation, **we're fighting an uphill battle** before we even get the bill to the floor."

"Ali bez Birchove suradnje **bitka je izgubljena** i prije rasprave.“

m → m'

This sentence comes the President of the United States, Garret Walker. Underwood wants the President to force Birch into action, but that will only obstruct any cooperation between the Speaker of the House and the administration. In the source language we find a metaphorical expression which can be either OBSTACLES TO ACTION ARE OBSTACLES TO MOTION or ARGUMENT IS WAR. In the target language we find a metaphorical expression similar to the one in the source language, but with some differences. The WAR is SD in both languages, but the translation implies a lost war, "bitka je izgubljena" = "a battle is lost".

(47) OBLIGATIONS ARE FOOD

S1E4

00:09:16,848 → 00:09:19,393

"Claire, **I have too much on my plate right now**."

"Claire, **previše toga sada balansiram**.“

m → m1

This sentence comes from Francis Underwood after his wife Claire told a big donation from SanCorp to Claire's foundation is available again. He does not want Claire to accept it as it would complicate matters in the future for him, he fears the corporation would have lots of influence over him. If we think of the metaphorical phrase in the source language we can think of obligations as food. A human needs food, puts it on a plate when possible, can eat a certain amount in a certain period and does not eat the excess food because he or she cannot. Therefore we come to OBLIGATIONS ARE FOOD in the source language. In the target language there is a different CM with a different mapping and meaning.

(48) THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION

S1E4

00:10:44,685 → 00:10:47,606

"People usually don't have to think about it **when they're offered the White House**, Zoe."

"Ljudi obično ne razmišljaju **o Bijeloj kući**."

Mtm → Mtm

This is a sentence from Tom Hammerschmidt, chief editor at The Washington Herald after Zoe Barnes is unsure of his proposal to start working as a White House correspondent. It is a job offer that is very prestigious and Hammerschmidt is confused by Barnes's reaction. If we analyse the metonymical expression we know that he offered neither the place nor the building. What he offered was a job that included going to the White House. In the target language we find the same metonymical expression.

(49) CAREER PROGRESS IS VERTICAL MOVEMENT

S1E4

00:11:05,540 → 00:11:14,090

"David Rasmussen is the majority leader, which means **he's one step above me and one below Birch**, which is akin to being between a very hungry wolf and a very quarrelsome sheep."

„David Rasmussen vođa je većine. On je **stepenicu iznad mene i jednu ispod Bircha**. Odnosno, nalazi se između vrlo gladnog vuka i vrlo svadljive ovce."

m → m

In another address to the audience Francis Underwood explains his current intentions in a slightly comedic way. Bob Birch does not cooperate with Underwood, so he needs to marginalise Birch any means necessary. In the sentence in the source language we find an underlined expression about the career status of Underwood, Rasmussen and Birch. The difference in hierarchy and authority is shown as people standing on different steps. In the target language we find an identical CM with the same mapping and meaning.

(50) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

S1E4

00:11:05,540 → 00:11:14,090

"David Rasmussen is the majority leader, which means he's one step above me and one below Birch, which is akin to being **between a very hungry wolf and a very quarrelsome sheep**."

„David Rasmussen vođa je većine. On je stepenicu iznad mene i jednu ispod Bircha. Odnosno, nalazi se **između vrlo gladnog vuka i vrlo svadljive ovce**."

m → m

In the same sentence we find another metaphorical expression. Underwood compares Birch to a very hungry wolf and himself to a very quarrelsome sheep. This comparison is very metaphorical because different people with different status and characteristics are related to different animals with different characteristics. From the context of the episode we can conclude that Birch is demanding, superior and dominant and that Underwood is inferior, vocal and aggressive; all of it fits the comparison perfectly. In the target language we find the same CM, but we do not find a fixed comparison as in the source text where "akin" is used. The mapping and the meaning are the same as in the source language.

(51) CONTENT PEOPLE ARE HERDS, AMBITIOUS PEOPLE ARE PACKS, CONTENT PEOPLE ARE SHEEP, AMBITIOUS PEOPLE ARE WOLVES

S1E4

00:11:14,174 → 00:11:17,093

"Let's see **if he stays with the herd or joins the pack**."

„**Hoće li ostati u stadu ili će se priključiti čoporu**?"

m → m

At the very end of Underwood's address that is already covered in items 49 and 50, he asks this question as he heads to Rasmussen. From the context it is already known what characteristics Underwood and Birch have, now Underwood wants to identify Rasmussen's inclination. In the following scene it will become obvious that Rasmussen is content and has no ambitions that would put his interests against Birch's interests. Francis Underwood will exploit that fact later in the episode and Rasmussen's career will suffer. In the source language we find a metaphorical expression where groups of people are displayed as groups of animals. The CM is more specific than that, there are groups of non-ambitious and ambitious people and there are herds and packs,

therefore GROUPS OF CONTENT/AMBITIOUS PEOPLE ARE HERDS/PACKS. Alternatively, if we think of individuals rather than groups we can think of ambitious people as wolves and content people as sheep. In the target language we find the same CM with the same mapping and meaning.

4.3. Findings of the analysis

51 English and translated Croatian expressions from 4 episodes of the first season of *House of Cards* have been analysed in the previous Section using the typology proposed in 4.1. Those can be divided according to kind of the expression (i.e. metaphorical or metonymical) or translation solution. This Section provides numerical breakdowns and commentary on the findings. For some expressions in the previous Section alternative interpretations are offered in the commentary, we will focus on the non-alternative interpretations.

In numbers, 46 out of 51 expressions analysed were metaphorical, 5 were metonymical expressions, meaning the majority of 90.2 % expressions were metaphorical and only 9.8 % metonymical. This evident discrepancy between frequencies of metaphorical and metonymical expressions is not deliberate since the author did not prefer one over the other when selecting from the source text. Furthermore, room for human error, i.e. drops in concentration while extracting the subtitles was minimal and the selected expressions appear chronologically in the series, as explained in 3.1.

Dividing metaphorical expressions further we can look into appearance of different translation solutions according to our typology: $m \rightarrow m$ appears in 18 out of 46 metaphorical expressions (ca. 39.1 % of metaphorical and 35.3 % of all expressions) and is the most common solution, $m \rightarrow m'$ appears in 12 out of 46 (26 % of metaphorical and 23.5 % of all expressions) and it is the second most common solution, $m \rightarrow m1$ appears in 6 expressions (13 % of metaphorical and 11.7 % of all expressions), $m \rightarrow non\text{-}m$ appears in 10 (21.7 % of metaphorical and 19.6 % of all expressions); three solutions, $m \rightarrow \varnothing$, $non\text{-}m \rightarrow m$ and $\varnothing \rightarrow m$ do not appear in any of the expressions. Here we can compare our findings with those of Gašparović analysing metaphors in *The Office* TV series:

> $m \rightarrow m$[…]occurs in around 35% of the cases. The second place would be shared by both $m \rightarrow non\text{-}m$ and $m \rightarrow m'$, occurring in around 23% of the cases. After that we have $m \rightarrow m1$ (around 14%). Sharing the penultimate place of times occurring in translating of the 43

metaphors, there are $m \rightarrow \varnothing$ and $\varnothing \rightarrow m$. Both of them occur only once each. To be more precise, around 2% of the times each. (36)

As we can see, number of metaphorical expressions is similar to ours, only having three analysed expressions fewer. Distribution of translation solutions is similar but not identical: $m \rightarrow m$ is more present in this analysis by around 4 percentage points, $m \rightarrow m'$ more common by around 3 percentage points whereas $m \rightarrow non\text{-}m$ is less common by around 2.3 percentage points. Any discrepancies do not exceed five percentage points.

Metonymical expressions are, interestingly, always solved as *Mtm* $\rightarrow$ *Mtm* (100 %). A lack of diversity in translation solutions can be attributed to mere chance and a very small set of five metonymical expressions analysed. From the numbers so far it can be said that metonymies are represented by much fewer examples that metaphors in this series, i.e. this season.

4.4. Discussion of the analysis and the findings

It should be stressed right away that subtitle translation and adaptation has the viewer in mind, not the linguist. What is written here is in no way critical of either the source text or the translation, the analysis is being discussed in this section.

The exact methodology used in this analysis is an adaptation of other methodologies and has not been used before. In general, sorting expressions according to proposed solutions was easier than identifying correct CMs or metonymical relations, especially CMs. By comparing sentences in source and target language the translation solutions were nearly self-evident in most cases. Recognition of exact CMs, however, relied on more abstract thinking than simply comparing the original and the adapted sentences. First of all, CMs are numerous and browsing through any list, such as *Master Metaphor List* takes time. When either SD or TD were not identifiable in the expression the identification would take more time. Furthermore, when both SD and TD were not clearly identifiable the process would take even more time, often including repeatedly paraphrasing domains until it could be compared with some domain already established. Second to it, correctly separating overarching relations, i.e. 'umbrella metaphors' from specific metaphorical relations, also required additional attention, one can think of LONGTERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS A JOURNEY in this case. If any expression can be explained in an alternative, different way, that other explanation is primarily mentioned in the comments. The

methodology does not show alternative relations and solutions as equal to the one chosen by the author to be the main solution, despite alternative explanations being equally valid as the one highlighted in the analysis. This can be seen as a shortcoming.

One other difficulty connected to Lakoff's work on CMT in general is the cessation of Lakoff's work on metaphor *Master Metaphor List.* According to it there were new volumes planned, covering more topics, more source and target domains. This reflected on the analysis in a very specific way: domains already found and exemplified by Lakoff were easy to identify correctly, domains either not covered or partially covered by *Master Metaphor List* proved to be much more demanding, requiring more research and analysis until establishing a correct CM.

As mentioned in the previous Section, all five listed metonymies are solved as *Mtm → Mtm.* A possible mistake when interpreting this result is simply upscaling the assumption using the same number and set of phrases. Any hypothesis derived from such a small sample is probably invalid for a larger set of metonymical expressions.

By seeking comparison in a similar analysis carried out by Gašparović this analysis corroborates some general tendencies appearing in both analyses. First of all, the same solutions are most common in both TV series, at least in the seasons and episodes analysed. Secondly, the translation solutions present in both analyses are represented by similar percentages, varying less than 5 percentage points, indicating similarities between the texts. Thirdly and connecting to the previous argument, similarities between analysed TV series of different year of origin and different genre are still very significant.

Finally, as both metaphors and metonymies were analysed, we come to another blind spot. As seen in Item 18 of the analysis (MONEY IS A LIQUID) and others, metaphor in the source language is realised as a non-metaphorical expression in the target language. The issue not accounted for by the applied typology lies in the interaction of metaphor and metonymy, also dubbed *metaphtonymy* by Goossens, explaining as a "mere cover term which should help to increase our awareness of the fact that metaphor and metonymy can be intertwined." (1-2). At this point there is no need to further expand on this interconnection in this research, but it must be acknowledged that metaphtonymy would have been a useful addition to the typology used and remains a missed chance for this research, but may prove relevant in some future research.

5. Conclusion

The main aim of this paper is to identify and analyse translation solutions for metaphors and metonymies found in the first four episodes of the first season of *House of Cards.* In order to fulfil main aims, this paper also provides broad theoretical background needed for the scope of this paper, identifies metaphorical and metonymical mappings in source and target languages, gives timecodes for ease of third-party verification, explains how superficially unobtainable subtitle files were manipulated, establishes methodology and typology required for structured and meaningful analysis, provides contextualised commentary for every analysed expression including possible alternative explanations, gathers and summarises all findings along with numerical representation, compares findings of this paper to those of a similar research; highlights interesting findings, addresses challenging segments of the research and provides a possible staging ground for future research.

The analysis resulted in an overview of the solutions used by a translator translating sentences containing predominantly metaphorical and some metonymical expressions. By looking back at the analysis we can better understand translator's intentions and think of how translation would have looked like if different solutions had been chosen and how that would have reflected on subtitles in the target language in general.

Reflecting on the discussion in the previous section, it can be stated that the methodology and typology were generally very reliable because solid structured analysis was possible in all cases. Exceptions are, however, expressions with one or more alternative solutions and mappings and the non-inclusion of metaphtonymy as a translation solution. This paper admits these two shortcomings and they would definitely be addressed and solved in a future iteration or upgrade of this paper.

Possible lines of further research branch in several directions. One direction is to expand on the scope of this paper horizontally. That includes analysing metaphorical and metonymical expressions from the whole first season of *House of Cards* instead of four episodes analysed by this paper. This option would provide a more comprehensive overview of language across a much larger number of episodes and expressions. Additionally, by identifying further metonymical expressions new findings could differ greatly from our current result on translation solutions of metonymies due to a big increase in analysed expressions predicted. Second direction coming

directly from the first one is to compare results of the analysis of the whole first season of *House of Cards* to a similar analysis of a whole season of another TV series, similarly to what was done in Section 4.3. of this paper. Third direction expands on the comparative potential of the findings. If we hypothesise metaphorical and metonymical expression found in subtitles of TV series of different genre will be translated using different solutions or that different translation solutions are more or less represented in series of different genre, further research can be justified.

What can this paper teach us, what was learned in the process? Though simple at first glance, it is rather challenging to condense an answer of this question into one coherent thought: we have learned that despite being bilingual and frequent in use of metaphors and metonymies one simply cannot analyse them on a larger scale without extensive preparation that includes numerous skills, time, analytical thinking and literature. The more the analysis progressed, the more it became obvious how unexpectedly metaphorical expressions (and language) were.

If one thinks of this paper's possible implications, there are few at best. One definitely suggests analysing both metaphorical and metonymical expressions in the same paper using one methodology requires even better preparation and typology. When it comes to the industry of subtitling, this paper hints at possible differences in translating different series genres, but does not corroborate such claim.

At the end of the day, we regularly use metaphors and metonymies in our language. This paper scratched the surface not by using language to ask questions, but rather by questioning language we use. And when one questions language – the language speaks of how we interpret the world around us. Next time you see subtitles, think of the world contained within it interpreted to us through our language.

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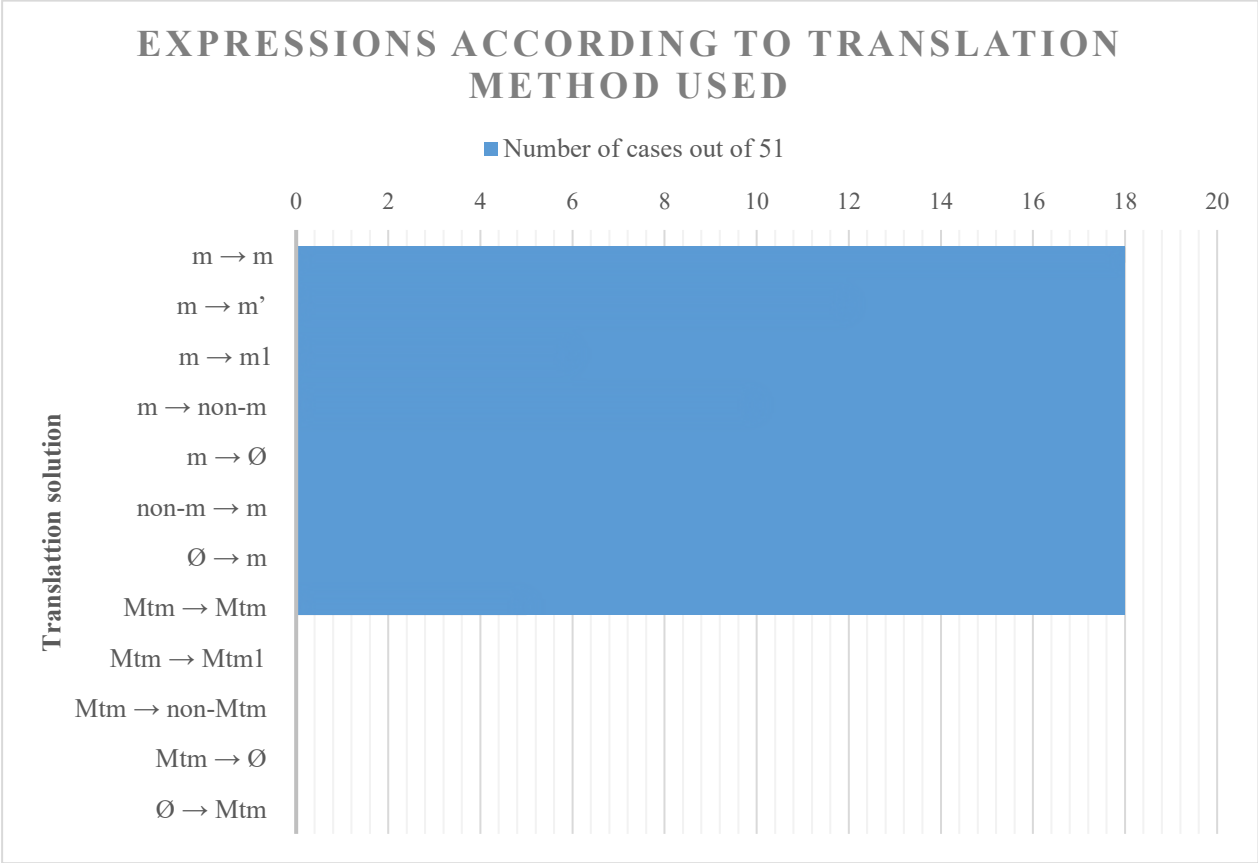
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7. Appendix

EXPRESSIONS ACCORDING TO TRANSLATION METHOD USED

■ Number of cases out of 51

Translation solution:
- m → m
- m → m'
- m → m1
- m → non-m
- m → Ø
- non-m → m
- Ø → m
- Mtm → Mtm
- Mtm → Mtm1
- Mtm → non-Mtm
- Mtm → Ø
- Ø → Mtm

Appendix 1. Chart of found metaphorical and metonymical expressions according to the translation solution used