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A Cognitive Approach to the Metaphor Translation of *Skin in the Game: Hidden Asymmetries in Daily Life*

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Abstract

Metaphors are ubiquitous as they are a way for people to understand the world, and are usually translated by the strategy of either domestication or foreignization. The translators conducted a translation practice of "Skin in the Game: Hidden Asymmetries in Daily Life" by applying a cognitive integration system to analyze the metaphorical devices of SKIN, GAME, SKIN IN THE GAME, and how their integration processes affected the translators' decisions on the target versions in different contexts with various linguistic choices. The translating practice proves that, in different contexts, with different life experience and existed knowledge, the translators might present different degrees of autonomy and ways-of-seeing the world in the source text and linguistic preferences in the translation. Many selected linguistic choices applied in translation practice are intentional in nature and are a part of translators' cognitive world, which are compositionally active with their knowledge background and extensional, referential and personal experiences. This finding provides an empirically-grounded analysis of cognitive integration in translation practice, attempting at bridging the gap between research in discoues analysis, conceptual structure, and language production in translation.

Keywords: Cognitive Integration, SKIN, GAME, Skin in the Game, Metaphorical Devices

1. Introduction

Skin in the Game: Hidden Asymmetries in Daily Life, written by Nassim Nicholas Taleb and published in February 2018, is a continuation of the *Incerto* collection which includes the other four business related books: *Fooled by Randomness (2005), The Black Swan (2007), The Bed of Procrustes (2010)* and *Antifragile (2012)*. In *Skin in the Game,* Taleb (2018) combines practical discussions, philosophical stories and analytical commentary on the topics of randomness and

uncertainty, in which he holds that readers don't need to pay attention to what people talk about, but what they do and whether they take their responsibility. In this provocatively commercial book, Taleb tells the readers that "skin in the game", often considered as the foundation of risk management and the action related to personal stake or investment in financial situations, in fact can be applied in many aspects in our daily life. He draws everything from the Giant in philosophical tales to Jesus Christ, from a former Secretary of the United States Treasury to Donald Trump, and from agency problems in transaction to used car businessmen, to create an amazing framework to understand the concept of "skin in the game". In *Skin in the Game*, Taleb aims to reveal that "skin in the game" is a secret to understand the commercial world. He probes into the hidden asymmetries in our daily life with profound and comprehensive analysis. As an author of risk management issues, Taleb puts forward various metaphors and cognitive linguistic devices in his books, such as *The Black Swan,* and *The Bed of Procrustes and Antifragile,* to illustrate his ideas and considerations for people to understand the world we live in. From the perspective of translation, how the title *Skin in the Game*, which is composed of two metaphors "skin" (literally means 皮肤 in Chinese) and "game" (literally means 游戏 in Chinese), being translated into Chinese are analyzed cognitively for the translated version to represent the core ideas of the whole book.

2. Theoretical Foundation for Translation Practice

2.1. Cognitive Linguistics and Metaphorical Domains

Cognitive linguistics is interdisciplinary which includes linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, psychology and so on. Sweetser (1990, p. 1) claims that language is grounded in human cognition systematically, and cognitive linguistics aims to illustrate how. The establishment of cognitive linguistics is based on its own philosophical view. Similarly, Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987), Lakoff and Johnson (1999) categorize the philosophical opinions as Objectivist View, or Objectivism and Non-Objectivist View, or Non-Objectivist, among which, they call Non-Objectivist View as Experientialism, or Embodied Philosophy (Wang, 2007, p. 36). Lakoff (1987, p. 266-267) explains Embodiment as follows: "our collective biological capacities and our physical and social experiences as beings functioning in our environment". Later, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) put forward the idea of Embodied Philosophy, proposing and explicating the philosophical foundation for cognitive linguistics. However, given that bodily experience cannot be singled out from the particular cultural surroundings they take place, it is anticipated that there should be differences among the conceptual metaphorical systems in varied cultures (Yang, 2020, p. 113).

From the perspective of linguistic studies, cognitive linguistics concerns cognitive semantics, cognitive phonemics, cognitive lexicology, cognitive grammar, cognitive pragmatics, etc. Among them, cognitive semantics, especially metaphor study, is an eye-catching and burgeoning cognitive linguistics diagram. Scholars of this school argue that semantics is on the one hand related to bodily experience and, on the other hand, it is based on human cognition and conceptual structure. Therefore, semantics features both objectivity and subjectivity. As Langacker (2000, p. 203) points out, "there is no such thing as a neutral, disembodied, omniscient, or uninvolved observer" indicates that the view of body-based idea is one of the tenets of cognitive semantics, within which, metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing via another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Metaphor application is pervasive and common in our daily language, not just in literature works, but also in economic texts, law texts, technology texts and so on (Ye, 2013). When people define and classify everyday realities, conceptual system serves as a vital role. The conceptual system of human beings is characterized by its metaphorical essence, who are aware that their thinking and actions in daily life are actually a matter of metaphor. However, they may act subconsciously and may not recognize their conceptual systems.

Metaphor presents the systematic correspondence between two domains, namely the source domain and the target domain. The processing of the source domain reflecting the target domain is called cross-domain mapping. The term "domain" is defined by Langacker (1987, p. 147) as "a cognitive context for characterizing a semantic unit or concept." In his opinion, most concepts presuppose other concepts and can't be defined by referring to them implicitly or explicitly. The conceptual system of human beings is largely metaphorically structured, which displays that the understanding of one concept is related to another concept. During the processing, people use one domain to reflect its correspondence with another one. In other words, there are systematic correspondences linking two different domains. Moreover, the term "cross-domain mapping" is often used to refer to the process of how people using systematic correspondence between domains and the term metaphorical mapping. The ontological correspondences and epistemic correspondences are entailed by the mappings. The ontological correspondences refer to entity correspondences and epistemic correspondences refer to inference patterns. In the process of mapping, metaphorical blending, also named as conceptual integration (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), presents a better interpretation for the cognitive process of language production, especially when dealing with complicated images, and comprehension of conceptual metaphors grounded on its distinct ongoing mechanisms in the development of meanings in the texts (Hedblom et al., 2016; Schneider & Hartner, 2012).

As Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 25) see it, comprehending our experiences from the perspective of objects and substances enables us to pick out parts of our experience and their associated language. If we define our experiences as entities, we can refer to them, classify them, quantify them and then reason about them, which certainly affect translators' language selections and translating practices, such as metaphor translation in the texts.

2.2. Studies of Metaphor Translation

Metaphors enable people to draw from concrete experience with some physical objects to improve their comprehension about something abstract and provide guidance for their communication behaviors and linguistic actions. According to Newmark (2001, p. 113), metaphor is "the epitome of all kind of all translation". Metaphor translation, a field features "great unpredictability" (Menacere, 1992, p. 568), has triggered discussions from two different perspectives: traditional and cognitive. Traditionally, metaphor is considered as a rhetorical device used to ornament the text in traditional studies, which is supported by Dagut (1976), Mason (1982), Toury (1985), Snell-Hornby (1988) and many other researchers who devote great efforts to traditional metaphor translation. Regarding the cognitive perspective, some scholars systematically discuss and analyze the metaphor translation procedures (e.g. Mandelblit, 1998; Newmark, 2001) either on the matter of translatability of metaphor (Dagut, 1976) or the translating strategies of metaphor and cultural affections in texts (Snell-Hornby, 1988). For instance, Dickins (2005) conducts a detailed research of Newmark's (2001) category metaphors and combines it with Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), raised by Fauconnier (1997, pp. 227-273), to propose a two-model metaphor translation: the full model and the simplified model, in which he lists the potential fields for the two models to be applied. Metaphors are usually translated by the strategy of either domestication or foreignization. Domestication is to transform the expression into the new one acceptable by the target readers, weakening the exoticism of the original text. Foreignization is to preserve the exoticism of the original text, enriching the expression of the target language. Two strategies have their own advantages and disadvantages. How to employ them is often up to the specific situation of the text.

Among the research on cognitive translation, Mandelblit (1998) proposes the Cognitive Translation Hypothesis, a cognitive framework for metaphor translation. He puts forward two cognitive schemes of mappings, namely "similar mapping conditions" and "different mapping conditions" according to the cognitive approach. If two cultures conceptualize experience in a similar way, the mapping conditions in the source language and the target language are also similar, then, it would be easier for the translator to do the translation. If the mapping conditions are different, the translator may spend more time thinking and deciding a suitable translation strategy for the specific metaphor. In fact, even if the mapping conditions are similar, we may choose not to translate it literally and the translator still needs to make decisions among various translation strategies for metaphors. While Maalej (2008) echoes Mandelblit's (1998) argument and further argues that metaphorical expressions are prone to be remained if two cultures have the same conceptual mappings and linguistic expressions, Al-Hasnawi (2007) suggests three situations about metaphor translation: metaphors of similar mapping conditions, metaphors of similar mapping conditions but lexically realized differently, and metaphors of different mapping conditions. Concerning linguistic strategies, Al-Hasnawi (2007, p. 234) reckons that a metaphor can be rendered into a simile, a paraphrase, a footnote, an explanation or, as a last method it can be omitted. However, Kövecses (2005) proposes a more comprehensive view on metaphor translation, whose basic translation strategies may be summarized as: the same metaphor mapping condition with the same lexical expressions or different lexical expressions; different metaphor mapping conditions with the same lexical expressions or different lexical expression. Translators who want to translate a metaphor by producing a target text that features a close resemblance to the source text should pay attention to cultural issues and their integrating process for translation. Based on Fauconnier's (1997) CMT and Mental Space Theory (MST), Fauconnier and Turner (2002, p. v) put forward Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT), which demonstrates that "the products of conceptual blending are ubiquitous". Either mappings between domains or blending processes are the core of the unique human cognitive process of thinking, producing, transferring and reasoning for translation.

Different approaches to translation practice are not isolatedly applied by translators or interpreters, but rather with integrated ways. This conceptualizes the translation rules and strategies in terms of cognitive processing, and such a cognitive processing influences translators' decisions on the final translated version. In the following analysis, the translators selected the sentences with "skin", "game" and "skin in the game" from the book and identified the integrating processes of the metaphors and what signified meanings they conveyed, which presented how the final translated version for "Skin in the Game" of the book title was progressed and worked out.

3. Integration Space Mode for the Present Translation

To translate the metaphorical title "Skin in the Game (literally translated as 游戏中的皮肤 in Chinese)" of the book, the translators had gone through the whole book to frame a whole picture of the main theme and ideas in the book, and then applied the basic concept - mental integrating space in the translating work. According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002, p. 40), mental spaces are "small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk". The basic network model of CBT is made up of four mental spaces, including two input spaces, generic space and integrated space. The two input spaces belong to different cognitive domains and the generic space maps onto each of the inputs. The cross-space mapping illustrates the partial mapping of counterparts between the two inputs. The generic space indicates the common and abstract structures shared by the two inputs. The inputs are partially mapped onto the integrated space, which has emergent structure not provided by the inputs. In the present study of metaphor translation, the translators integrated the space integrating mode in the translating practice.

Within Fauconnier's (1997, p. 160) CBT proposal on space and blending (see Figure 1), the four circles are mental spaces. The solid lines represent the cross-space mappings between different inputs, the dotted lines indicate relations between inputs and generic space or blended space, and the solid square in the blended space predicates emergent structure.

Such a network model represents the on-line and dynamic cognitive integration process that people have to construct their purports.
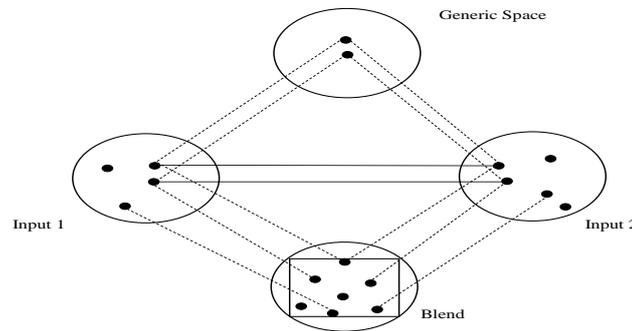

Figure 1: Four-space integration

The translating process may be considered as the process of "de-integration" of the source text. The translators in the practice initially identified how the metaphor "Skin in the Game" comes into being, which was the integration network 1, providing the process for interpreting the core ideas of the whole book. In integration network 2, it illustrated how "skin" and "game" were understood in the target language culture.
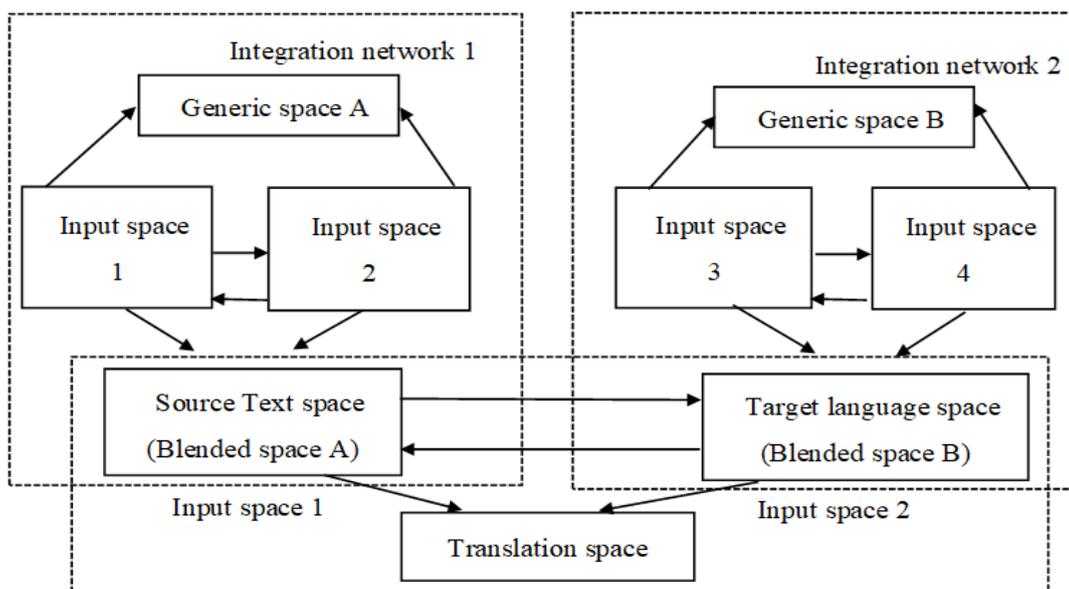
Figure 2: Combined integration network

In this network in Figure 2, the translating work involved both translators' business and linguistic knowledge and their cognitive experience, who negotiated, maintained, changed and reduced the conceptual structure which was compressed by the writer of the original text. Finally, the translators concluded a cognitive target version for the title of "Skin in the Game".

4. The Cognitive Translation Practice of "Skin in the Game"

The translators classified the metaphors which were related to "skin", "game" and "skin in the game". In the following analyses, ST is the abbreviation of the source text, TT1 refers to the non-cognitive target translation, while TT2 refers to the cognitive target translation.

4.1 The Translation of SKIN Metaphor

Many researchers have devoted their efforts to studying the cognitive mechanism, as well as the evolution and changes of body metaphors from the perspective of semantics, such as HEAD metaphor, EYE metaphor, HUMAN BEING metaphor. However, the SKIN metaphor is quite innovative, novel and less attended. The source domain (SKIN) in Chinese can be mapped onto the target domains like OBJECTS, MATERIAL, FUNCTION and PERSONAL TRAIT. The source domain

(SKIN) in English can be mapped onto THIN LAYER. In the book, "skin" is seldom used as an individual metaphor but is often conjoined with "Skin in the Game", whilst it is often replaced by its epistemic correspondence "expose (to)" which is indirectly associated with the function of "SKIN", inferring inside/outside and protection. Here is an example from the book.

Example 1
ST1: If you give an opinion, and someone follows it, you are morally obligated to be, yourself, **exposed to**
its consequences. (Paragraph 4, Page 12)
TT1: 如果你发表了一个意见，有人采纳了，在道义上，你应该把自己**暴露**在后果之中。
TT2: 如果你发表了一个意见，有人采纳了，在道义上，你有义务去**承担**后果。

Figure 3 presents the translators' conceptual integration network and their perceived relationship between the Input Space 1 "SKIN" and the Input Space 2 "People". "SKIN", as a part of our body, is easily affected when exposed to the outside world without protection. The features of the Input Space "SKIN" are mapped onto the Input Space "People", and are described from the perspectives of "the condition" and "risks". The integrated space demonstrates the result of the integration: a person "exposed" to the results or consequences is just like the "SKIN" exposed to the outside.
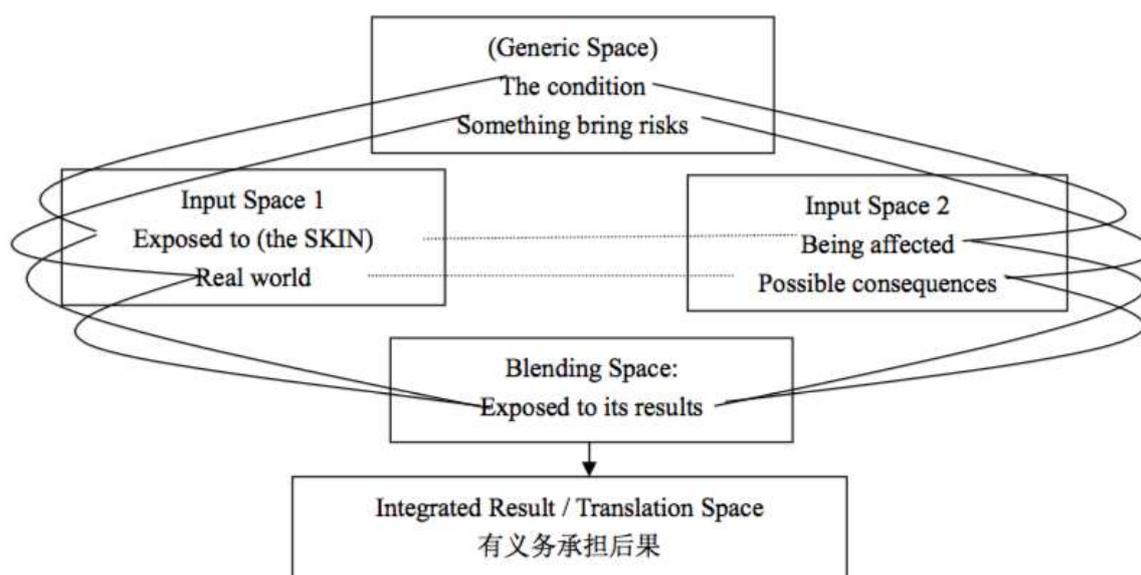

Figure 3: Conceptual integration network: "Exposed to (the SKIN)" and "People"

As to TT1 version, the translators interpreted the metaphor literally in a way that could be understood by the target readers as they could get the idea that "exposing" oneself who might be affected by commercial risks. However, such a version "把自己暴露在后果之中" does not occur frequently in the daily usage by the Chinese. In Chinese, "暴露在后果之中" predicates taking/accepting the results. Thus, the translators paraphrased the metaphor in TT2 as "承担后果" based on the Chinese language convention. The aim to expose oneself to the consequences is to take the responsibility of the results. Here is another example.

Example 2
ST2: Bureaucracy is a construction by which a person is conveniently separated from the consequences of his or her actions. And, one may ask, what can we do since a centralized system will necessarily need people who are not directly **exposed to** the cost of errors? Well, we have no choice but to decentralize or, more politely, to localize; to have fewer of these immune decision makers. (Paragraph 3, Page 28)
TT1: 在官僚体制中，一个人可以轻易做到不为自己的行为承担后果。那么，有人可能会问，既然一个集权的体制必然需要有些人不会直接**接触到错误带来的代价**，那么我们能做些什么呢？除了去中心化，我们别无选择，或者比较委婉的说法是，本地化，以减少这些不受结果影响的决策者。
TT2：在官僚体制下，一个人可以轻易不为自己的行为承担后果。那么，可能有人会问，既然一个集权体制必然 需要有些人不用**为错误买单**，那么我们能做些什么呢？除了分散权力，我们别无选择，更委婉的说法是，地方化，以减少这些对结果免疫的决策者。

In Example 2, we may figure out bureaucrats from the concept of skin through the conceptual integration network between "SKIN" and "Bureaucrat" (see Figure 4).
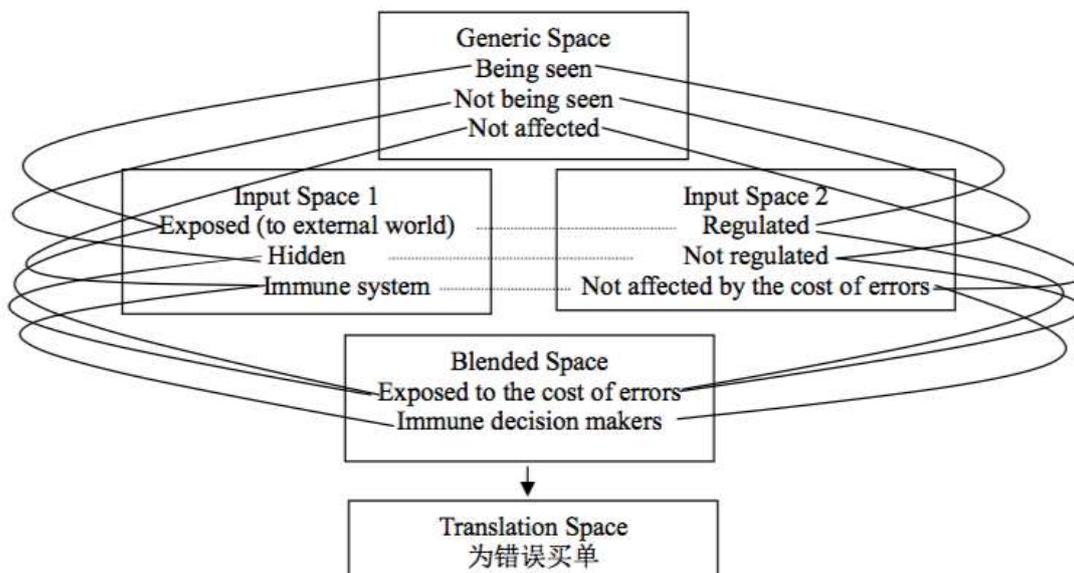

Figure 4: Conceptual integration network: "Exposed (SKIN)" and "Bureaucrat"

To have "SKIN" in politics is to take a risk and shoulder the responsibility for one's own actions. Exposing oneself to the external world reveals being regulated for bureaucrats. When a person hides himself in the corner or in darkness, he might not be spotted. This is the same thing for bureaucrats who are not regulated. These relations were described from three perspectives, which were illustrated in the generic space in Figure 4. The implication of "exposed to the cost of errors" was that the person had to take responsibility for the result. It was literally translated in TT1, retaining the metaphorical expression of "exposed to something" which was too lengthy in Chinese. In TT2, the translators used a Chinese metaphor "为…买单" which literally conveyed paying the bill for something, taking responsibility for the consequences in this context. TT2 was more accurate concerning Chinese communication conventions. From the two examples, the target readers would learn the author's attitude towards the commercial owner-operators more authentically.

4.2 The Translation of GAME Metaphor

There are numerous studies about the GAME metaphor, especially the conceptual metaphors ECONOMY IS A GAME in economic discourses and POLITICS IS A GAME in political discourses. Different from "SKIN", "GAME" metaphors are often applied independently in the text. In the following translation practices and analyses, the translators presented their cognitive integration process, and how the final translated versions of GAME metaphor were concluded. In the practice, GAME metaphor was literally translated as "游戏", associated with commercial ideologies or bias.

Example 3

ST3: The good news is that in spite of the efforts of a complicit Obama administration that wanted to **protect the game** and the rent-seeking bankers, the risk-taking business started moving toward small independent structures known as hedge funds. (Paragraph 3, Page 31）

TT1: 好消息是，尽管复杂的奥巴马政府想<u>**保护这个游戏**</u>和寻租的银行家，这种被认为是对冲基金的风险开始针对小型独立的机构。

TT2: 好消息是，尽管串通一气的奥巴马政府想要<u>**保护这场游戏**</u>，保护寻租银行家，但是风险共担业务开始转向对冲基金，一种小而独立的架构。

In Example 3, the concepts of "game" and "bank" are blended, creating metaphorical expressions. Figure 5 presents the association of Input Space 1 "GAME" and Input Space 2 "Economic Activity". Banking business can be recognized as a game where the rent-seeking bankers are the players, and the government is the judge who wants to support or protect the game. These similarities are described from the perspectives of the participants and the host in the activities. After these concepts have been blended, metaphorical expressions like "a complicit Obama administration that wanted to protect the game" appear. From such a metaphor, the author wants to reveal the dark side of the banking business and political affairs.
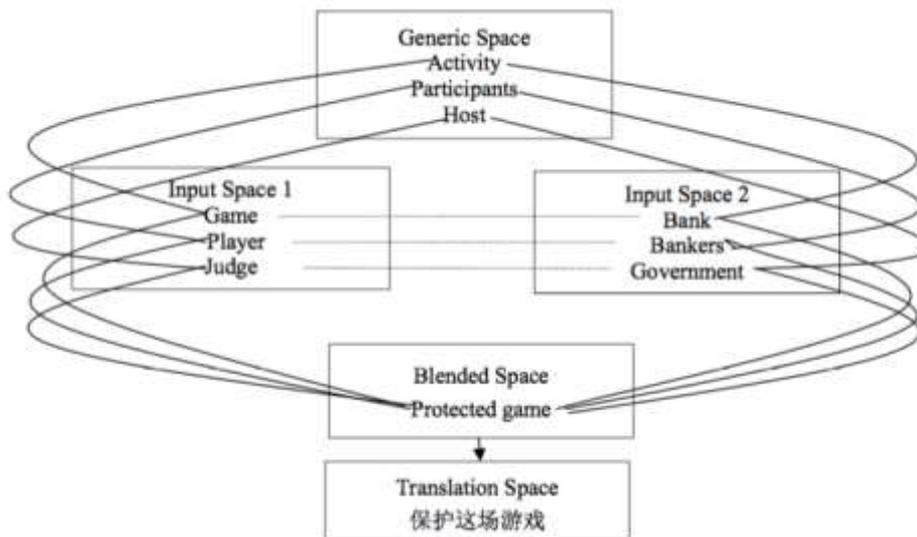
Figure 5: Conceptual integration network: "GAME" and "Economic Activity"

While translating "GAME", the translators chose to translate it literally because "游戏" inferred many complicated situations and ideologies where unfairness might occur and the rules were controlled by people with authority. Literal translation was easy to be understood by the Chinese because the Chinese had similar experience and the shared knowledge with the author that the government wanted to protect the unfair game, and the unfair banking business was biased. However, "GAME" in many cases might have different inferences and needs to be paraphrased. Here is an example.

Example 4
ST4: More critically, people with good lawyers can **game** regulations (or, as we will see, make it known that they hire former regulators, and overpay for them, which signals a prospective bribe to those currently in office). (Paragraph 4, Page 70, See Appendix 1 ST12）
TT1: 更关键的是，聘请了好律师的人可以**游戏**规则，（或者，正如我们会看到，让大家知道他们雇佣前规则制定者，支付他们高薪，这些都暗示着贿赂那些还在办公室里人的可能)。
TT2: 更关键的是，雇佣了好律师的人可以**钻法律的空子**（或者，正如我们将看到的，让人们知道他们雇佣了之前的规则制定者，并给他们支付高薪，这对那些在职的人来说是一种潜在的贿赂）。

In Example 4, the concepts of "game" and "political activity" are integrated to create metaphorical images. Figure 6 exhibits the relation between Input Space 1 "GAME" and Input Space 2 "Political Activity". In a game, the players, namely the lawyers from the context, may play tricks and change the rules, which are considered unethical, just like the politicians in political activities, who may use their knowledge, power and authority to manipulate the regulations to get various benefits for themselves. In the integrated space, the metaphorical image "good lawyers can game regulations" is projected, implying the unethical behaviors in the political game.
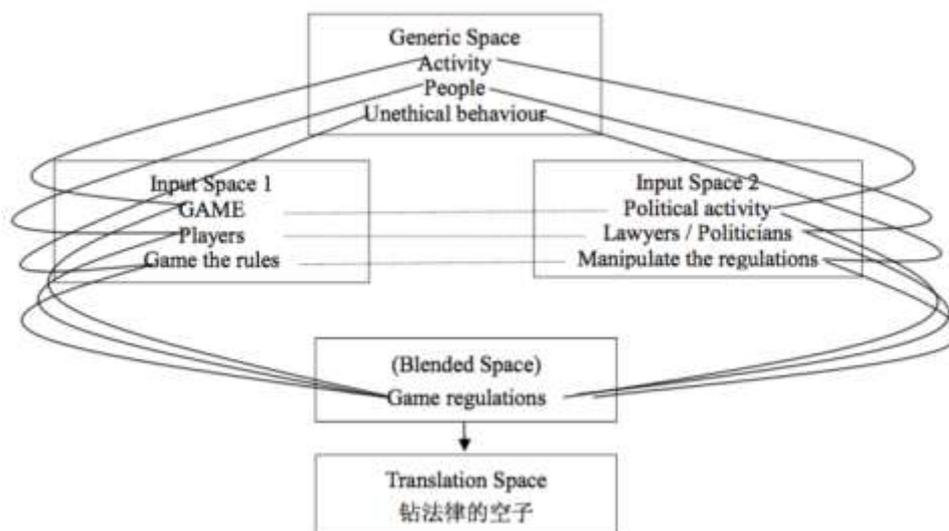
Figure 6: Conceptual integration network: "Game" and "Political Activity"

The verb "game" in Example 4 refers to using rules or laws to get what they want in an unfairness in a legal way. However, remaining the original metaphor is confusing in Chinese as the word "游戏" is often used as a noun. The translators used a Chinese metaphor "钻空子", as an equivalent Chinese metaphor, to convey the same meaning for such a metaphorical version also displayed using laws to gain what they wanted in an unfairness but with a legal method.

4.3 The Translation of "Skin in the Game" Metaphor

The occurrences of "Skin in the Game" are of great significance in this book, appearing not only in the title, but also in the context with high frequency – fifty-seven times in the book, which is correlated with war, business, academics, finance, politics and daily life. To have "skin in the game" is to have monetary or other risks by being involved in achieving an aim. In addition, it refers to owners or principals who have significant stakes in an investment vehicle, such as shares of a company, in which outside investors are solicited to invest. In this section, the translators selected five contexts to analyze "Skin in the Game" by using metaphorical mapping and cognitive integration while conducting the translation.

> Example 5
> ST5: **The idea of skin in the game is woven into history**: historically, all warlords and warmongers...
> (Paragraph 2, Page 26）
>> TT1: <u>游戏中皮肤的概念已经编织进历史</u>：纵观历史，军事领袖和战争发动者⋯⋯
>> TT2: <u>历史，由战场上身先士卒的故事编织而成</u>：纵观历史，军事领袖和战争发动者⋯⋯

In Example 5, the noun phrase "skin in the game" is applied as an attributive phrase which indicates soldiers who take physical risks at war. In translators' cognition, "skin" implied those prominent people taking physical risks, like warlords, commanders at frontline in battles. The mapping between the Input Space 1 "Skin in the game" and the Input Space 2 "Warlord" related to the typical figures in the war. The domain "Skin in the game" was integrated with the domain "warlord" because of their similarities. When people were at war without protective armors, they were at risk and they might be injured in the fights. Thus, "skin in the game" was translated as "战场上身先士卒" to match the Chinese cognition of "warlords, armors, danger and death". Figure 7 exhibits the Conceptual Integration Network between "Skin in the Game" and "Warlord", in which the idea of "Skin in the Game" is cognized as an object, like cotton or thread, which can be woven into "fabrics". There are two ontological metaphors, "the idea is an object" and "history is an object" behind the metaphorical expression.
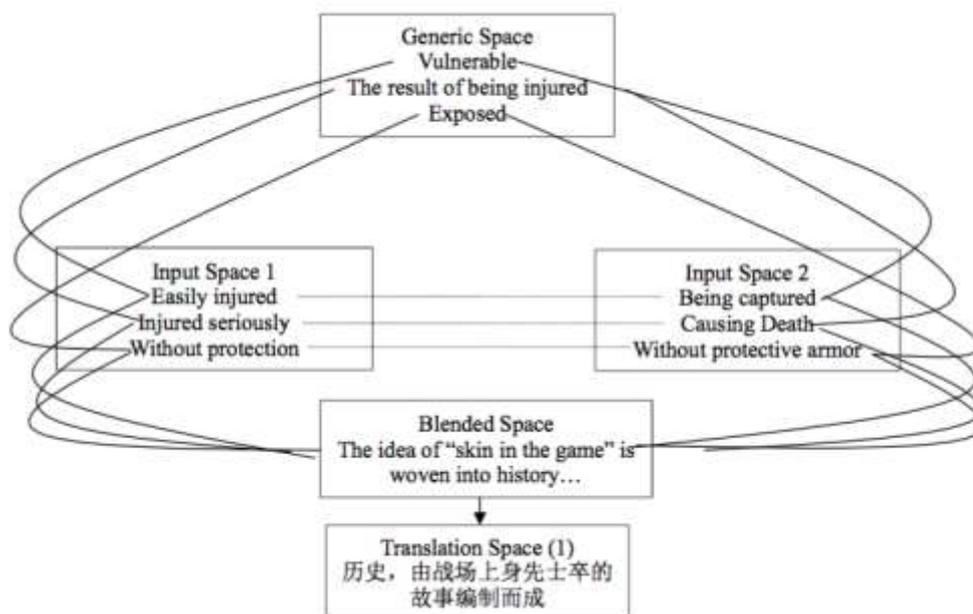
Figure 7: Conceptual integration network of "Skin in the Game (1)" and "Warlord"

In Example 5, regarding "stories" about great people in history, the translators did not translate "the idea of" as "主意" or "概念", but "故事", through which the target text was more coherent with the context of stories of great people in the following. Hence, using the version "故事" for "the idea of" read more smoothly in Chinese. The translators retained the metaphor of weaving as it was also familiar for the Chinese. Speaking of weaving, people would think about the scene of weaving cloth as well. In this sentence, it employed that the history was made up of the ideas of "skin in the game". The combination of "故事" and "编织" was better than the combination of "主意" and "编织".

Example 6
ST6: But not to worry, ... a system that **doesn't have a mechanism of skin in the game**, with a buildup of

imbalances, will eventually blow up and self-repair that way, if it survives. （Paragraph 4, Page 29）

TT1: 不过不用担心，一个系统**没有游戏中的皮肤的机制**，逐渐失衡，最终会爆发并**自我修复**，如果它能存活的话。

TT2: 不过不用担心，……它就会以一种艰难的方式自动形成一个**"权力"与"风险"不对称的系统**，随着失衡逐步累积，如果这个系统能够存活下来，最终会爆发并"会以分散权力的方式"进行自我修复。

While translating "skin in the game" in Example 6, the translators used a different cognitive process, sketched in Figure 8, presenting the inter-relationship between Input Space 1 "Skin in the Game" and Input Space 2 "Power Balance", affecting the linguistic choices for subsequent translated versions.
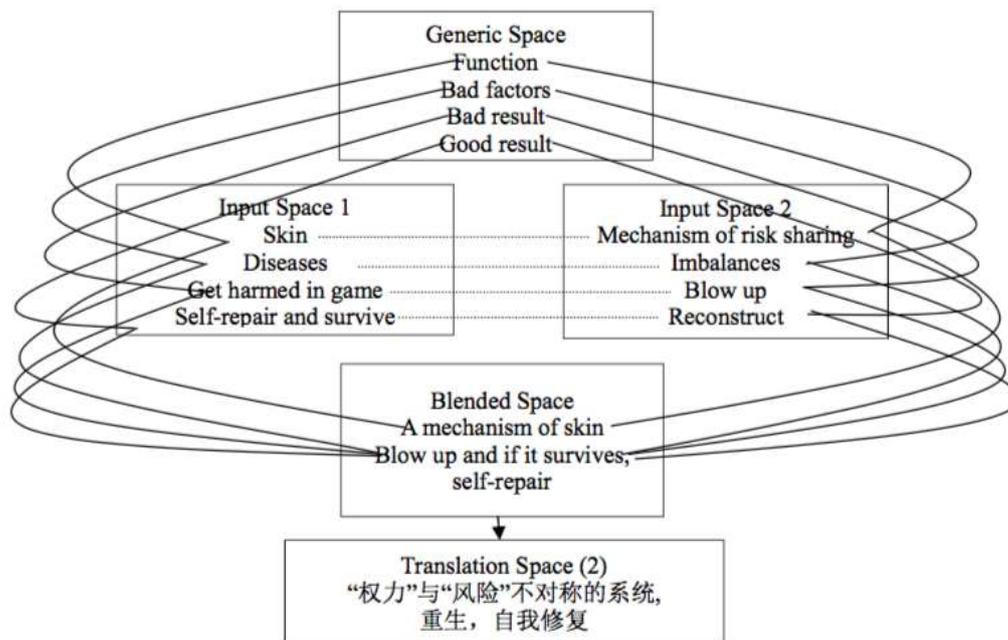
Figure 8: Conceptual integration network: "Skin in the Game (2)" and "Power Balance"

These two domains were described from perspectives, such as their function, factors that might have bad influences and results when they were harmed. In the expression of "a system that doesn't have a mechanism of skin in the game", "skin in the game" was characterized by imbalances in power and responsibility. The Chinese readers might be puzzled at the characteristics of such a system, so the translators retained the metaphor of "imbalances" and paraphrased the metaphor of "Skin in the Game" to make the features of the system more recognizable. The translators conceived the metaphors of "self-repair" and "survive" as they both belonged to a domain of parts of human beings, which were easily recognized by the Chinese readers. The metaphor of "survive" purported a person who went through difficulties in a system. The metaphor of "self-repair" was remained for the same reason. The translators noticed that there were examples of "(avoiding) skin in the game", directly related to risk sharing and management in the book, responding to the metaphorical expressions before or after them.

Example 7
ST7: I was speaking right after the man who, in spite of looks (and personality) quite similar to those found in Mesopotamian statues, epitomizes **absence of skin in the game**: former Federal Reserve governor Ben

Bernanke.（Paragraph 1, Page 42）
TT1: 我在这样一个人之后发言，尽管他跟那些美苏不达米亚的雕像看着很像，他却是**游戏中皮肤缺失**的典范：前美联储主席本•伯南克。
TT2: 在我前面发言的是这样一个人，尽管他的长相(和个性)与美索不达米亚雕像十分相似，他却是**在游戏中隐身，成为规避风险**的典范：前美联储主席本•伯南克。

In Example 7, the concept of "skin in the game" projects how the banker works. Figure 9 illustrates the correlation between Input Space 1 "Skin in the game" and Input Space 2 "Banker".
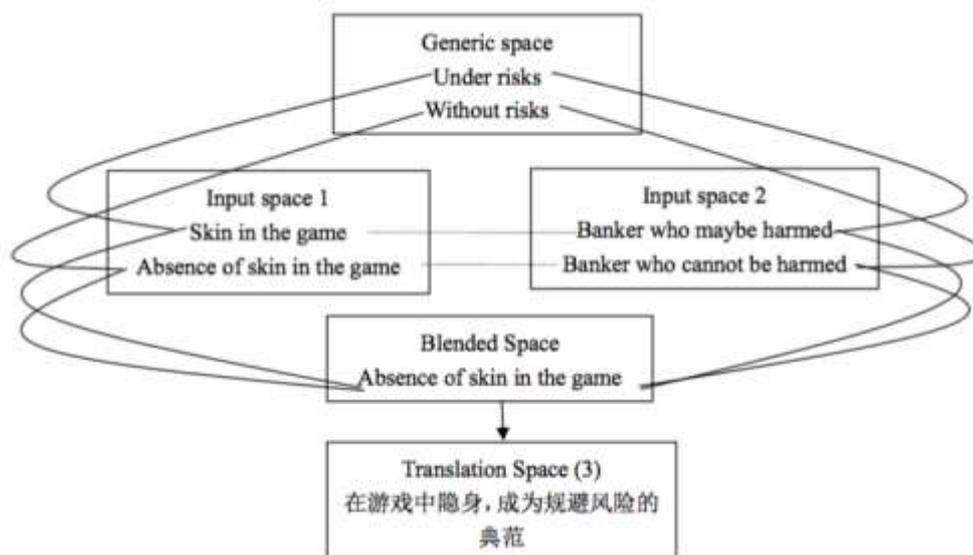
Figure 9: Conceptual integration network: "Skin in the Game (3)" and "Banker"

In Example 7, the banker Ben Bernanke is considered as an evildoer because he transfers the financial risks to the ordinary people in the text. In translators' cognition of banking business, participating in the financial game indicated that bankers were restricted by the game rules, and bankers were classified as those who took responsibilities and those who did not. However, "absence of skin in the game" illustrated that Ben got away with his wrong actions. The word "absence" equaled to "without". While translating the metaphorical term "skin in the game", the translators changed the literal meaning of the original metaphor and combined it with its metaphorical and projected meaning. The reason of doing this was that, the metaphorical expression "skin in the game" was of the significant feature in the book, which indicated the author's cognition on risk management, which the translators wished to maintain. In Chinese, "隐身" signifies that people can physically see the actor, therefore, the actor can do whatever he/she wants to do without being regulated or observed. This Chinese expression conveys the similar cognition of the author and meanwhile can be easily cognized by the Chinese readers. In the translating practice, the discourse coherence is considered with applied paraphrases in translated versions.

Example 8
ST8: The doer wins by doing, not convincing. Entire fields (say economics and other social sciences) become themselves charlatanic because of **the absence of skin in the game** connecting them back to earth (while the participants argue about "science"). (Paragraph 1, Page 54)
TT1: 实干家靠行动取胜，而不是靠说服。整个领域（就是说经济学和其他社会科学）本身就变成了骗子，因为<u>游戏中皮肤的缺失</u>把他们和地球联系起来（当参与者们在争辩"科学"时）。
TT2: 实干家靠行动取胜，而不是靠游说。整个领域（比如经济学和其他社会科学）都变成了江湖郎中，因为在这场游戏中，（当学者们在大谈"科学"时），他们脱离实际，成为<u>利益不受实际情况影响的"隐身人"</u>。

In Example 8, "skin in the game" interprets the danger and risks that academic scholars are faced with. Figure 10 displays the relation between Input Space 1 "Skin in the game" and Input Space 2 "Academic Scholar". In the context, the author expresses his aversion towards some scholars who just focus on words but not the reality, and whose theories are not applicable in daily life. Hence, "the absence of skin in the game" indicates no connection with the reality. The author blends "skin in the game" and its indicated concepts within the integrated space "the absence of skin in the game connecting them back to earth". The image of "the earth" predicates the reality shown in the story of Antaeus who is not able to be separated from his mother, the Earth Goddess, which implies that all knowledge can't be separated from the facts.
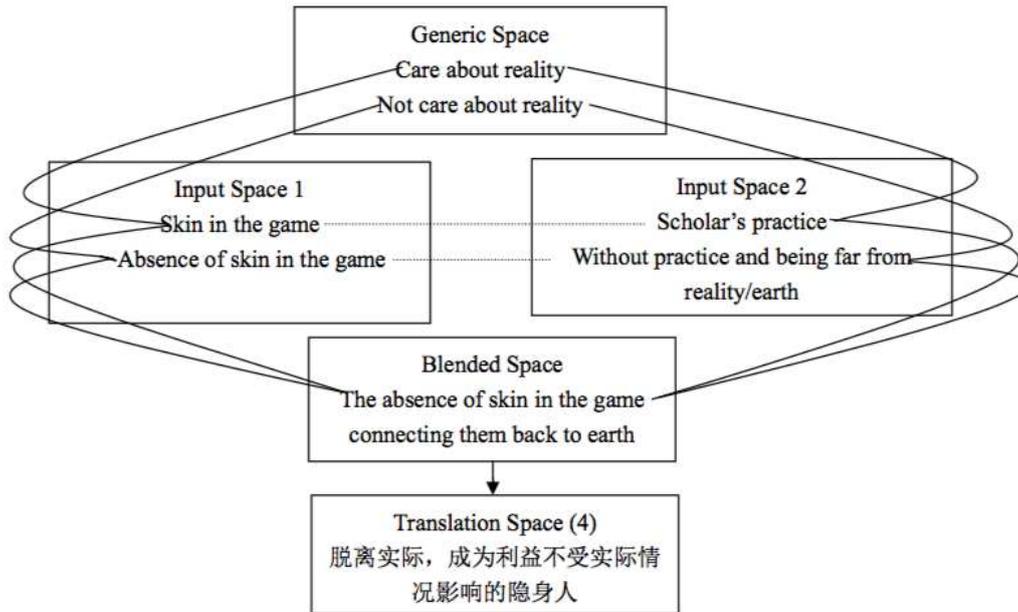
Figure 10: Conceptual integration network: "Skin in the Game (4)" and "Academic Scholar"

While translating the source text, if the translators translated it literally as "没有皮肤", the Chinese readers would get lost in the translation. Then, the translators paraphrased the metaphor term of "the absence of skin in the game" by associating it with the metaphor of "earth", i.e. the translators changed the metaphor "skin" into "body" and translated it as "隐身人", and the collocation was still recognizable for the target Chinese readers. The translators paraphrased the metaphor "earth" because the story of Antaeus was told by the author in the previous text and the Chinese readers might find it difficult to understand if the translators translated it literally as "大地".

4.4 The Translation of "Skin in the Game" in the Title

"Skin in the game" is a highly occurred token used by the author throughout the book, which could not be interpreted with a consistent Chinese term in different contexts. To translate the title and its applications in the contexts, the translators analyzed the SKIN metaphor, the GAME metaphor and the metaphorical term "skin in the game" by finding out their associations with the contextual ideas and the predications that the author wished to convey in the text. Firstly, "SKIN" is the surface of human beings' body, functioning as a protection. The cognitive process to interpret the characteristics of the image of "SKIN" is sketched in Figure 11.
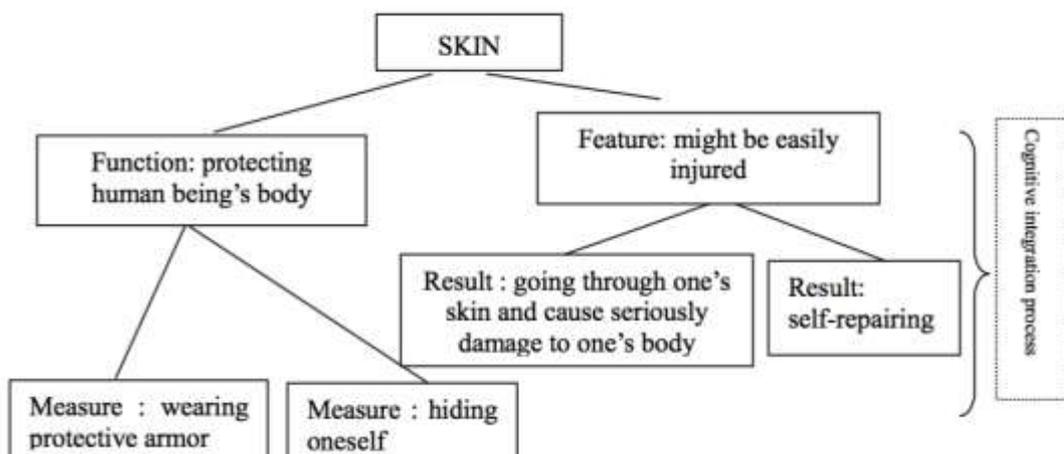

Figure 11: The cognitive process of SKIN metaphor

Secondly, the cognitive process of "GAME" metaphors is greatly affected by its association with banking business, government, unethical players, game regulations, scholar's behavior, and so on. A fair "game" requires the balance of rights and risks. Its cognitive process is summarized in Figure 12.

Figure 12: The cognitive process of GAME metaphor

To integrate "SKIN" and "GAME" in the term "skin in the game" in the text, the author mapped a dynamic and complex cognition so the translators considered the metaphorical mapping process in the contexts of text together with the cultural issues, business knowledge and linguistic conventions. Based on the above analyses, the translators eventually decided to translate the title "Skin in the Game" as "置身危局". The translation process of the "Skin in the Game" is illustrated in Figure 13.
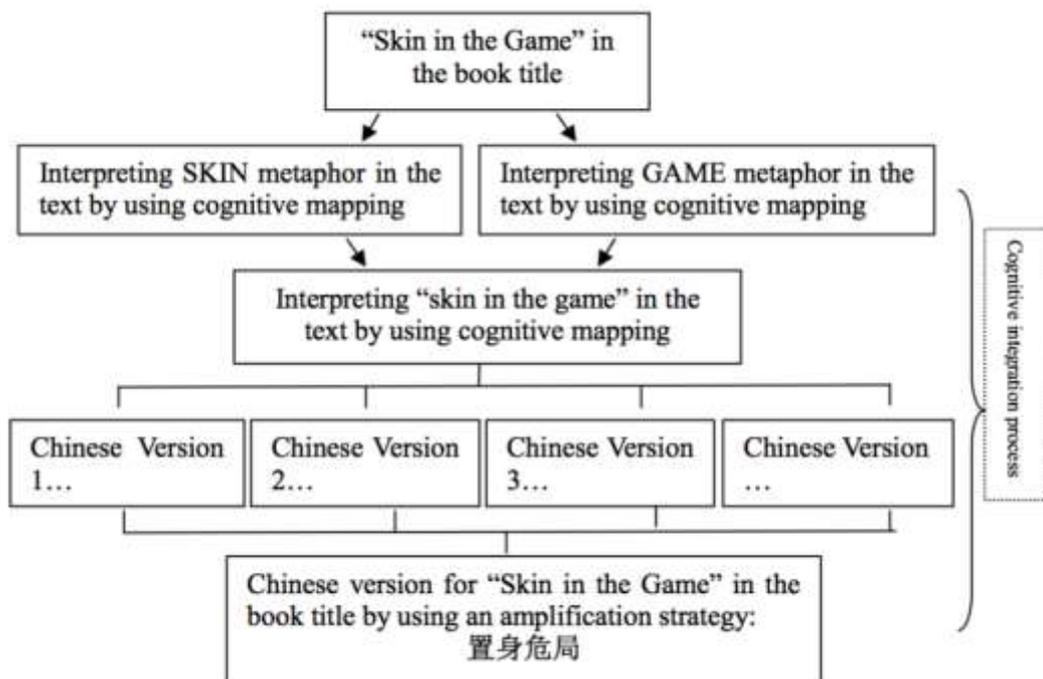

Figure 13: The cognitive translation of "Skin in the Game" in the book title

Throughout the book, "SKIN" metaphor is not applied alone but associated with "exposures to risk and danger". As the whole book is talking about business risk and risk management in various fields, the "SKIN" metaphor in the title can be translated as "暴露在危机中". Although the "GAME" metaphor is traditionally linked with actions of play and entertainment, it is often associated with rules, regulations and even tricks in business contexts. In the context, there are more GAME metaphors than SKIN associated metaphors because GAME metaphor has a wider contextual scope, including playing tricks, breaking rules and avoiding risks. "GAME" in the book is not a completely fair game for fun, as there are many hidden asymmetries. Thus, literally translating "GAME" as "游戏" cannot convey the author's ideas on risk

management as Chinese readers have different cognition on "游戏" for fun and joy. The translators thus decided to use "局" to interpret "GAME". "局" in Chinese predicates competition like chess competition, referring to numerous situations and activities in different circles with tricks and strategies, either positive or negative. Speaking of "局" metaphor in Chinese, Chinese readers may easily recognize the tricks and strategies applied by the people involved in various activities, which may be embedded with asymmetries. The Chinese "局" metaphor may arouse the Chinese cognition and feeling of complexity and sophistication. Moreover, "skin in the game", as the main theme of the book, is directly linked with risk management in various business situations and how people deal with the risks in their daily life, which further confirms the translators' final decision on "skin in the game" in the book title as "置身危局".

Nevertheless, this research provides an insight for the translators and AI translation, especially metaphors in discourses. Grace et al. (2018) claim that, by 2024, AI translation will perform about as good as a human who is fluent in both languages but unskilled at translation, even for the languages that are known to be difficult, like Czech, Chinese and Arabic. However, Yang (2020, p. 192) argues that, while translating across cultures and in practice, even for daily communication that is full of metaphors, cognitive processing is a mental mechanism whose purposes are to derive a semantic representation from a linguistic expression, in order to make it meaningful in various discourses or interactions. In the cognitive approach to the translation of "Skin in the Game", the analyses of optimal linguistic selections for metaphor translation lead translators to adopt, on different occasions and in different contexts, a cognitive blending method and an integrated interpretation of their thoughts. The translating results are literalness, amplification, paraphrase or metaphors in the target language. Metaphor translation thus requires special interpretive abilities and cognitive processing. The notions of cognitive blending in the manifestoes of the target language are dynamic and contextual, projecting what goes on in translators' minds. Thus, when translating, a translator's intention is to alter the linguistic devices and to exhibit his or her actual processes of cognitive blending as the results for the translated metaphors.

5. Conclusion

In the process of translation, translators unconsciously or subconsciously apply their cognitive actions in the translating work via cultural awareness, business and bi-linguistic knowledge. This research does not aim at analyzing theories about cognitive linguistics or translation, but illustrating the cognitive process in translation practice, which is under the guidance of conceptual integration. Meanwhile, we do not claim that "置身危局" is the best Chinese version for the title "Skin in the Game" but would like to present the cognitive process for the translation of a metaphorical device mapped in the contexts, in which the translators' bilingual proficiency, discoursal analysis, business knowledge, personal experience and cultural awareness are all embedded. The cognitive approach to translation practice illustrates that a standardized version for a linguistic device, especially for a metaphor or a metaphorical expression mapped in texts, is inappropriate. Translators cognitively verify their linguistic choices for the source metaphorical device in various contexts to match the linguistic conventions and cultural considerations of the target readers. In different cultures and with different life experience and linguistic knowledge, translators present different degrees of autonomy of ways-of-seeing in the source text when they do translation. In fact, many selected linguistic choices applied in translated versions are intentional in nature and they are part of a more inclusive sense which is compositionally active with their knowledge background and extensional referential basis. This provides great challenges for AI translation in terms of how cognitive processing should be integrated in language processing by machines.

Acknowledgement

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