ASPECTS OF METAPHOR IN ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

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IN ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

To my mother

CONTENTS

Introduction

As a result of an ample project of terminological research originating in the PhD thesis defended in 2007, the present book focuses on the main aspects pertaining to metaphor in general and its use in the specialized economic discourse in particular. The study was performed in a contrastive manner (English versus Romanian), highlighting the fundamental issues that emerge when comparing samples of economic discourse in these two languages from a metaphor-related perspective.

Chapter I briefly reviews both traditional and contemporary theories on metaphor, followed by the usual classifications, formal categories (as contrasted with comparison, metonymy, synecdoche, symbol, synaesthesia and other similar tropes), as well as the functions of metaphor. Starting from the idea that metaphor is established as one of the main mechanisms of human thought, meant to assimilate the unknown to the already known (in addition to its purely aesthetic dimension), the focus lies on the structure of the metaphoric terms, as well as the various theories regarding the metaphoric mechanism, such as the theory of substitution, the theory of interaction, contextual transaction, transfer of properties, conceptual conflict, dissociation between the literal and the figurative meaning, metaphorical proposition, conceptual blending. In this vein, one of the recent theories used in explicitating how metaphor operates at the level of specialized discourse is American cognitivism, which sees it as mapping between a familiar, concrete source model, and a more complex, abstract target model, by the perspectivization of certain attributes of the latter on experiential grounds. Due to this special status, the cognitive perspective was adopted as the theoretical framework for the approach of economic discourse in the

present work, as the universality of the conceptual mappings it proposes seems to accommodate the needs of the contrastive analysis we attempted.

Chapter II focuses on metaphor as part of the specialised economic discourse, seen in its acception as the study of that part of the global social system dealing with commercial transactions, an extremely complex field crucial to today's world, using a rich intrinsic symbolism and descriptions of abstract processes, thus requiring metaphor as the perfect tool in its comprehension, processing and communication. Thus, the issues pertaining to metaphor are studied in the following subtypes of economic discourse: the theory-forming economic discourse, the discourse of mediation, and the discourse of advertising (the most multifaceted of all, intertwining informativeness and persuasion, and thus being the perfect ground for the interpretative openness provided by metaphor). The analysis is mainly concerned with detecting the conceptual metaphors at the basis of these types of economic discourse (viz. structural, ontological, orientational, control metaphors).

Chapter III centres on the contrastive aspects found at the level of metaphorical dimension in the economic texts in Romanian and in English, evincing the systematic character of the metaphoric structure, organised on metaphorisation levels. The corpus selected from economic textbooks, business articles and advertisements shows that today's financial Romanian publications abound in conceptual metaphors, making up an entire network of ontological and epistemic correspondences, and thus shaping the reader's perception of the economic realities, entities, phenomena and processes described by financial analysts.

Chapter IV treats aspects related to the translation of English metaphorical terminology in the economic field

into Romanian, drawing the conclusion that there is an obvious inequality of terminological development between the two languages under study, which results in multiple loans, periphrastic translations and loss of metaphorical content.

Chapter V is concerned with the general conclusions in regard to the fundamental aspects in the tropology of economic discourse, highlighting the metaphoric dimension as a distinctive feature, and evincing the massive influence of the English terminology on Romanian, mainly due to the similar conceptual schemas in the two languages under study (mainly at ontological and orientational level).

The author

1. Theories of metaphor
    1.1. Operational concepts

Metaphor, seen as the epitome of all tropes, is considered as an indispensable tool to man, "home metaphoricus" par excellence, being all encompassing in absolutely all relevant areas of human activity.

Defined, according to several criteria, as implicit comparison, relation, arch-trope, error, as well as truth, poetic licence, ornament, filter, epiphany, semantic deviation or surplus, model, structure, equation, energeia, lie, negotiation, mediating factor, disjunctive relation, sign, magic, cliché, fiction, celebration, aberration, parasite of ordinary language, God-given instrument of knowledge or mere stylistic adornment (cf. Avădanei, 1994, 12-13 passim), metaphor and its forming and operating mechanism has always been subject to much controversy, failing yet to reveal its entire "mysterious nature".

In order to clarify the terminology to be used in the present paper, the following will consist of an overview of the constitutive elements of metaphor. Most theories attempting to capture what metaphor consists of take into consideration the existence of at least two terms, according to the pattern A is B. Sometimes there is also a third term (C), which is never explicitly expressed in discourse, accounting for the relation existing between A and B, the so-called basis of substitution, comparison or transfer. The following table shows the terminological variety designating metaphor components, in accordance with the multifarious theories centred on metaphor.

A	B	C
proper term	figurative term	tertium comparationis
primary subject	secondary/ subsidiary subject	
tenor	vehicle	ground
subject	object	
focus	frame	
subject	means of transport	
topic	trigger	
topic	comment	
object	image	
source	target	
head	modifier	
theme	rheme	

1.2. Traditional Theories
1.2.1. Substitution

It is likely that the first theoretician of metaphor was Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, viz. Chapter 21, entitled "The Name: its various species, according to poetic expression". Metaphor, according to the great philosopher, is defined as "transferring onto an object the name of another object, either from genus to species, or from species to species, or according to analogy" (our translation) (1965, 83). The examples he provided illustrates the passage from genus to species by the syntagm"here doth my ship halt" (i.e. I stopped, I settled down), from species to genus by the verse "thousands of marvellous deeds did Odysseus accomplish" (many, numerous), and from species to species by the metaphorical values acquired by the verbs "taking his soul

with the bronze", and "cutting him with the bronze" (killing him, putting him to death"). Regarding analogy, which he considers as the case when in a series of four terms the second (B) is in the same relation with (A) as is the third (C) with the fourth (D), constitutes the foundation of metaphor. Thus it becomes the substitution of B for D and A for D: "Thus, the cup is in the same relation with Dionysus, as the shield is with Ares; consequently, the cup will be 'Dionysus's shield', and the shield 'Ares's cup'. Or let's consider another example: as old age is towards life, so is evening to daytime. So evening may be described, therefore, as the "day's old age", or the Empedoclean equivalent old age is the 'evening' or 'the day's sunset'" (our transl.) (ibid).

The conclusion of this chapter views metaphor, together with "provincialisms" (terms pertaining to the vernacular) and "ornaments" (figures of speech), as allowing language to avoid "triviality and vulgarity". Similarly, metaphor, unlike commonly used terms, bestows clarity upon language.

In Aristotle's vision, the basic principle in forming metaphors, the appanage of those blessed with the gift of eloquence, is the resemblance, which is more or less justified, between beings, objects, phenomena, concepts, ideas:

"Being able to use accordingly each of the means shown – both double names and provincialisms- is a great quality; but far more precious is the gift of metaphors. Out of all, it is the only one that cannot be learnt from others, and it is also the proof of a joyous predisposition: as creating beautiful metaphors means knowing how to grasp the similarities between things" (our translation) (ibid).

In addition, in the Third Book of his *Rhetoric*, metaphor is defined as ornamental deviation at word level, subsuming comparison, but also antithesis, riddle, joke, humour, saying, enigma, proverb and hyperbole. At the

same time, usage restrictions are imposed: metaphor should be context-adequate, not be overblown, and also contribute to "dignity of style".

Even in this beginning stage of metaphor-oriented research, metaphor is acknowledged as operationally ambivalent, working in both the poetic register ("iambic verse"), and in common speech ("normal language").

1.2.2. Comparison

This theoretical orientation seems to have been the most resilient, being also rooted in Aristotle's work. The Stagyrite opines that at its origins, any metaphor is a comparison of elliptical form, i.e. unmarked by the overt comparative particle, or an implicit analogy. In his view, metaphor has a stronger impact than comparison, being more condensed; when Homer says about Achilles that he rushed as a lion on the enemy, he makes a comparison, but when he says that the lion rushed onto them, it becomes a metaphor. Besides the formal lack of the comparative marker, the rapidity of metaphoric transfer increases and so does the aesthetic value of the trope.

Treating metaphor as sense transposition (translatio), Quintilian operates the same distinction: "In general, metaphor is abridged similarity. The distinction consists in the fact that with similarity the comparison is made with the object we want to express, while metaphor consists of using the term of comparison instead of the object itself" (our translation) (1974, II, 357).

On Romanian soil, the proponent of this theory is Tudor Vianu (1965), who considers that "metaphor is the overtly expressed result of an understated comparison" (p.302) or „the transfer of an expression based on an analogy between two realities, between which reason has sensed a comparison" (our translation) (p.359).

The leap from difference to identity or the metaphoric leap ultimately leads to the substitution of the two terms included in an analogical relation.

1.3. Modern Theories

1.3.1. Interaction

Unlike traditional theories which are confined to the lexical perspective (metaphor seen as a word-level trope), I.A. Richards (1936) proposes a new interactive conception which re-instates discourse, enlarging the rhetorical scope; metaphor is not a displacement of words, but rather "transaction between contexts". Thus, he stresses the interdependence of words which are no longer seen as separate, but contextualised, in a so-called "interanimation". Thus, metaphor sets in motion a verbal interaction or opposition between two semantic contents — the expression which is used metaphorically and the literal context. Metaphor takes shape when there is interaction between the two ideas attributed to metaphorical expression (the ordinary content and the content attributed in the given context). To put things in the simplest manner possible, when resorting to a metaphor, the reasoning process refers to two items acting at the same time and are supported by the same word, or phrase, whose meaning results from their interaction. In his opinion, the mechanism used when creating metaphor is "to carry over a word from its normal use to another", or to compound „the different uses of a word into one", speaking "of something as though it were another" (1929:117).

In addition to the attempts at defining metaphor as a figure of speech, the main points Richards makes in his work are the concerned with the following main aspects linked to metaphor: the distinction between a sense

metaphor and an emotive metaphor, the description of the mechanism of metaphor and the manner in which it works, as well as the concern with deciding if metaphor is the unique gift of the poet.

Accompanying the generalisation of semantic theories, the natural thing to do was to include metaphor in the category of semantic incompatibility. The µ Group (1970) describes it as not as much a sense substitution, but an alteration of the semantic content of a term, resulting from the conjunction of two basic operations: adding and/or suppressing semes (minimal meaning units). Thus, metaphor becomes in fact the product of two synecdoches. From a formal point of view, metaphor consists of a syntagm combining in a contradictory manner both the identity of two signifiers, and the non-identity of two corresponding signifieds, which means defying linguistic reason. As a result, the receptor is forced into an approach of semantic reduction in order to validate this identity. This "metaphorical reduction" is only considered complete when the receptor discovers a tertium comparationis, or in logical terms the limit class within which the two subjects should be included together.

The members of Le Groupe µ consider that "metaphor extrapolates, it is based on a real identity, manifested by the intersection of two terms in order to assert the identity of the terms in their entirety. It extends to the reunion of the two terms a property which only pertains to their intersection" (our translation) (1972, 384).

However, it seems that when the metaphoric approach crosses the "narrow bridge of semic intersection" it may produce an unfair impoverishment, an exaggerated narrowness, an insufficient justification, resulting in correcting the metaphor, more often than not by a synecdoche, taken from the part which is not common to both terms, or even by a subsequent metaphor. The already

hackneyed example is taken from: "The human being is only a reed, the most feeble in nature, but it is a thinking reed", and the subjacent metaphor man= reed has the overlapping seme FRAGILITY, while the corrected metaphor adds the supplementary seme RATIONALITY.

Such a type of corrected metaphors is meant to trigger a disruption of reality, creating a shock by extracting a contradiction from an identity.

In our country, linguists—among whom Mariana Tuțescu (1978: 98)—considers metaphor as metasememe, a modification of the fascicle of semic features of a lexeme, resulting from addition or suppression of semes. Metaphor seen as semantic anomaly is not far from traditional theories, in the sense that it maintains the idea of abridged comparison, where the starting term D is modified by a comparing term, the intermediary I, always absent in discourse, only to be transformed into a fascicle of semes making up the final term A.

The vocation of metaphor is to transgress classemes or the selective restrictions of co-referential lexemes, so that it looks alien to the denotative isotopy of the utterance where it is inserted. As a result, it introduces a new semic cohesion, a connotative-level isotopy. Metaphor as the product of semic incompatibilities consists of the listener's ability to discover the virtual term I actualising its metasememe in discourse, thus achieving the connection between the two co-referential terms. In this context, the peculiarity of metaphor consists of joining a denotation marked by a semic selection process with an inevitable psychological connotation even in a restricted context: "en obligeant à abstraire au niveau de la communication logique un certain nombre d'éléments de signification, elle permet de mettre en relief les éléments maintenus; par l'introduction d'un terme étranger à l'isotopie du contexte, elle produit, à un autre niveau que celui de l'information

pure, l'évocation d'une image associée que perçoit l'imagination et qui exerce son retentissement sur la sensibilité sans le contrôle de l'intelligence logique" (Le Guern, 1973:22).

According to Jakobson's classification of language functions, metaphor is undoubtedly related to the poetic function; in its quality of trope suppressing a part of a word's semes and adding another series of semes, or in other words, of semic transfer of the features of a lexeme to another co-referential lexeme, or of modifying the nuclear semes in the words involved in the trope, metaphor may be analysed both denotatively and connotatively. The newly-established cohesion on the sememe level within metaphor is a metaphoric cohesion of the connotative type.

This isotopy comprises two extreme cases, viz. lexicalized metaphors and "enchained" metaphors (the so-called "métaphores filées"). In the former case, we are dealing with metaphors that the interlocutor no longer senses as semantic anomalies, but rather as denotative collocations: *river mouth, sea bottom, ocean floor, eye of a needle*, etc. In the latter case, the focus lies on an ongoing sequence of two or more metaphors pertaining to the same semantic field, i.e. a derivation from several primary metaphors. The semic coherence of this type of metaphor can only be established on the level of conscious, voluntary logic, at the end of a subtle, refined operation, connecting the originally non-tangent plans of the effectively uttered language and the content of voluntary information it conveys. According to M. Riffaterre (1969:34), this metaphor is the appanage of sur-realist poetry, that bestows the rank of artistic principle upon the takeover of the intermediary term in the semic equation of the primary metaphor of the form Tenor = Vehicle, using it as the vehicle in the next metaphor in the "enchainment".

In keeping with this special type of metaphor, it is interesting to remark that English literary terminology prefers to see it as extended, heightened or oversized, or even superposes it over the highly specialised "conceit", part of the poetic means of Mannerism (late 16th-early 17th century). According to the definition provided by Helen Gardner (1961:xxiii), a conceit is "a comparison whose ingenuity is more striking than its justness", [and ...] "a comparison becomes a conceit when we are made to concede likeness while being strongly conscious of the unlikeness". Overly fanciful and witty, even perplexing when carried to extremes, "[...] a conceit is a concise and arresting metaphor, an implied comparison, which causes us to work hard to retrieve the multi-facetted meanings of individual words and images" (Bloom, 1999:25).

1.3.2. Transfer of properties

The initiator of this theory is N. Goodman, who takes metaphor out of the trope category, transforming it into a principle common to all figures of style, thus becoming their superordinate. The definition proposed refers not to transferring semes, but properties: "The characteristic of metaphor is to impose a change which is not merely of domain, but of realm. A label, which is a constitutive element of a scheme, is taken from the realm of origin of this scheme and applied to select and organize another realm" (1967, 104). The transfer of a scheme may be operated as follows:

 a) between disjunctive realms, as in synecdoche (from a realm of wholes to a realm of parts), antonomasia (from an item to its properties) or personification (from a person to an object);

b)   between two realms of intersection
         relation, as in hyperbole (top-down
         models) or litote (bottom-up models);
c)   within the same realm, as in irony.

It may be noted that the notion of domain is larger,
and metaphor becomes a fundamental principle of
organizing the reflection of reality through language and
the basis of formation for all the figures of speech. The
figurative utterance allows, in view of this theory, the
reconsideration of the world in another light, reinterpreting
a domain in terms of another, completely different one.

A similar vision is found with Jean Cohen, who
distinguishes between semantic non-pertinence (violation
of the speech code on the syntagmatic axis) and metaphor
(violation of the language code, on the paradigmatic axis, a
reduction on non-pertinence). The latter is a perfect
illustration of the concept of the trope as a meaning change,
a subordinating principle governing all the other tropes:
"All figures are aimed at triggering the metaphoric
mechanism. [...] Metaphor is the second level of any trope"
(our translation) (1972, 342). Similarly, Cohen notices the
metaphoric tension, described as an antagonism between
syntagm and paradigm, discourse and system.

1.3.3. Conceptual conflict

The proponent of this theory is the philosopher Max
Black, who tries to explain the tension between the
metaphoric poles by an existing conceptual conflict. Thus,
metaphor preserves, evinces, suppresses, and adds features
of the "principal subject", projecting onto it remarks that
are usually applied to the "secondary subject".   For
example, in the famous metaphor coined by Blaise Pascal,
man (the principal term) acquires the feature [+FRAGILE],

which is usually ascribed to the secondary term, the reed. Therefore, by means of metaphor, the reader's conception of man is organised and consequently hierarchised. The operating mechanism consists in selecting, out of the numerous peripheral properties of the two entities, the one common feature which is raised to the rank of genus for the given context. This third term works as a unifying trait giving birth to a metaphor, irrespective of the original semantic gap between tenor and vehicle.

In this perspective, the secondary term/ subject projects onto the principal subject a set of "commonplaces" contained in its "implication complex" or "relation system". Of course, grasping these implications associated to metaphor is highly dependent on the interlocutor's reaction, or, in his own words, the "creative answer of the competent reader" (Black, 1962: 29). It is also Black who makes the transition towards the cognitive perspective, considering that metaphors serve as knowledge instruments, indispensable in perceiving the connections which, once perceived, are then truly present. In his opinion, certain metaphors allow readers to see aspects of reality in whose shaping metaphor production is of actual assistance; the world is necessarily the way it is due to certain descriptions of it, or, to put it differently, a world shaped by the perspective we have on it. "Certain metaphors may create such a world view." (cf. 1962: 40-44). We may therefore speak of the socio-cultural vision on metaphor, possessing different values and nuances from culture to culture, and being decoded in accordance with the cultural system of values commonly shared between sender and receptor. This axiological system also includes the non-verbal component, which may become relevant in understanding metaphor, which proves extremely useful when dealing with the language of advertising.

1.3.4. Metaphor in Pragmatics

Modern linguistics is oriented towards the pragmatic dimension of discourse, taking into account not just the lexical meaning components, but instead focuses on a much larger context, encompassing the situation of communication, the participants using language in the given situation of communication as part of social interaction, their intentions, the constraints they have to abide by, as well as the effects on the others around. Just like in the case of cognitivism, the purpose of metaphors is no longer to adorn discourse, but to serve as an instrument operating on the interlocutors, affecting the situation communication in itself. In delimitating the pragmatic twist on metaphor, it is necessary to revisit the concept of pragmatic competence, briefly described as the speaker's knowledge about how to use language, therefore including his stylistic, rhetoric or textual competence, but especially his conceptual competence (closely connected to his knowledge of the world).

An important contribution in this regard belongs to the philosopher J.L. Austin (cf. Crystal, 1997: 357-358) who introduced the term Speech Act (S.A.). It is defined as a complex communication activity with three main components:

-locutionary act (what the speaker says);

-illocutionary act (what the speaker intends to communicate when speaking);

-perlocutionary act (the effects of what the speakers say on the interlocutors).

In general, speech acts are classified into constatives and performatives (i.e. request, excuse, baptism, marriage, etc.) and have to meet certain felicity conditions in order to be considered as such.

Metaphor as a speech act seems to be a "proposition" in which the speaker explicitly proposes that the interlocutor adopt his vision expressed by means of the metaphor in question, and the felicity conditions may be as follows (cf. Loewenberg, 1975:318):

-the speaker, when uttering sentence p, believes that p as assertion, is false;

-the speaker believes that his listener considers p to be false;

-the listener believes that p, as assertion, is false;

-the listener believes that the speaker considers p, as assertion, to be false;

-the speaker considers that taking into account the constituents of p according to p has heuristic value;

-the speaker considers that his listener does not already take the constituents of p according to p;

-the speaker intends that the listener should consider p as a proposition to take into account the references of p constituents according to p, knowing that it is the speaker's desire;

-the listener considers p as being such a proposition, as he considers that the speaker intends it to be so.

Similarly, it is not devoid of interest to mention the three language functions as proposed by Halliday:

-the ideational function (language operates as a means of conveying and interpreting the world knowledge and experience that the speaker possesses);

-the interpersonal function (language acts as an expression of speaker's attitude ,influencing the subsequent attitude and behaviour of the listener);

-the textual function (language acts as a means to create text as language actualisation).

Metaphor illustrates all these three functions: it renders the speaker's view of the world in a modalised

manner that structures the reaction (albeit non-verbal) of the interlocutor, constructing text at the same time.

When applying these pragmatic theories to the study of tropes such as metaphor, metonymy, irony, etc., one should take into consideration the concepts proposed by Searle (1979), Grice (1975, 1978), Bach-Harnisch (1979), Leech (1983), which may be synthetically summarized as follows: the issue of tropes may be reduced to the relation between word meaning and sentence meaning on the one hand, and the speaker's meaning, on the other hand. It goes without saying that, when dealing with the figurative meaning of a word or phrase, one is in fact dealing with what the speaker intends to express, straying from the standard usage in a syntactic and semantic sense.

The main idea in this approach is that figurative meaning is always the speaker's meaning. Figurative meaning may be explained in Grice's terms: when performing a figurative act (viz. when expressing something figurative), the speaker intends to convey exactly what he says—literal meaning—and then something more than what is said—figurative meaning (what is called "implied" from a conversational perspective). In other words, any phrase expressed by the speaker which has a certain literal meaning and certain truth conditions may, in ways specific to each trope, bring forth a different meaning and another corresponding set of truth conditions.

"The utterance of an expression with its literal meaning and corresponding set of truth conditions can, in various ways that are specific to metaphor, call to mind another meaning and corresponding set of truth conditions" (Searle, 1979:85).

This particular theory is thus founded on the specific semantic mechanisms defining the patterns of inferential association between the literal meaning and the figurative meaning. In the case of metaphor, Searle illustrates this

mechanism by short utterances of the type Subject (S)-Predicate (P), where the predicative is a metaphor. When the speaker says "S is P", thus metaphorically implying that "S is R", the whole issue of decoding the metaphor and perceiving it as such is that the listener be able to detect the relevant R. The examples he provides are as follows:

a) Metaphorical assertion: Richard is a gorilla. (S is P)
Literal paraphrase: Richard is nasty, fierce, prone to violence, etc. (S is R)
b) Metaphorical assertion: Mary is sweet. (S is P)
Literal paraphrase: Mary is nice, kind, etc. (S is R)
c) Metaphorical assertion: Sam is a pig. (S is P)
Literal paraphrase: Sam is filthy, greedy etc. (S is R)

The essential element in Searle's analysis is that metaphoric meaning is an illustration of the speaker's meaning. To put it differently, there is no change in the lexical meaning of the words making up the metaphor. On the contrary, when the metaphor is authentic (fresh, new, poetic), its success lies in the very fact that the components have not changed their initial literal meaning. The metaphoric assertion indeed has another meaning, but it is not due to any change in the lexical meaning of its components, but because the speaker intends to express something different, i.e. the speaker's meaning does not coincide with the meaning of the given word or sentence.

The crux of the matter as far as metaphor is concerned is to see how literal meaning and the speaker's meaning are different and yet closely connected. Searle continues his explanation by exemplifying that when a hearer is faced with an utterance like Sam is a pig, he knows that it cannot possibly be literally true, and the utterance cannot be valid. These discrepancies urging the hearer not to take the utterance literally have been thoroughly studied

within the framework of the metaphor theory as deviations from the   standard rules of utterance structure:

     -obvious falseness;

     - semantic nonsense;

     -violations of the conventional principles.

The first step is to acknowledge the lack of relevance for literal decoding. The hearer will therefore seek a novel of the utterance, which departs from its literal meaning. This interpretation is oriented towards co-text and context, as well as the interlocutor's mental lexicon, which is made up of a complex network of relationships among terms, founded on associations, some of which are based on contiguity, others on the senses, etc. Searle considers that there is no unique founding principle for metaphor (viz. the principle deciding which "S is R" is implied by a certain "S is P"). P and R belong to different cognitive domains, and the relation existing between the two terms may be described as analogy or hidden similarity. Similarity may be based on common features or a resemblance of the emotive type, which constitutes the common ground shared by the tenor and the vehicle. These possible relations between P and R, i.e. conceptual transfers allowed from a cultural point of view, are illustrated by Searle as follows:

i. What is P is R by definition. More often than not, if the metaphor is functional, R will be one of the defining of P. Thus, if giants are big by definition, (a) may be interpreted as (b), where:

     a. Sam is a giant.

     b. Sam is big.

     ii. What is P is R by contingency.

Again, if the metaphor works, the R property should be a salient or stereotyped P property. For instance, pigs are often filthy, greedy, etc.

     a. Sam is a pig.

     b. Sam is dirty and greedy.

iii. What is P is not R, nor is it like R, nor is it considered to be R; nevertheless, we have the ability, be it intrinsic or culturally-determined, to perceive a connection between the conceptual sub-systems to which P and R belong, so that P is or may be associated in our mental space with the properties of R.

a. Sally is a block of ice.
b. Sally is unemotional.
a. I am in a blue mood.
b. I am melancholic.
a. John is sour.
b. John is frustrated.

The associations tend to be scalar in nature: a case in point is the scale of temperature which is traditionally associated to grading emotions. Such principles allow the listener to infer the figurative, covert meaning of the utterance.

In conclusion, the "metaphorical words" constituting the utterance do not change their literal meaning, which makes the utterance to be perceived as faulty and consequently interpreted as being metaphorical.

However, there are cases in which metaphor, just like other figures of speech, initiates meaning changes. By frequent use and general acceptance, a metaphor may "get tired", thus becoming standardised. When it reaches this point in its existence, it may well be said that a new meaning of the word in question was created; sometimes it is attested in dictionaries, as in the case of *ray of hope; glimmer of hope; shadow of a smile*, etc. These are the so-called dead, stock, or hackneyed metaphors. However, they are still enjoying their salient metaphorical status, as long as they are calculable as such. Some researchers consider that when this calculability is no longer visible, there occurs the phenomenon of homonymy, and metaphorical

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expressions become idioms, as in the case of *to give up the ghost*.

Such changes from the literal meaning to the figurative meaning occur over time, being documented by dictionaries and confirming the fact that diachrony is a pragmatic characteristic of natural languages. Once a word has acquired a new figurative meaning, it may exert a certain pressure on its synonyms or antonyms, which in turn tend to develop similar metaphorical extensions within the same conceptual domain (lexical field). This is why one may speak about *a warm or cold day*, as well as about *a warm or cold reception*; it may be said that *the soup is boiling* and also that *John is boiling*; *the snow is melting* but at the same time it is possible to encounter the utterance *a person is melting*. It is visible how words maintain the same relationships among themselves in the new conceptual domain, as in the source domain they originate from.

The transfer from a certain conceptual domain to another works not just for words taken separately, but also in the case of phrases. Thus we are dealing with an extended metaphor achieved by overlapping several domains, as in the example *The ship ploughs the sea*.

It may be concluded that metaphorical changes occur in usage as examples of speaker's meaning, but languages anyway dispose of means of standardizing and even conventionalizing the metaphors obtained in this manner.

An issue that proved extremely interesting to theoreticians is whether all metaphors may be literally paraphrased. The answer seems to be negative (cf. Cornilescu, Chiţoran, 1994: 129). Metaphors, especially extended ones, are based on indetermination and that is why most poems are ambiguous and cannot be transposed into literal prose. The reason is that certain metaphors, unlike purely ornamental ones, have what Boyd (1979) calls

a constitutive/ ontological role; they allow us to name what cannot otherwise be named. The use of metaphors serves as a non-definitional manner of reference anchoring, which is especially suited to introducing terms naming realia whose essence is yet to be clarified, or, in Boyd's words, metaphor is one of the means performing the task of adapting language to the causal structure of the world around. In other words, the role of metaphor is to introduce new terminology and to change the terminology already in use, so that to have linguistic categories available for the description of the relevant characteristics of the universe from a causal and explanatory point of view. If metaphors were amenable to paraphrasing in all possible instances, then metaphorical speech would just be a parasitic use of language, when it is in fact a fundamentally creative use of language with an essential ontological and epistemological role.

It is to be noted that the pragmatic approach of the study of metaphor integrates the semantic theories expounded previously (the trope as deviation from the norm, or as tension between the word and its context, etc.), and also allows for the consideration of the speaker's intentions, attitude, goals when using figurative language.

1.3.5. Cognitive metaphor

The radical parting with the vision of metaphor as ornament or mere linguistic act, as well as the definite orientation towards objectivism have led to the development of cognitivism, whose representatives, Lakoff and Johnson, redefine metaphor as the basic instrument in organising our conceptual system. In their view, metaphor becomes a conceptual mapping between the structure of a source model and the one of a target model.

It is common knowledge that many abstract concepts (time, love, life, happiness, mind, ideas, theories, fear, fury, morality, etc.) are characterised by a large variety of source domains, as exemplified in the following table:

Source domain	Target domain	Linguistic actualisation
love	fire	flames of love
love	conquest	win somebody's heart; conquer somebody's affection
argument	war	a battle of wits; a clash of ideas
theory	building	to put up a theory; to demolish a theory
fury	fire	to be boiling with rage

Obviously, the conceptualisation mechanism of the fundamental terms of human existence, which are often complex, abstract, insufficiently clarified, is operated by equating them to elements in the immediate, familiar universe, usually concrete and tangible. The cognitive models created in this manner are grounded in fundamental human experiences. "[...]no metaphor can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:19). This mapping process considers attributes of the source domain which highlight/ "perspectivize" certain attributes of the target domain: for instance, in the mapping ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING, actualised in linguistic expressions like *the basis of an argument*, it may

be seen as the basic category, such as HOUSE, were used in order to structure the abstract category ARGUMENT. Of course, there are cases when the very source of an abstract category is made up of other basic categories, as is the case with the mapping ARGUMENT IS WAR, where the source domain subsumes other categories, such as: DEFENSE –*to defeat one's position*; RETREAT- *to take back one's words*; VICTORY- *to win an argument*; DEFEAT- *to yield to one's arguments*, etc.

An interesting aspect of this theory is the existence of the same conceptual mappings across several languages, which supports the idea of the general human experience as the basis of the objective process of metaphor-formation. The conceptual mappings are able to cross linguistic borders, being predominantly actualized in lexicalised metaphors, which reveal their metaphorical origins only under careful scrutiny.

Criticizing traditional theories, Lakoff sets his own postulates on the nature of metaphors, which may be synthetically presented as follows:

-Metaphor is the main mechanism whereby human beings understand abstract concepts and shape abstract reasoning;

-A major part of the surrounding universe can only be understood by means of metaphor;

-Metaphor is fundamentally of a conceptual, and not linguistic nature;

-Metaphorical language is the surface structure of conceptual metaphor (the underlying deep structure);;

-Although a large part of our conceptual system is metaphoric in nature, it also contains a significant non-metaphoric part, which results in the metaphoric comprehension being based on non-metaphoric comprehension;

-Metaphor allows for the comprehension of a relatively abstract and inherently unstructured reality in more concrete terms, or at least better structured terms.

From a structural point of view, Lakoff draws the following conclusions:

-Metaphors are mappings across conceptual domains, i.e. correspondences between a certain conceptual domain and a different one;

-Such correspondences are asymmetrical and partial;

-Each correspondence is in fact a set of ontological matchings between the entities in a source domain and the entities of a target domain;

-When these matching sets are activated, the correspondences may project inferential models in the source domain into inferential models in the target domain;

-These correspondences are not arbitrary, but motivated by knowledge of the world and daily experiences;

-A conceptual system contains thousands of such conventional metaphoric correspondences making up a well-structured sub-system of the basic conceptual system.

Another important aspect of the cognitive theory of metaphor is the so-called embodiment hypothesis, according to which the human mind is not a decorporalised algorithmic process, similar to a computer program, but instead it is constituted and structured in terms of the biological, anatomical, biochemical and neuropsychological characteristics of the human body and brain. Johnson (1987: xiv) is of the opinion that the embodiment of meaning and human comprehension is repeatedly manifest in ways that are closely connected to "the imaginative structuring of experience", and that our body-related experience and the manner in which we use imaginative mechanisms are crucial to the way we construct the necessary categories to comprehend experience.

One of the fundamental structuring principles in cognitivism is undoubtedly categorization, definable as the ability to recognize similarity in diversity, to organize paradigmatically the surrounding reality and the language naming it.

In this respect, Labov (1973:342) is of the opinion that "if linguistics can be said to do one thing, it is the study of categories: that is, the study of how language translates meaning into sound through the categorization of reality into discrete units and sets of units". Initially applied to the field of colours, the concept of categorization led to the formation of the theory of prototypes, which delimitates categories not in an arbitrary manner, but by generalization from the point of departure (point of convergence) called prototype (the schematic representation of the conceptual centre of a category). Thus, the metaphorisation process may be conceived of as approaching or departing from the prototype, i.e. being closer or further from the focal point. The more "hidden" and difficult to decode the metaphor, the longer the distance from the prototype.

It is common knowledge that any linguistic form acquires meaning by highlighting a certain area or configuration in the relevant domain, which is thus structured by means of schemas, or sets of schemas. Out of these there is a finite set of mappings that are considered as being fundamental in decoding the metaphorisation processes:

-front-back orientation—is primarily applied to the human body, but by extension it may also refer to temporal orientation: the future lies ahead, or in front of us, while the past is behind us;

-the whole-part relationship—the whole consists of parts disposed in a certain configuration, and the separation or reorganization of these parts results in the destruction of the whole; the metaphor may be applied to

one series of abstract notions, such as interpersonal relationships;

-inclusion— the schema refers to a recipient with an inside and an outside in three-dimensional space, applying to a number of non-spatial domains; it often happens that linguistic forms are conceptualised as recipients, as in the instantiations *empty words, the contents of the essay*, etc.

-up-down orientation—refers to spatial orientation in the gravitational field, which in turn may be applied to three distinct domains: quantity MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN, assessment GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN and control POWER IS UP, POWERLESSNESS IS DOWN;

-journey (spatial movement): initial point-trajectory-destination— life itself is often linguistically expressed in terms of a journey: *My life isn't getting anywhere*/ viața mea nu duce nicăieri, *he's come a long way*/ a parcurs un drum lung, etc;

-connection and separation— spatial notions are applied to abstract notions: to make contact/ a intra in contact, to break family ties/ a rupe legăturile de familie, etc;

-proximity and distancing—again, the schema based on spatial relations is projected onto non-spatial domains; thus, emotional involvement or mutual influence is actualised as proximity, e.g. close friend/ prieten apropiat, to keep one's distance/ a se ține la distanță, etc.

-linear order—objects are arranged in space in a unit-dimensional line in terms of an increasing distance from an observer; the schema is transposed in the temporal domain. (apud Lakoff 1987 passim)

Lakoff also states that these schemas are so deeply entrenched into the shared human experience that they form universally valid pre-linguistic cognitive structures. Indeed, many schemas originate in the most familiar experience, i.e. human body, which becomes the

experiential source of many of the schemas analysed previously.

Even if the metaphors structuring the conceptual system are the conventional ones, the American linguist credits newly-created metaphors with the ability to modify the way we perceive and comprehend our world and existence. In turn, these metaphors are also capable of entering networks, are obviously culturally anchored, although their coherence forms a secondary system, which is harder to approximate in point of the systematicity of the metaphorical expressions.

Like the interactionist theories, as for instance Max Black's, metaphorical expressions "focus" on a certain key aspect of the concept, simultaneously hiding other aspects, thus rendered secondary. The phenomenon is called in the specialised literature partial concept structuring, these covering only certain directions, i.e. the most favoured by the "automatisms" in the speakers' thinking. According to this particular phenomenon, a mapping such as ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING gives birth to expressions consisting of a trite, clichified or literal part (the foundation) and a fresh, figurative or imaginative part (rooms, storeys, etc.); consequently, the emerging metaphors are also trite (strengthening the domain concerned) or innovative (modifying the domain), depending on the part undergoing the extension phenomenon: *These facts are the bricks of my theory* as compared to *The classic theories are patriarchs fathering many offspring*.

Of course we should pose the question whether there are also concepts that we understand directly, i.e. non-metaphorically. As a possible answer to this thorny issue, Lakoff and Johnson resort to the distinction between "degrees of experience"; in this respect, simple spatial concepts, of the UP, DOWN, CLOSE, FAR, are far less

complex than human emotions for instance, the latter being metaphorically actualised by sensorial or motor expressions. It may thus be concluded that speakers render/ "conceptualize" what is abstract in concrete terms, apparently easier to put into words (linguistic expressions).

This theory of metaphoric structuring may be examined in consonance with recent research in psychology, which considers human subjects do not classify objects according to logical criteria, but starting from "prototypes" and "family resemblances". In this manner, the experience acquired is organized according to experiential gestalts which deeply influence general human behaviour. When we go through a certain experience, our natural tendency is to "categorize" it implicitly, imposing on it the applicable metaphoric pattern, such as "building" for argument, "war" for conversation, etc. The categorizing mental process and the metaphoric structuring activity thus become the poles of an axis or the so-called "endpoints of a continuum"; in the former case we are dealing with the same type of activity and sufficiently numerous identical features; in the latter case we are faced with a different type of activity and partial structuring.

Another important aspect of the Lakovian theory is the revision he proposes for the "definition" concept, which should take into account metaphor in the concrete process of comprehension. It is shown that it is necessary that the new perspective ease the comprehension of the so-called fuzzy concepts (typically unclear, abstract, harder to define) by resorting to other clearer, more concrete concepts. Thus, "elusive" concepts such as love, conflict, time, work become substances, entities, objects, spatial distances, etc. the systematic character of concepts requires a definition notion that should consider both the definiens, and the definiendum (or, as is the case with metaphor, the theme and the phore, or the tenor and the vehicle). The objects of

metaphoric definition are types of "natural experiences", applied to entire domains. Such a domain represents a "cognitive pattern" (cf. Verdeş, 2004:166) characterising recurring experiences, which involve the human factor in relation to his environment, the elements of the surrounding universe, etc. Transferring the observations made regarding concepts, the researchers reached the conclusions that human experiences are structured metaphorically. Cognitive patterns are in fact prototypes, determining the logic of resemblances in a given culture, on the basis of certain "interactional properties". Unlike the objective conception, which claims that objects are included in categories or not, the new concept of definition postulates open categories, that may be systematically extended by hedges such as "par excellence", "strictly speaking", "as it were", etc. In conclusion, metaphors constantly enrich and modify these categories. The interactional properties are those leading to the identification of an object, by bringing to the fore a part of its features, and occulting the others. It is in this manner that the notion of "objective" truth disappears, as it becomes relative to our metaphorically-structured conceptual system. By its unique special mechanisms, metaphor joins together reason and imagination, the comprehension it maintains being the most suitable to our moral, spiritual, affective or aesthetic experience.

1.3.6. Metaphor in the Blending Theory

This theory, ulterior to cognitivism, was proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (1994; 1998) and seeks to integrate the analysis of metaphor into the larger framework of linguistic and conceptual phenomena in general. Going beyond the scope of metaphor as a purely linguistic phenomenon, this novel theory introduces the notion of

"mental space" as the basic cognitive unit, definable as a partial and temporary representational structure that speakers resort to when bringing forth a perceived, imagined, past, present, or future situation. Despite what may be expected, these spaces should not be seen as equivalent to the domains of cognitivism, but as particular scenarios which are structured by specific domains. Another notable difference from the two-termed model typically used in cognitive mappings, blending resorts to a four-space model: two "input" spaces (similar to what we used to call the source and the target), accompanied by a "generic" space (the conceptual structure shared by the source and the target), and a "blend" space (the space where material from the two inputs combines and interacts).

In order to understand the metaphor-formation mechanism in this case, Grady et. al (1999) resort to the well-worn metaphor *This surgeon is a butcher*, referring to an incompetent practitioner of medicine. Although apparently explainable by the typical mappings in cognitive theory, it is to be noted that the most important notion of all, i.e. incompetence, actually the whole "purpose" of creating the metaphor under discussion, cannot be retrieved from the direct projection of the source domain of butchery onto the target domain of surgery. It seems that blending may account for this missing feature as well, as it is only within the blend space that the combined partial inputs lead to the development of "emergent" content, such as the incongruity of the butcher's means (to kill and cut up the flesh of the animal) with the surgeon's ends (to heal the patient).

According to its theorists, blending comprises three fundamental processes:

  a. "composition" (the projection of content from each of the inputs into the blend space);

b. "completion" (the filling out of a pattern in the blend, evoked when structure projected from the input spaces matches information in long-term memory);

c. "elaboration" (the simulated mental performance of the event in the blend).

In addition, conceptual blending is governed by several "optimality principles" (1998), conceivable as felicity conditions of sorts, in which blending seems to work in an optimum manner:

a. The principle of integration (the scenario in the blended space should be a well-integrated scene);

b. The principle of the web (the blend and the input spaces should be kept tightly closed at all times);

c. The principle of unpacking (starting from the blend, it should be easy to reconstruct the inputs and the connections);

d. The principle of topology (the components of the blend should be in the same type of relations as their counterparts in the input spaces)

e. The principle of good reason (any elements that occurs in the blend should have meaning);

f. The principle of metonymic tightening (the relationships between the elements from the same input should become as close as possible in the blend).

In the words of Lynne Murphy and Koskela (2010), "Blending Theory can be seen as a development of Mental Space Theory, and it is also influenced by Conceptual Metaphor Theory. However, unlike the latter, Blending Theory focuses specifically on the dynamic construction of meaning". While dwelling on the structural principles of human cognition, the two theories exhibit numerous differences, among which Handl and Schmid (2011) mention the following:

Blending Theory	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
-more oriented towards real-life examples	-not tested enough with data-driven approaches
-more focused on decoding creative examples	-more interested in conventional examples and mappings (stored in the individuals' minds)
-blending processes can be routinised and stored if their outcome proves useful	-able to explicitate novel expressions if they are compatible with the more general makeup of the human mind
-maximizes the importance of metonymic construals and thinking for cognitive processes	-underestimates the role of metonymy

Irrespective of the positions adopted by researchers in connection with the status of this novel theory, i.e. either competing, or complementing cognitivism, blending appears as crucial in explaining how creative and individual, rather than conventionalised, metaphors operate, providing valuable insights into the dynamic, permanently evolving field of metaphor theory.

1.4. Traditional classifications of metaphors

The taxonomies of metaphor devised by various researchers and theoreticians reveal in turn their views on the metaphorical mechanism, serving as theoretical landmarks in the study of metaphor.

From a strictly formal point of view, depending on their ampleness, metaphors may be classified simple (A is B), developed (which often lead to metaphor-derived tropes such as concetto, allegory, parable), and multiple (accumulations that go beyond the mere scope of metaphor *stricto sensu*, stepping into the area of the mythical, magical , and mystical, and thus providing the key to the mysteries of the world).

Another formal classification divides metaphors into coalescent (in praesentia, i.e. having both terms present in the discourse, e.g. *Juliet is the sun* — Shakespeare), implied metaphors (in absentia, when the tenor is not specified, the utterance only comprising the vehicle, e.g. *The apparition of these faces in the crowd;/ Petals on a wet, black bough*—Ezra Pound), and complex metaphoric structures. These, in turn, are further classified into symbolic metaphors (i.e. naming a yet un-named substance, e.g. Gerard Manley Hopkins's rendition of despair—*selfwrung, selfstrung, sheathe and shelterless,/ thoughts against thoughts in groans grind*), metaphoric induction (the semantic-stylistic attraction exerted by the metaphoric noun on the verb to which it is connected, e.g. *Hope is the thing with feathers/ That perches in the soul/ And sings the tune—without the words,/ And never stops at all* — Emily Dickinson), and metaphorical graft (in fact, a metaphor which emerges from the core of the initial metaphor and remains in the semantic area that it inaugurated, e.g. *Bobby Holloway says my imagination is a three-hundred-ring circus. Currently I was in ring two-hundred and ninety-nine, with elephants dancing and clowns cartwheeling and tigers leaping through rings of fire. The time had come to step back, leave the main tent, go buy some popcorn and a Coke, bliss out, cool down* — Dean Koontz).

From a semantic point of view, Ullmann proposes the following classification:

a)   anthropomorphic metaphors, or meaning transfers from the human body or its parts to inanimates: daughter company/ companie fiică;

b)   animal metaphors, performing meaning transfers from the animal realm to other domains: shark/ rechin (dishonest, onerous businessman);

c)   metaphors translating abstract experiences into concrete terms: heavy industry/ industrie grea;

d)   synaestethic metaphors, i.e. based on the transposition among various senses: *sour smell, humid green, bitter chuckles* (Thomas Pinchon), *lavandă sonoră* (Tudor Arghezi).

Speaking of poetic metaphor, it is perhaps not devoid of interest to mention Lucian Blaga's theory, dividing metaphors into:

a)   plastic metaphors, where the closeness between facts or the transfer of terms is exclusively performed in view of rendering one of the terms in the figure of speech more plastic: *Pe uliţi, subţire şi-naltă/ ploaia umblă pe cataligi [...];* in fact, it is a "compensating technique, [...] it is not called to enrich the fact it refers to, but to complete and avenge the impotence of direct expression or, more precisely, to

render the infinite of the direct expression useless" (our translation) (1969, 276);

b) revealing metaphors, which attempt to reveal a mystery, making use of concrete means, i.e. the sensible experience and imaginary world, thus annulling the ordinary meaning of facts and bringing in a substituting fresh and innovative vision: *Cenuşa ingerilor arşi in ceruri/ ne cade fulguind pe umeri, şi pe case [...].*

If the classification criterion is the manner of semantic decomposition according to the rhetoric of the µ Group, the main types of metaphors are as follows:

a) conceptual metaphors, which are purely semantic and alternately consist of suppressing-adding certain semes;
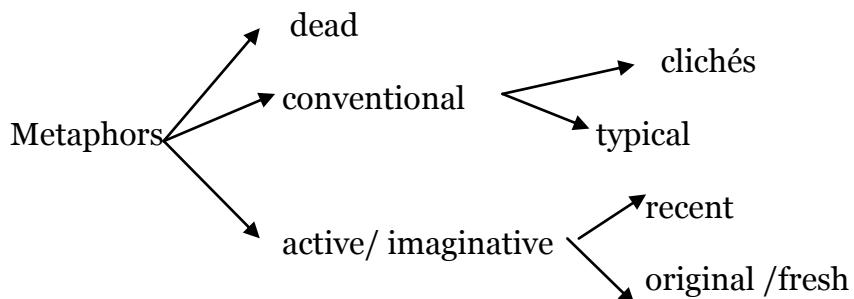
b) referential metaphors, purely physical, consisting alternately of suppressing-adding certain parts; as the main characteristic, they are based on images, or rather on mental representations of images, being closely related to the metasememe.

This classification shows many terminological similarities to the cognitive theory, which opposes conceptual metaphors (fundamental and universal, centred on general human activities, as well as the logical, spatial, and temporal dimension) to affective metaphors (expressive and interpretative, reflecting moods and states of mind that can be collective or individual).

A more nuanced approach of this categorisation is to be found in the differentiation between cognitive metaphors, where the tenor becomes known by observing, studying or dissecting the vehicle, and interactive metaphors, which create their significance by mutual semiosis.

An interesting view of philosophical inspiration is to be seen in Burke (cf. Avădanei, 1994, 31), who separates teleological metaphors (i.e. metaphors of human action and poetry, that make the world intelligible by hypotheses and bold leaps across domains, categories, species, genera, concepts) from mechanistic metaphors (i.e. metaphors structured according to the causality principle).

Finally, the classification proposed by Black, together with Newmark's addenda (1985), paint, according to the criterion of "freshness" or recurrence in the discourse, the following picture:

Metaphors
- dead
- conventional
  - clichés
  - typical
- active/ imaginative
  - recent
  - original /fresh

Undoubtedly it is difficult to clearly delineate these categories except according to intuitive principles, but the predominance of the conventional in the scheme above is obviously reminiscent of the theory according to which a language is nothing more but a cemetery of dead metaphors.

In the light of cognitive theories, there are three main types of metaphors:

1) structural/ conceptual — a concept is metaphorically structured in the terms of a different concept, such as

ARGUMENT IS WAR
TIME IS MONEY

2) orientational — organising an entire system of concepts according to directionality

HAPPY IS UP
EMOTIONAL IS DOWN
HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP
SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN
MORE IS UP
LESS IS DOWN
VIRTUE IS UP

3) ontological — which consider events, activities, emotions, ideas, concepts, phenomena, etc. as entities and substances

THE MIND IS A MACHINE
INFLATION IS AN ENTITY
VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS.

This third category may also include the so-called conduit metaphor whose paternity belongs to Michael Reddy; he was the first to notice that metalanguage (i.e. language about language) is roughly structured by means of the following complex metaphor:

IDEAS/ MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS
LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS
COMMUNICATION IS TRANSMISSION.

Changing the angle of perception, the classification of metaphors may be approached from the point of view of metataxis; thus one may speak of three metaphor types with syntactic structures clearly delineated in the surface structure:

a) predicative metaphors –A is B;

b) genitival metaphors—N a(l) N, that seem to originate, according to the analogy theory devised by Aristotle, from a four-term metaphor;

c) anaphoric metaphors—always in absentia, anaphorically sending to an in praesentia metaphor of the

type A is B in the deep structure, which is found in the previous discourse.

On the other hand, according to the theories proposed by Boyd (1979, 404), in regard to terminology and languages for specific purposes, metaphors are classifiable into:

a) theory-constitutive metaphors, introducing components of terminology of the theoretical type, part of the dead metaphor category; they seem to be used by scientists to express claims for which there is no possible literal paraphrase, e.g the brain as a computer, the thinking process as information processing, etc.

b) discursive metaphors, of the "open", imaginative type, allowing for a multitude of vehicles predicated about the same tenor.

In the same vein, Radman (1997) develops a particular interest in metaphors used in science, suggesting a different classification, according to the mechanisms underlining the metaphorical mapping and the referent used:

a) mechanistic metaphors—the signified is rendered in terms of a machine or an organic unit, e.g. the circulation of blood, the clock-work of the organism, the regularity of heart-beat, etc.;

b) organic metaphors, which transfer attributes from the inanimate to the animate, such as the evolutionary tree in Darwinism, or the tree in generative-transformational linguistics and mathematics;

c) animal and human being metaphors— transferring attributes from the human or animal realm onto inanimates, e.g. the nose, wing, tail of a plane;

d) theatrical metaphors—starting from referents such as agents, actors, scene, transferred into the field of social sciences, politics, psychology, etc.;

e) the mirror metaphor—grounded in the notion of imitation, the basic tool used in art criticism;

f) the light metaphor—used in history, e.g. the Dark Ages, the Enlightenment, etc.

More recently (April 2017), the theorist Richard Nordquist has drawn up a list comprising alphabetical list of 13 types of metaphors, as follows:

a. absolute metaphor (a metaphor which does not allow for the tenor to be readily distinguished from the vehicle;

b. complex metaphor (a combination of primary metaphors, i.e. the literal meaning is expressed by more than one figurative term);

c. conceptual metaphor (a metaphor transposing one idea/ conceptual domain in terms of another);

d. conventional metaphor (a familiar comparison that is no longer perceived as a figure of speech);

e. creative metaphor (an original comparison that stands out as a figure of speech);

f. dead metaphor (a figure of speech that "has lost its force and imaginative effectiveness through frequent use");

g. extended metaphor (a metaphor which continues "throughout a series of sentences in a paragraph or lines in a poem");

h. mixed metaphor ("a succession of incongruous or ludicrous comparisons");

i. primary metaphor ("a basic intuitively understood metaphor such as KNOWING IS SEEING or TIME IS MOTION that may be combined

with other primary metaphors to produce complex metaphors");

j.   root metaphor ("an image, narrative, or fact that shapes an individual's perception of the world and interpretation of reality");

k.   submerged metaphor (a type of metaphor in absentia, where either the tenor or the vehicle is not present in surface structure);

l.   therapeutic metaphor ("a metaphor used by a therapist to assist a client in the process of personal transformation");

m.   visual metaphor ("the representation of a person, place, thing, or idea by way of a visual image that suggests a particular association or point of similarity").

It is interesting to notice that most of these types have already been acknowledged, under the same name or a slightly different one, in the usual classifications, with the salient exception of therapeutic metaphor, whose status is at the boundary of linguistics and psychology. Seen from the very start as an instrument of personal transformation, healing and growth, it possesses a marked emotional dimension teasing out connections existing between emotions and past events. Researchers consider that its main functions are not descriptive in nature, but rather to alter, reinterpret and reframe, i.e. construct an alternate reality of sorts, able to reorganize the world vision of a patient and thus help in the healing process.

"[...] the therapeutic metaphor must evoke both the imagistic familiarity of the literary metaphor and a relational familiarity based on a sense of personal experience. The story itself—the characters, events, and settings—must speak to the common life experience of those listening, and it must do so in a language that is familiar. An example from a modern fairy tale might be the

Wizard of Oz (Baum, 1900), which functions as a metaphor for the common theme of searching for magical solutions somewhere outside the self. The image of a wicked witch, a good witch, a tinman, a scarecrow, lion, and wizard all depict aspects of the listeners' experience as mirrored in Dorothy" (Mills & Crowley, 2001:76).

It is not perhaps devoid of interest, especially when speaking of the specialized discourse of economics, to mention the special type of organizational metaphor, a creation of recent times, when corporations have reached the status of entities able to shape the mental collective of the community they belong to. Usually defined as a manner of characterizing organizational experiences, shaping the mentality of the employees and explaining the corporate modus operandi, such metaphors "provide information about the value system of a company and about employers' attitudes towards their customers and employees" (Nordquist, 2017). An important part of company policy, and playing an important role in advertising, this particular type of metaphors usually pertain to the domain of structural metaphors; here are a few of the most famous instantiations:

a. AN EFFECTIVE WORKFORCE IS A WELL-OILED MACHINE (Frederick Taylor, 1911);
b. THE COMPANY IS A FAMILY;
c. THE COMPANY IS A TEAM;
d. THE COMPANY IS A CIRCUS/ THEATRE;
e. THE COMPANY IS AN ORGANISM;
f. THE COMPANY IS A SYSTEM;
g. THE COMPANY IS A PRISON, etc.

No matter how one chooses to view it, organizational metaphor has the potential to become a filter through which reality is accessed by all those involved in the organization, leaving a deep impression upon the entire community connected to the organization in any manner.

1.5. Formal categories of metaphor

1.5.1. Metaphor and simile

When supporting metaphor theories based on simile, it is to be duly noted that the two tropes need to be clearly differentiated, despite their salient resemblance. Even Aristotle states that "simile is a metaphor too", the differences being negligible, viz. "the addition of the comparative expression, which makes [metaphor] longer and less pleasant".

Reversing the hyponymy relation in Aristotle's view, Cicero regards metaphor as "an abridged comparison", the metaphoric word being placed in a position which is not its own in fact, but which it occupies as if it were.

Much later, Michel Le Guern rightly observes that the term designating the trope called simile is the modern equivalent of two distinct Latin notions: comparatio (designating all means that aid in expressing the idea of superiority, equality, and inferiority comparative, thus referring to a purely quantitative assessment), and similitudo (aiding in expressing a judgement of qualitative type, introducing in discourse the being, object, action or state that possesses to a notable degree the quality or feature that we aim to evince). In this case, metaphor establishes meaning relationships with similitude, or qualitative comparison, since both lead to a mental representation which is foreign to the object motivating the utterance, i.e. an image. Unlike these, simile in a restricted sense is not an image, as it is confined to the isotopy of the context: "only comparable realities may be compared quantitatively" (our translation) (p.53). Anyway, although both similitudo and metaphor stress the importance of image, the dissimilarities are easy to spot, especially based

on rational criteria. Thus, the metaphor mechanism proposes a disruption in ordinary logic, while similitudo abides by rational critique, also being much less amenable to abstractisation, which is compulsory in metaphor. The conclusions of the study refer to the effect produced by the two tropes: "la similitude s'adresse à l'imagination par l'intermédiaire de l'intellect, tandis que la métaphore vise la sensibilité par l'intermédiaire de l'imagination"(p.57).

The dichotomy Quantitative simile vs. Qualitative simile is also tackled by Ricoeur, who acknowledges in the latter the same deviation from contextual isotopy as in metaphor. Taking into account that the researcher distinguishes between in praesentia metaphor (simile) and in absentia metaphor (metaphor proper), according to the degree of preservation of the concepts included in relationship, we may be tempted to equate, although Ricoeur avoids it, qualitative simile to in absentia metaphor.

On the other hand, the theorists in Le Groupe µ put forward the notion of metaphoric simile, of the same metasememic type as metaphor, proposing the following evolution scale from simile as such and in absentia metaphor:

(1) her cheeks are as fresh as roses –metalogical simile
(2) her cheeks are like roses –intermediary stage, when the shared feature is deleted
(3) the roses on her cheeks –metaphor in praesentia
(4) on her face, two roses- metaphor in absentia

These examples clearly show the difference between "complete metaphor and metaphorical simile, according to the criterion of the absent vs. present comparative mark. Just like in Ricoeur's work, the issues at stake are nuanced, considering that in praesentia metaphors, the same as

metalogical similes, are reduced to syntagms in which two seems are unjustly assimilated, while metaphor proper does not display this assimilation. Nevertheless, the two types of metaphors exhibit a whole array of intermediary grammatical structures, generally destined to attenuate the rational characters of the linking word *like*, which is the only obstacle preventing total interchangeability.

It may thus be concluded that both simile and metaphor have salient affinities, derived from the analogy principle, but also exhibit salient differences, especially from a formal point of view

1.5.2. Metaphor and metonymy

Definable as "a trope by correspondence based on indicating an object by the name of another object, which is completely different, but on which it itself depends in point of its existence or manner of being" (our translation) (Fontanier, 1977, 56), metonymy brings forth the concept of contiguity- which may be notional, spatial, temporal or causal-, involving a relation f the type "instead of" between the terms. The referential changes produced by metonymy may be of the following types:

-the recipient for the content: to drink a glass;

-the object used for the user: The gun he hired wanted 50 grand;

-the manufacturing place for the product: a champagne, some camembert;

-the author for the work: to see a Rembrandt;

-the location for the individuals at that precise location: the Cotroceni Palace;

-the place for the institution: Hollywood is not what it used to be;

-the place for the event: Watergate changed our politics;

-the controller for the controlled: A Mercedes rear-ended me;

-cause for effect: to enjoy someone's goodwill;

-effect for cause: clouds sprinkle fertility upon the ground; "I am the resurrection and the life" (John 11:25); the baby is our pride and joy, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 38-9)

It is precisely this referential function that differentiates metonymy from metaphor, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 36): "Metaphor and metonymy are different types of processes". Metaphor is first of all a manner of understanding something in terms of something else and its main function is comprehension. Metonymy, on the other hand, "has mainly a referential function, i.e. it allows the use of an entity instead of another" (1980, 67).

Nevertheless, it is sometimes hard to distinguish a metaphoric extension from a metonymic extension, as the cognitive processes involved are not mutually exclusive, but actually interact in natural language. Goossens (1995: 159) even reaches the point of proposing the term metaphtonymy for the very purpose of highlighting the very frequent occurrences when metaphor and metonymy are intertwined in language and it is quite difficult to tell them apart. To support his theory, he proposes the following schemas:

-metonymy within metaphor
e.g. to bite one's tongue →metonymy-formation → when you say something wrong you bite your tongue → metaphor-formation → to suddenly stop talking → metonymy-formation → to feel sorry for what you said; to catch someone's ear

-metaphor within metonymy
e.g. thickhead, cannon fodder, couch potato.

A much more uncompromising view belongs to Boris Tomaşevski (1973, 79) who believes that metonymy is

different from metaphor by the fact that between the proper and the figurative meaning are connected by a material dependence, and the related terms are in an objective, and not subjective, relationship. The theorist even proposes a practical means to distinguish between the two tropes: "In the analysis of a literary text, the following practical rule may be applied: metaphor can usually be transformed into a comparison [...], metonymy does not allow this operation" (p.83). the same opinion is supported by Tudor Vianu (1965,97), who states that even if the transfer of expression and even the potentiating effect of the expression occur in both cases, only in metaphor this transfer takes place on the basis of an implicit comparison, the more or less intuitive grasp of an analogy, the sense of similarity between items.

Yet the most interesting interpretation of the fundamental difference between metaphor and metonymy belongs to R. Jakobson, who transforms them into the two basic figures of the science of literature. The structuralist, considering the basic aspects in the use of the linguistic sign, i.e. combination and selection (comparable to the Saussurian distinction between syntagmatic and paradigmatic), arrives at the following associations: poetry is characterised by metaphoric polarity (resemblance), while prose by metonymic polarity (contiguity). His psycholinguistic theory proves that metaphor, being based on similarity, operates on the selection axis of producing discourse units that are larger than words, and therefore becomes the fundamental trope of Symbolism and Romanticism, or poetry in general; on the other hand, metonymy is based on contiguity, it works on the combinatorial axis of discourse and features prominently in prose. The two figures are thus the embodiment of two "psycholiterary" principles: the metaphorical one of equivalence, founded on selection and substitution,

according to which images relate to one another in terms of similarity and contrast; and the metonymic one of contiguity, based on combination, according to which images are juxtaposed.

1.5.3. Metaphor and synecdoche

It seems that the main difficulty in making a methodological distinction among the metaphor-related tropes occurs when differentiating metaphor from synecdoche, mainly because the latter may be easily confused with metonymy, and some rhetoricians even include it among metonymic subtypes.

A clear-cut distinction between metonymy and synecdoche is the one made by A. Henry: although the two "focalising" figures are closely connected, metonymy produces a change in the logical comprehension of a word (called intension in modern logic), while synecdoche operates on logical extension, substituting a term for another with a different logical extension. From a semantic point of view, metonymy alters ,"the semic structures of the lexical cell", whereas synecdoche acts upon the semic structures of the two elements of an associative field.

In this respect, synecdoche seen as metasememe originates in various types of mutations:

-the use of the part for the whole: sails for the ship; white/blue collars for workers; suits for businessmen, boots for soldiers, all hands on deck for sailors, etc;

-use of material for the object made of the material in question: kill somebody by iron/ steel (a weapon made of iron/steel);

-replacement of the part by the whole (the particular by the general): the army (took over the power) for the leaders of the army; man (set foot on the Moon in 1969) for Neil Armstrong;

-replacement of the plural by singular: the Turk for the Ottoman army; the international Jew for the members of the Jew community in Nazi Germany, etc.;

-replacement of the genus by the species: bread instead of food;

-replacement of species by genus: quadruped for lion; tree for oak, herbivore for cow, etc.

The salient associative fields required by synecdoche are constituted in an immediate differentiation from metaphor, as the latter does not involve associative-type relations. As in the case of metonymy, synecdoche operates on the syntagmatic axis, while metaphor, even in praesentia, is projected onto the paradigmatic axis.

Out of this list of traditional categories, Le Guern (1972, 36) proposes to preserve only two, the synecdoche of the part and of the whole, by reason of the inclusive relation connecting the proper term and the figurative one. In any event, these are only "slightly more special metonymies", the conclusion of his chapter "Le problème de la synecdoque" being as follows: "Bien qu'il soit sans doute excessif d'abandonner totalement la notion de synecdoque, il faut bien reconnaître que l'étude critique des catégories traditionnelles de la rhétorique confirme l'existence d'une organisation bipolaire du système des tropes, avec deux mécanismes bien différenciés, celui de la métaphore et celui de la métonymie" (36).

Among the formal categories of synecdoche, special mention is due to the so-called synecdoche of the individual, or antonomasia, which presupposes the use of a common noun or periphrasis instead of a proper name, or the other way round, like in "the swan of Avon" instead of "Shakespeare", or a "Maecenas" instead of "a protector of arts and artists". Tallying in with the substitutive theories of metaphor, this type of synecdoche seems to have the most affinities with metaphor, as Fontanier stated: "On

remarque que l'antonomasie offer le plus souvent une métaphore" (1977, 46). Indeed, it is easy to find a clear resemblance between antonomasia and lexicalised metaphor.

In the hierarchisations of metonymy and synecdoche, the latter prevails over the former in the view of the philosopher Kenneth Burke (cf. Avădanei, 1994, 32), being considered as the basic stylistic figure, both in poetry, and outside it, as it describes an experience in terms of another experience, at a different amplitude level, with resonances even in fractal geometry (on the grounds of the self-resemblance mechanism). Thus, the reduction presumed by synecdoche draws it closer to the point of identification to what is currently called metaphor.

The same identification is seen with the rhetoricians of Le Groupe μ, who equate metaphor to the combination of two synecdoches. In a graphic representation of metaphor, its terms are as follows:

$$D \rightarrow (I) \rightarrow A$$

where D is the starting point (the tenor), and A is the destination (the vehicle or target). (I), or the so-called intermediary term, always absent in surface structure, is the limit class or the semic intersection mentioned above. It is worth noticing that this tertium comparationis is the synecdoche of D, and the explicit term A is the synecdoche of the intermediary I.

Besides, it is to be noted that in order to obtain a metaphor one cannot randomly combine two generalising (Sg) or particularising (Sp) synecdoches. According to the theory of Le Groupe μ, in order to determine the intersection of the terms D and A, these complementary synecdoches have to combine following certain rules. Thus, taking into consideration that the coupling manner of synecdoches is either of the Σ type -selecting the semes shared in common by D and A, or of the Π type–combining

the overlapping parts of D and A, the possibility to obtain metaphors may be formally represented as follows:

(Sg+Sp)Σ

e.g. D birchtree $\rightarrow$ (I) flexible $\rightarrow$ A girl

(Sp+Sg)Π

e.g. D ship $\rightarrow$ voiles (sails, veils) $\rightarrow$ widow

Irrespective of the theory we favour, it cannot possible be contested that synecdoche, either included or including metaphor, secures a well-deserved place in the metaphorical domain.

1.5.4. Metaphor and symbol

By its very nature, which does not necessarily bear upon the linguistic domain, symbol may be seen as close to metaphor, due to the substitutive or analogical approach it presupposes. In its simplest, most straightforward definition, symbol is the name given to something it is ordinarily associated with, the correspondence between these two elements being as arbitrary as in the case of metaphor. Other more complex definitions explicitly refer to its relation to metaphor: "Un symbole est une comparaison dont on ne nous donne que le second terme, un système de métaphores suivies" (Lalande, 1962, 1081). Wellek şi Warren also share the same ideas, stating in their pivotal work that it is recurrence of use that differentiates between the two, i.e. an image may occur once as a metaphor, but if it persistently repeated, either as presentation, or as representation, it becomes symbol and may be "part of a symbolic system [...] The normal process is to develop images in metaphors and metaphors in symbols" (1976, 134).

The symbolic value of an image would therefore be due to its repetition, which may remind, as in the case of antonomasia, to lexicalised metaphor. In any case, the

treatment of images in the two instances is clearly different, as noted, among others, by Le Guern (1972). The essential difference lies in the function ascribed to each of the two mechanisms, viz. metaphorical and symbolical, to the mental representation that is currently designated by the term "image". In the symbolic construct, it is necessary to perceive the image in order to decode the logical information within the message. On the contrary, in the case of metaphor, this intermediary stage is not necessary in conveying information, as it is not the global signified which is employed, but only its elements which are compatible with the given context. In other words, the symbolic image should be grasped by means of the intellect, while the metaphorical image does not interfere in the logical texture of the utterance.

It also seems that in the case of metaphor the reader is provided with a tenor and a vehicle and allowed to discern on his own the relationship between them, while the symbol presents the vehicle and leaves it to the reader to find what it stands for (the tenor, as it were).

Nevertheless, there is quite a large category of images which are ambivalent in status, such as Jung's archetypes, the dominant elements in the imagination of any human being, light, darkness, water, earth, fire, air, space, movement, data forming the common experiential basis of humanity, and the same time the individual experience of any member of humanity. In order to understand the meaning of the utterances making use of them, we do not usually resort to intellect, logical reasoning by analogy allowing for the decoding of symbols.. it is therefore possible for symbols to be considered as metaphors, but of a special type, as their evolution has not yet reached the total deletion of the associated image.

1.5.5. Metaphor and synaesthesia

Etymologically derived from the Greek sin+esthetis "feeling together", synaesthesia or correspondence is also defined in relation to metaphor, as the concord between things and impressions, resulting from a metaphor-forming process, on the grounds of the universal analogy principle. Of course, the analogies made by various senses are on a purely perceivable level, rendering the semantic analysis necessary in decoding the metaphor absolutely impossible in the traditional manner. As "the easiest access to synaesthesia is by starting from metaphor" (Kayser, 1979, 168), this denomination is preferred in cases where the metaphor formation process cannot be reconstructed, as the substitution occurred at a deeper level than linguistic activity proper.

Some synaesthetic metaphors have become so entrenched that they are no longer perceived as figures of speech; according to Geary (2011:34), "many of the metaphors we use everyday are synesthetic, describing one sensory experience with vocabulary that belongs to another. Silence is sweet, facial expressions are sour. Sexually attractive people are hot; sexually unattractive people leave us cold. A salesman patter is smooth; a day at the office is rough. Sneezes are bright; coughs are dark. Along with pattern recognition, synaesthesia may be one of the neurological building blocks of metaphor".

Although it is sometimes hard to draw the line between what is conventional and what is creative in the realm of synaesthetic metaphor, it is certainly safe to assume that such metaphors are the perfect illustration of the semantic transfer commonly seen at the basis of all metaphoric activity. Statistically speaking, research showed that the senses resorted to when synaesthetic metaphors

are involved are, in descending order, hearing, sight, smell, temperature, taste, touch (Day, 2008:13).

It appears that "[...] metaphoric expressions of the unity of the senses evolved in part from fundamental synesthetic relationships but owe their creative impulse to the mind's ability to transcend these intrinsic correspondences and forge new multisensory meanings. Intrinsic, synesthetic relations express the correspondences that are, extrinsic relations assert the correspondences that can be" (Marks, 1978:103).

1.5.6. Other metaphor-related figures of speech

The central position held by the metaphorical in human experience and the eternally valid principles it is grounded in confer upon metaphor a special status in rhetoric, turning it into the reference point for other related tropes, out of which the most important seem to be the epithet, irony, allegory, catachresis, kenning and homoeosis.

The epithet, or "poetic determination", may be subdivided into the ornating type (usually traditional and quite weak in its evocative power) and the metaphoric type. The latter is different from regular metaphor by including an element of confrontation. According to Tomaşevski's illustration (1973, 71), the teeth of pearl or the pearls of teeth generate a confrontation between proper name and the metaphorical name of the object in question. Thus, we are dealing with the weakening of the metaphor, the epithet being in fact closer to metaphoric comparison ("teeth like pearls").

It is interesting to note that in contemporary English the word epithet is often used with a negative connotation, being seen as a term of abuse (as in "racial epithet").

One particular type of epithet seems to be of particular interest to the metaphoric sphere, the so-called transferred epithet, also known as hypallage in rhetoric, refers to the use of an adjectival determiner fit to qualify an animate noun in the actual description of an inanimate noun, as in the phrases *sleepless night, suicidal sky, careless match, discreet silence*, etc. The transfer of a descriptive feature from the domain of the animate to the domain of the inanimate is metaphoric in itself, increasing the argumentative force of the figure of speech.

In turn, irony is often seen as "one of the most typical attitudes of metaphorical transfer" (Vianu, 1965, 338). Being a category of antiphrase, the relation between its terms is opposition, and not similarity as in metaphor, but the processes it involves, i.e. substitution and semantic transfer, prove its appurtenance to the scope of metaphor.

Some researchers, among which M. Popa (2010), argue that there is such a category as "ironic metaphor, which puts a metaphorical meaning to ironic use, rather than an irony used metaphorically" (1). In order to prove her point, the author starts from several examples, among which Grice's famous "You are the cream in my coffee" (1989), taken to mean, without loss of metaphorical content, that the hearer no longer enjoys the speaker's affection. She claims that "metaphorical content must work as input to ironical content, such that irony builds on metaphor, rendering it subservient to an ironic communicative goal. Psychological MPT [Metaphor Priority Thesis] relies on empirical evidence to the effect that metaphorical meaning is processed generally quicker (and is less complex) than ironical meaning, thus suggesting a processing order in which metaphor is prior to irony" (2). As such, the conclusion that should be drawn is that irony cannot possibly exist without metaphor, being perceived as

a figure in the second degree, requiring further interpretive effort than a regular metaphor.

Allegory, whose etymological meaning is "figurative speech", shares with metaphor the *translation* mechanism, usually operating from the abstract (in the deep structure) to the concrete (in the surface structure). Included in current use as description or narrative that, in order to express a general or abstract idea, resorts to a series of metaphors, allegory is more often than not conventional, presupposing an already acknowledged relation between the terms, unlike the always surprising relations established by metaphor. However, as early as the 19th century Fontanier used to draw the attention upon the fact that allegory, that has a literal and a figurative meaning taken together, "should not be continued with an ongoing metaphor or the allegorism, as these never provide more than one meaning, the figurative one" (our translation) (1977, 90). In addition, allegory almost always has a hidden moral meaning, being more extended than a metaphor per se. Here is a synthetic view of the differences between the two tropes:

Metaphor	Allegory
-acts through the symbolic value of objects, persons, events, images	-establishes a connection between two basically unrelated items
-uses symbolism as a main device	-relies on imagery as the main device
-has a hidden moral or political meaning	-has no such hidden meaning, except for the its interpretation
-high degree of difficulty in establishing the source and the target	-quite straightforward in identifying the source and the target

Typical examples of allegories are Plato's Cave (an intricate network of metaphorical representations for philosophical truth, empirical knowledge, human condition, the philosopher's condition and his journey towards the truth, etc.), Orwell's Farm (a representation of totalitarianism), the movie Avatar (the main issues of U.S. current politics regarding military intervention abroad and environmentalism), Baum's Wizard of Oz (allegory of the human condition as well as political evolution from the agricultural past to the industrialized future), Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (the Christian journey towards salvation), etc.

Catachresis (from the Greek katakhrésis "abuse") is the trope extending the significance of a word beyond its proper meaning, this enlargement of the semantic sphere bringing it close to metaphor, mainly the lexicalised type. The difference between them is clearly explained by Quintilian: "We should distinguish between catachresis and metaphor, as the former gives names to notions devoid of term, while metaphor gives them a different name from the existing one" (our translation) (1974, 366), i.e. catachresis occurs when no proper word exists to name the referent, unlike metaphor, in which case the poet makes the voluntary selection of another word (from a completely different semantic field) to re-name a certain referent. Sometimes called catachrestic or radical metaphor, it typically pushes the boundaries of metaphor to the exaggerated or even burlesque, it is always felt as strained, pejorative or audacious. Here is a famous example, taken from Tom Robbins's *Still Life with Woodpecker* (1980):

"The moon was full. The moon was so bloated it was about to tip over. Imagine awakening to find the moon flat on its face on the bathroom floor, like the late Elvis Presley, poisoned by banana splits. It was a moon that could stir

wild passions in a moo cow. A moon that could bring out the devil in a bunny rabbit. A moon that could turn lug nuts into moonstones, turn Little Red Riding Hood into the big bad wolf".

The exuberant development which seems even to get quite out of control at some point may recall the category of burlesque metaphor, which seems typical of the wanderings of the witty spirit of writers always on the lookout for fresh imagery to stun their readers. One well-known example is to be found in Joseph Heller's Catch-22 (1961):

"Justice is a knee in the gut from the floor on the chin at night sneaky with a knife brought up down on the magazine of a battleship sandbagged underhanded in the dark without a word of warning. Garroting".

A special type of metaphor that is specific to English is the so-called kenning, a type of periphrasis or circumlocution, defined as a metaphorical compound in which the referent is suppressed (in other words, a compressed metaphor in absentia). Its origins date back in the Old English or Norse poetry, when it spiced up the long bards' tales about epic battles and ancient heroes. Here are a few examples: *sky candle* "sun", *sea-steed/ sea goer/ wave floater* "ship", *wolf of wounds* "sword", *curtain of the gods* "sky", *battle sweat* "blood", etc.

Homoeosis, a type of comparison, often reduced by theorists to the status of curiosity in specialised dictionaries, still deserves attention as it was presented by Diomedes (cf. Avădanei, 1994, 27-28) in almost the same terms as in the subsequent description of metaphor, viz. presenting something less known by the similarities it has with something better known. In other words, it may be identified with metaphor, which represents the unknown by what is known, accessible to human experience, in its heuristic function.

1.6. Functions of metaphor

It may be interesting to note that metaphor, universal category of human culture, and also general expression form in the artistic field, covers a wide range of important functions.

In keeping with the diachronic point of reference, theorists have chosen to shed light to some of these functions, according to the argument they may have needed to prove at a given moment. The classic view of metaphor stresses the expressive/ aesthetic function, singling out the metaphorical from the flow of ordinary language, and granting it the status of mere ornament. On the contrary, the romantic perspective brings forth the emblematic and symbolic function, language being seen as essentially metaphorical, and metaphor is vested with the quail-magical ability to recreate the surrounding universe.

Contemporary research focuses, as shown in the previous sub-chapters, on the cognitive, epistemological or heuristic function, metaphor being first and foremost perceived as a means of acquiring knowledge, of abstractisation and conceptualisation par excellence. Lakoff şi Johnson reunite the objectivist and subjectivist theories when inspiredly describing metaphor as "imaginative reason" (1980, 193). The same functions are then evinced by the newer blending theory, which is in fact a step further from cognitivism, with which it shares numerous similarities.

1.7. Conclusions

Irrespective of the perspective we adopt in regard to it, metaphor imposes itself as one of the fundamental processes of human thought, striking presence not only in art and literature, but also in science and technology (and

in all areas of human activity), with the clear-cut role of assimilating what is unknown to better known concepts (A is B), but at the same time preserving their aesthetic value.

When speaking of the elements of metaphor, the terminology in the field is varied in designating the two terms, i.e. the implicit and the explicit one; regarding the middle/ intermediary term (which is not even mentioned in all theories), it is usually called tertium comparationis or ground/ motivation.

The same variation is encountered in the theories on the metaphoric mechanism, whose roots are found in Aristotle's work as early as the 4th century B.C. Thus, the substitution theory is based on the analogical principle whereby the proper term is replaced by the figurative one, on more or less justified grounds, according to the context and the author's poetic endowments. Similarly, this principle is at the root of the theory of comparison, which states that metaphor is a shortened or implicit comparison, distinguished by the lack of the comparative morpheme, which reinforces its evocative power and artistic value.

On a larger scale, going beyond the scope of metaphor as a word-level figure, contemporary theories conceive metaphor as interaction, or transaction between contexts, on the basis of adding and/or suppressing semes.

In virtue of the same theory of metaphor as transfer, Goodman considers that the metaphorical mechanism operates on the basis of the transfer of properties, which results in a change in domain, as well as realm, metaphor being thus raised to the status of organising and hyperordinate principle of all figures of speech. In keeping with the same orientation, Jean Cohen sees metaphor as the reduction of semantic non-pertinence between the terms (on a paradigmatic level), transforming it into the second stage of any figure.

The inherent tension in the metaphoric mechanism leads to the theory of conceptual conflict, in which the peripheral feature shared by the two units becomes the genus in the given context, thus resulting in metaphor formation.

Pragmatic theories regard metaphor as dissociation between the literal and the figurative meaning, or as speech act called "metaphoric proposition".

The metaphoric mechanism is situated on the same conceptual level in American cognitivism, considering metaphor as a direct correspondence, or "mapping", between a source and a target model, by the "perspectivization" or highlighting of certain attributes of the target domain on experiential grounds.

There is an even greater variety in the field of metaphor classification according to different criteria, such as form, semanticism, recurrence in discourse, decomposition into components, the intended effect of the given trope in discourse, etc. although at times considered useless due to the very diversity and the impossibility to find a unifying criterion, these taxonomies are still quite important in setting the scene for the accurate understanding of this complex trope.

In the same manner, one may try to clearly grasp the subject of research by establishing the formal categories of metaphor. An original differentiation deriving from the traditional comparative approach is made between metaphor and comparison. The two are obviously related, operating on analogical principles, but the formal aspects (the comparative morpheme) is a tell-tale sign.

On the other hand, the separation between metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche proves much harder. The formal criterion is no longer effective, and the distinction has to resort to semantic or functional aspects, as synthetically shown in the following table:

	metaphor	metonymy	synecdoche
Function	comprehension	referential	referential
Discursive axis	paradigmatic	syntagmatic	syntagmatic
Meaning of terms	Subjective relation	Objective relation (contiguity)	Objective relation (associative field, inclusion)

Although these distinctions may be made, there are still specialists including all these three figures within the general scope of metaphor.

Another differentiation necessity arises when clarifying the concepts of metaphor and symbol. Although some authors prefer the definition of symbol as recurring metaphor (and therefore symbol is just another type of metaphor), dissimilarities occur at the level of image perception, useless in metaphor, but compulsory in the logical decoding of symbol.

Synaesthesia, like symbol, is also definable in metaphoric terms, but it differs from metaphor in the impossibility to reconstruct the metaphoric process, since substitution operates on a deeper level, viz. purely perceptive, not decomposable in the component semes.

Metaphoric transfer also occurs in the operation of other figures of speech, such as the epithet (which, unlike metaphor, introduces the "element of confrontation" between terms), irony (based on opposition and not similarity), allegory (always conventional in establishing the relation between the terms), catachresis (objective, and not subjective naming mechanism) or homoeosis (closer to comparison than metaphor). Taking all this into account, it is not hard to see why metaphor, or rather the metaphorical may definitely constitute the basis of all figures of speech,

and in a certain respect, of language itself. Thus metaphor becomes an organising principle, a mechanism of comprehending the whole surrounding universe and transposing reality into language.

It has long been proven that metaphor is no longer confined to the role of ornamental auxiliary of discourse, the contemporary theoretical orientations stressing its cognitive and heuristic function, which is most salient in the technico-scientific realm. Metaphor, generating the conceptual structures through which reality is incorporated in the systems of various sciences, is transformed into a genuine terminological instrument, able to pin down new concepts, ideas, and phenomena. Taken over by the "analogy demon", the scientific researcher, just like the lay person, sees the world through transposing the unknown into the familiar, the abstract into concrete: "Our analogical perspectives and extensions happen through metaphor and nothing else – a world without metaphors would be a world without any direction" (Burke, 1984, 194).

2. Metaphor in specialised discourse

2.1. Metaphor and terminology

The present age is undoubtedly characterised by globalization and interdisciplinarity, so that it is more and more difficult to distinguish among poetry, myth, imagination, history and technico-scientific research.

Seen as the main mechanism whereby humans understand abstract concepts and perform abstract judgements, metaphor may be rightfully promoted to the rank of critical tool in the so-called languages for specialised purposes. Taking into account the traditional view, it is somewhat surprising that such a rhetorical instrument par excellence was so rapidly adopted by specialised languages. A possible explanation may be Peter Newmark's, i.e. metaphors aid the reader in forming a better clearer vision, not only material, but also emotional, and are thus apt to being added to the technical terminology in a semantic field, contributing to "greater accuracy in language use" (1985, 297). The same idea is found in Lakoff (1996, 210), who sees metaphor not as figure of speech, but as a manner of thinking, defined by systematic correspondences between a source domain and a target domain

Apparently such an extension of meaning in a specialised domain–scientific terminology – may result in inaccuracy and ambiguity. This is nevertheless the position adopted by linguists like Bloomfield and Coşeriu, who state that the scientific lexicon is strictly monosemantic, being more of a nomenclature structured rather on the basis of extralinguistic reality than linguistic criteria.

On the other hand, the modernising trend of cognitivism propose the theory of non-definitional

reference, claiming that linguistic precision does not actually exist, being replaced by rational strategies aimed at avoiding referential ambiguity, which do not reflect the laws of linguistic usage.

Once the empirical theory of linguistic precision is discarded, the same may happen with the equally empirical opinion that metaphor might distort scientific reasoning on account of its conceptual "openness" and the impossibility to possess a fixed, one-sided interpretation. On the contrary, recent terminological research accepts metaphor not just as a trope or mere ornament, but as a manner of thinking, a valuable, if not even indispensable means of conceptualizing and conveying new experience.

In specialised languages, metaphor performs distinct functions. First and foremost, it has a denominating function at lexical level, being the fundamental element in terminological creation. Of course, we are referring to lexicalised metaphor, i.e. a metaphor which is the subject of a preceding agreement.

At text level, metaphor is rather designative in its employment, not being in possession of a stable, conventionalised value. Within the framework of text, due to the transgression of domain bounds, it plays a heuristic role doubled by argumentative force. By analogical connections, it allows for the better grasp of a theoretical concept.

In the former case, metaphor is called upon to fill in the gaps in the denominative terminological list, while in the latter it is turned into one of the parameters conditioning textual interpretation. The interpretive itinerary sets in motion a complex mechanism, involving various operations, such as: identifying the disparity between the domains where the metaphoric transfer is performed, the recurrence of isotopies at different levels, attributing the necessary semantic features in accordance

with contextual directions. All these operations are part and parcel of interpretive competence, able to produce the information available in order to set forth the required referential data.

In science, metaphor is said to have the status of a "magistral" metaphor (Huttar, cf. Rovenţa- Frumuşani, 1995 : 66), whose aim is to inform (didactic), explain and persuade (explicitating the code by a more familiar image). In this type of discourse metaphors have a general and conventional character, subordinated to the denotative character of language, unlike the original, individual and connotatively-marked character of poetic discourse.

According to the generalising level of scientific metaphor, there are general metaphors (i.e. pertaining to the scientific discourse of any nature, such as root, source, sphere, route, circle, etc.), standard metaphors (pertaining to a certain scientific branch, such as *vacuum*, *the tunnel effect* in nuclear physics, etc.) and individual metaphors (spontaneous analogies, the result of the immediate stylistic option of the author in a given context).

The cognitive extension triggered by metaphorical utterances is the predominant element in scientific discourse, acting by means of semantic transfer, the presence of the image and relational analogy.

Among the first researchers to remark the crucial role of metaphor in specialised discourse is Deirdre McCloskey, whose study *The Rhetoric of Economics* deals with the rhetoric dimension of economic discourse. She opines that the arguments brought by economists in presenting their various theories manage to persuade their readers not by experimental or statistical tests, but by the rhetorical means that constitute the very essence of their textual production. These rhetorical means are first and foremost analogy and metaphor, that invariably succeed in

building scientific facts through words, thus acquiring a predominant role in the very creation of economic models.

"Rhetoric is the whole art of argument, from metaphor to mathematics. [...] economic development is drenched with metaphor. [...] And we economists make a world of "production functions" and "human capital", embodied in mathematics, in places where lay people see only factory workers and schoolhouses. [...] we are all rhetoricians, we scientists and policymakers together." (McCloskey, 1985:250)

More recent research even proposes the name "terminological metaphor", or in other words, a metaphor which is apt at playing in all respects the role of scientific term. Thus, Assal tries to distinguish between rhetorical and terminological metaphor, laying the foundation of the approach of metaphor in the field of specialised languages which is essentially defined as a thinking process, and not just as a mere appearance of words in the Aristotelian tradition:

"La métaphore terminologique est loin d`être une simple façon de parler, elle est essentiellement une manière de penser. Certes elle est un emprunt imagé, mais une fois que cet emprunt est réinvesti dans une pratique sociale, une fois que sa signification est réglée par les acteurs agissant dans le cadre de cette pratique, elle devient l`expression d`un nouveau concept." (1994 :23)

As early as 1976, Nelson Goodman noted that "metaphor, it seems, is a matter of teaching an old word new tricks—of applying an old label in a new way." (69)

Similarly, Hermans insists on the importance acquired by metaphor in apprehending novel concepts and notions in need of further clarification:

"Les epistemologues actuels affirment que toute science se fonde sur une operation de métaphorisation ,où les glissements de sens, les analogies et l`ambiguité des

concepts de base fournissent les hypothèses et guident l`observation." (1989 :143)

The same necessity for the metaphor as the main tool upon which science heavily relies to make sense in point of new terms, and connecting the familiar and the novel, is also stressed by MacCormack:

"Even if the philosopher could abandon metaphor and produce a simple, literal description of what is and still have it recognised as legitimate philosophy; the scientist could hardly construct tentative, hypothetical theories about the physical nature of what is without some resort to metaphor, the intentional conceptual formation of semantic anomalies to speculate about the unknown in terms of the known." (1986:51)

This intentional character of the gap-bridging ability of scientific metaphor is further reinforced by Gentner and Wolf, who evince four basic mechanisms whereby metaphor brings about knowledge change and enrichment— "highlight, project, re-represent and restructure" (cf Cacciari, 1998:139). To put it differently, metaphor can select only the relevant semantic features of the signified and shed light upon them, i.e. making them salient, while completely obscuring the irrelevant ones; by projection, the favourite device used in science, a source domain is mapped into the corresponding source domain, as proposed by the cognitive theory; re-representation refers to the decomposition of the initial structure and the detection of similarities; knowledge re-structure works not only at linguistic level, but also at the level of entire cognitive systems.

The work of Rita Temmerman (2000) in this respect is worth mentioning, as she was mostly concerned with the manner of creating terminological neologisms, or neolexicalisations, on analogical or metaphorical bases. In her opinion, this process of neolexicalisation has led to the

creation of two types of metaphors: didactic metaphors, which are only useful in a teaching situation/ classroom environment (i.e. to convey already known concepts and ideas), and creative metaphors (the authentic issuer of neologisms to be further consolidated and integrated in specialized terminology). She also pays special attention to the detection of the source domain in a diachronic perspective, which is deemed to play an essential role in the constitution of specialized metaphors, from a social, technical, cognitive and terminological point of view.

It is therefore possible to assume that metaphorical identification in terminology presupposes the acknowledgement of the two levels, one pertaining to the linguistic domain, and the other to the cognitive domain. The two levels are in constant interplay, as our entire conceptual universe is made up of words allowing its categorisation, conferring the expressible reality. Terminological metaphor is not just a matter of language, but the expression of a conceptual mapping. It is thus no surprise that in science metaphor serves as an important tool, widely employed by specialists for its ability to create and name new concepts.

2.2. Metaphor and epistemology

It seems that any type of social creativity, albeit superficial or profound, consists of inventorying, imposing and exploiting certain metaphors. Any form of social existence containing unknown, problematic or ambiguous elements is approachable through metaphoric models. Such models operate on analogical grounds, allowing for the approach of new, unknown concepts in terms of familiar ones. In Bourdieu's opinion, "[f]ar from functioning as mere metaphors, guided by rhetorical intentions at persuasion, the methodical transfers of models founded on

the hypothesis that there exist structural and functional homologies among all fields, possess an eminent heuristic virtue, the one that epistemological tradition recognizes in analogy... Rather than viewing the transfer as responsible for object construction – such as in cases where one borrows from a preferably prestigious universe, ethnology, linguistics or economics, a decontextualized notion, a mere metaphor whose function is purely emblematic – it is the object construction which calls for the transfer and establishes it" (1985a: 18-19).

The tropology of economic discourse, by the very meanings of the fundamental concept, as well as the compulsory symbolic value of the operational notions, seems to be the product of mainly European, and more precisely Western cultures, especially as far as economic theory formation is concerned. Researchers in the field found out that the model of elementary value forms is often described as an equation formulated as a relation between two types of merchandise; also, the evaluation of each product depends on the manner in which it is placed in one or the other of the two members of the metaphorical expression. The chapter dealing with finance is the epitome of metaphorisation by the myriad of phrases focusing on money as accumulation of energy, work and professionalism. Thus, in a general illustration of the common phrase "*time is money*, whose conceptual mapping is TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY/ A RESOURCE, it is obvious that money is not only equated to time, but it also embodies a series of imaginary relations between people and inanimate objects:
-banul nu are miros/ money has no smell
-banul e o mică roată ce-nvârteşte lumea toată/ money makes the world go round
-banul e ochiul dracului/ money is a sword that can cut even the Gordian knot

-banul e rădăcina tuturor relelor/ money is the root of all evil
-banul la ban trage/ money begets/ breeds/ draws/ makes money
-bani gheaţă/ ready cash
-bani de buzunar/ pin money
-banii vorbesc/ money talks

It is easy to see that the extremely diverse vehicles associated with the various types of metaphors describing one of the main elements of our everyday reality are part of structural conceptual mappings such as: MONEY IS AN ENTITY, MONEY IS A LIQUID.

It is worth noticing that English, unlike Romanian, abounds in actualisations that prove hard to translate, as they are illustrations of the mapping MONEY IS FOOD:

> *They didn`t get a fair share/ slice of the cake/ pie. "bucată de prăjitură/ plăcintă"*
>
> *The rent takes a large bite out of their income. "ia o îmbucătură zdravănă din venitul lor"*
>
> *The fees have swallowed most of my grant. "au inghiţit o mare parte din bursă"*
>
> *This ate into our savings. "ne-a mâncat din economii"*
>
> *The richest nations gobble up/ devour the world`s resources. "inghit pe nemestecate/ devorează"*
>
> *The company was starved of investment capital. "a fost infometată, lăsată să moară de foame, fără capital"*
>
> *The government said that the cupboard was bare. "dulapul este gol/ bugetul este zero"*
>
> *We have to make do with scraps from their table. "firimituri, resturi de la masa lor/ puţinii bani rămaşi de la ei"*

2.3. The Role of metaphor in economic discourse and its subtypes

2.3.1. Theoretical notions

According to current definitions, the term discourse is used in a multitude of meanings, out of which five seem more important for our present purposes:

-in its broadest sense, discourse means any naturally occurring language sequence, either spoken or written; sometimes it is used interchangeably with the term text;

-in some other instances, discourse is only associated to the oral code, while text to the written code;

-if the code is left aside, discourse is sometimes equated to the process of language production, while text is the finished product;

-certain researchers consider discourse as being a section of a text with explanatory finality, sometimes with the pejorative value of ex-cathedra authority and detailed presentation;

- present-day theories prefer to define discourse as language types used in specific contexts, or modes of communication (in written or spoken code) involving the participants in the communication situation by making them adopt a certain attitude towards the socio-cultural fields of activity.

This recent definition seems to serve best the purposes of the present endeavour, which deals with economic language as a form of scientific discourse, operating within the framework imposed by academic discipline and the social groups it addresses. The factors it is dependent upon are therefore the common knowledge of a group of specialists in the economic field, as well as its implicit purposes. Economists have two main goals: to

build new theories and to communicate their findings, and to persuade their audience by specific means.

In this respect we may focus on two fundamental types of economic discourse: on the one hand, theory-forming, or theory constitutive (in Boyd's words), predominantly seen in textbooks, and endowed with explanatory and more often than not argumentative valences, meant for the experts in the field; the mediating discourse, with a crucial role in popularising scientific concepts and persuading the public at large. Of course, it is worth mentioning that the advertising discourse holds a special place in this classification, despite it being often considered as marginal, owing to the more and more pregnant role in daily life. It combines the two functions mentioned above, i.e. the argumentative and the persuasive function, to which it adds explicit pragmatic valences, i.e. persuading the customer to make the purchase, creating the desire to buy the product advertised.

2.3.2. The Theory-constitutive discourse

In the theory-constitutive discourse pertaining to the economic domain, certain basic cultural models stand out— they are cognitive mappings shared by an entire cultural community (apud D'Andrade, 1990). These unanimously acknowledged models circulating within the economic community mediate daily existence, organize and structure the human experience in the field, create horizons of expectation, motivate behaviours, providing the necessary framework for experts and future specialists to describe, recreate and sore in memory significant events.

Undoubtedly, there are numerous models of socio-economic experiences available, just like diverse axiological constants may coexist within the same cultural systems; nevertheless, in the case of economic discourse there is an

obvious uniformity of vision among the European specialists, who irrevocably adopt models of Anglo-Saxon extraction. A possible explanation may be the overwhelming influence exerted by the capitalist economic systems in English-speaking countries, imposing, especially in the past few years, the original cultural models.

2.3.2.1. Adam Smith's Model

One of the founding fathers of the economic doctrine of free enterprise, the famous Adam Smith (1723-1790), proposed in his widely read book *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) the model of the economy as a mechanic machine, governed by the its own principles referring to gravity and circulation, and structured according to Newtonian physics:

> "The earth has been sometimes compared to a vast machine[...] for the production of food and raw material; but, to make the resemblance more just... we should consider the soil as [...] a great number of machines of very different original qualities and powers" (ibid:135)

> "The natural price, therefore, is, as it were, the central price, to which the prices of all commodities are continually gravitating" (id: 75)

> "[...] commerce, instead of running in a great number of small channels, has been taught to run principally in one great channel" (id: 235)

> "[money] is the great wheel of circulation" (id: 289)

In his opinion, economy is not just a machine, but an organism dictating the evolution of all related phenomena.

The characteristic metaphor, imposed as one of the main term in the jargon of economists everywhere is the *invisible hand of the market* regulating the entire economic mechanism. A case in point for theory-constitutive metaphors, it continues to play a crucial role in economic imagery, being a commonplace in economic articles and textbooks. Rothschild (2002:118) noticed the paradox that the metaphor acquired the status of epitome of Smith's vision only at the end of the 19th century.

Nowadays it is part of ordinary daily discourse, briefly referring to the political legitimisation of a pre-existing social order, whose beneficial status originates in an external authority. It is also a stable occurrence in the printed press, being even included in the Dictionary of Cultural Literacy (Hirsch et al., 2002). The enduring career of the trope seems to derive from its two distinct characteristics: on the one hand, the anthropomorphism recalling to the collective memory the entire symbolism associated with the hand, creator of material wealth par excellence, and on the other hand, the invisibility, a rather transparent allusion to the philosophy of the free enterprise, devoid of any constraints from a central authority, which is the foundation of capitalism.

Several researchers have been concerned with the possible interpretations of this metaphor which has managed to survive through economic history. Among these, Vaughn (1989) proposes three important aspects seen as indispensable to metaphor comprehension and decoding:

1. the unintentionality of consequences ;

2. the anthropomorphisation of the idea of social order, conceived as the product of an external intelligent planning force;

3. the beneficial effects, and consequently the legitimacy of such a social order.

As a result, saying that a participant in the economic process—investor, producer, worker or mere customer—is led by the invisible hand of the market, means, in the light of this interpretive triad that his selfish and unintentional actions are transformed into a beneficial and therefore legitimate social order by an invisible sovereign force. Thus, the metaphor constitutes a comprehensible representation of the socio-economic imaginary.

However, it was found that the origin of this particular metaphor is to be retrieved from Latin Antiquity, under the form of the invisible hand of Jupiter, the imposer of order by force of divine intervention in a fundamentally unstructured universe.

The contemporary interpretations of this metaphor enlarge its referential domain, being synthetically summarized as:

1. the invisible hand as spontaneous social order. It was Smith himself who suggested this interpretation, repeatedly referring to the "system of natural freedom" imposing and operating by itself, without any other visible intervention from the outside.

2. the invisible hand as the disciplinary market mechanism. The metaphor sees the price mechanism as a means of regulating and balancing the market at large, without any other external intervention.

3. the invisible hand as divine intervention ("God's hand"). This is an illustration of the naturist vision of religion of Stoic inspiration: the laws of nature are the expression of a providential divinity, able to provide nature with reason.

4. the invisible hand as natural selection. The Darwinist version of the economy as a biological organism occurs in Khalil (2000), who reduces all the previous teleological presuppositions on related to evolutionism; in

economy, just like in nature, survival belongs to the fittest and strongest, best adapted to the environment.

5. the invisible hand as national security. This version (Grampp, 2000) is based on the idea that an unintended consequence of domestic rather than foreign investment serves as valuable resource in reinforcing national security.

At text level, the invisible hand mainly exerts its power through discursive operations (Zuidhof, 2003:45), invoking the market valences as an imaginary system in the context of significance that turns it into an institution in its own right.

Commonly used economic textbooks embrace this vision, frequently employing the same metaphor. Thus, Samuelson and Nordhaus (1998: 29) ascribe the order on the market to the principle of the invisible hand:

"This principle holds that, in selfishly pursuing only his or her personal good, every individual is led, as if by an invisible hand, to achieve the best good for all. Smith held that in this best of all possible worlds, government interference with market competition is almost certain to be injurious".

Another widely used specialised textbook combines metaphor with the conceptual mapping BUSINESS IS WAR:

"The invisible hand strikes back!" (Baumol şi Blinder, 1991:50).

The idea supports that the inherent order and the mutual advantage implied by the market institution may result in strengthening competition.

2.3.2.2. Alfred Marshall's Model

The late 19th and early 20th centuries were marked by the book authored by Alfred Marshall (1842-1924), *Principles of Economics* (published in 1890). It became the most influential theoretical treatise of the time ,managing to turn economy into a much more rigorous scientific discipline than it had ever been. Many of the concepts he put forward, such as price elasticity (elasticitatea prețurilor), the representative firm (firma reprezentativă), consumer`s surplus (surplusul consumatorului) maintain their validity even today, being in current use all over the world.

It seems that the key metaphor in his entire work is the price scissors, used to illustrate the manner in which the price of a certain merchandise is determined by the interaction of two opposing forces, i.e. demand and supply.

Unlike any of his contemporaries, Marshall is deeply influenced by Darwin's ideas, and consequently his vision is the one that conceives economy as a living organism with a certain life cycle; thus, according to this biomedical model, economy is treated as an organism, more often than not a patient in need of treatment and healing:

"The economist is supposed to be able to diagnose the illness and then, with luck and skill, remove it. Admittedly, economists often disagree among each other about the diagnosis and, even more frequently, about the cure; but that merely proves that the subject matter is uncommonly difficult and economists, like other humans, are fallible." (1990:125)

The conceptual metaphor conferring coherence to the entire fragment quoted above is ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM, with adjacent submappings such as ECONOMY IS A PATIENT, THE ECONOMIST IS A DOCTOR, NEGATIVE ECONOMIC PHENOMENA ARE A

DISEASE, SOLVING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IS HEALING. The anthropomorphic representation of economy is very frequent in discourse, which is due to the general human tendency to model abstract phenomena on the basis of the resemblances with our own body, thus increasing the degree of familiarity with the concept being explained and consequently its appropriation by our human mind. The use of the biological vehicle reminds of the privileged position that the human species holds in our universe. Biology, concerned with the conceptual division between the social and the natural universe, focuses on the idea that although humans are seen as entities involved in the process of reasoning, allotting, consuming, manufacturing, etc., they are still part and parcel of a complex natural universe, governed in all physical respects by biological laws.

The entire neo-classic theory of economic sciences is founded on biological or biopsychological premises, especially since the beginning of the century brought forward in scientific research the novelty that the principles of Newtonian physics no longer apply even in modern physics, let alone social sciences. A promoter of the evolutionist theory in economy is Hodgson, who claims the following:

"[...] the appropriate metaphor for economics, if one is necessary, should be biological." (1993:21)

"Real world economic phenomena have much in common with biological organisms and processes than with the mechanistic world of billiard balls and planets."(1993:45)

We should note the clear separation from the traditional view of Adam Smith, whose arguments rested on the metaphor of the economy as a self-regulated mechanism observing the laws of physics.

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Another supporter of the evolutionist model in economy is Michael Rotschild, who founded the concept of bionomics:

"By way of analogy, bionomics argues that, on a day in-day out basis, biologic and economic life are organized and operate in much the same way....Though the analogy between genetic and technologic evolution is powerful, it is not perfect." (1990:33)

His entire work is structured according to analogies between the economy in nature and human-created economies, considered as metaphoric systems, in which capitalism is the driving force of economic growth:

"Avoiding head-on competition –in the wild and in the marketplace –leads to diversity, which, in turn, promotes interdependence. Mutually beneficial relationships, common among species in nature, are echoed in business, where the vast majority of affiliations are based on mutual profitability." (1990:45)

2.3.2.3. John Maynard Keynes' model

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) was one of the main economists of the early 20th century, and the system he founded lies at the origin of all Western economic policies, which are predominantly characterised by state interventionism, compatible with maintaining liberalism.

His most renowned work, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936), provides a theoretical explanation to the quasi-permanent unemployment that used to plague England, as well as the fundamentals of capitalism interpretation and a renewal of theoretical economy. Contesting the liberalism of his predecessors, Keynes proves that it is possible to be confronted with a type of unemployment that he calls permanent involuntary unemployment (viz. not motivated

by the refusal to work on the grounds of insufficient pay), which cannot find a solution on its own (as claimed by the previous mechanistic approaches) and therefore requires the intervention of the state. In his opinion, there is no self-correcting mechanism of unemployment, so that the state should assume the responsibility to maintain the optimum level of employability by a well thought-out policy. This policy, overtly opposed to the deflationist techniques that had been used so far, is essentially monetary in nature, which allows for the efficient intervention of the state, but without prejudicing the autonomy of private investments, privileging consumerism by income redistribution to the resourceless classes and customs protectionism. In regard to the method of economic analysis, Keynes' innovation refers to its "general" character (as compared to the advantages of partial equilibrium), the use of global amounts and the insistence on privileged variables (investments and the interest rate).

In order to illustrate his theory, several constitutive metaphors appear as predominant, all of them pivotal in the history of economic thinking. First and foremost, Keynes transposes his theory on financial difficulties caused by overinvestment in the terms of a carefully wrought metaphor, i.e. a wild duck entangled in the aquatic vegetation at the bottom of a lake.

It is worth mentioning that in this case the vision is reoriented from mechanic to neo-liberal, as the theorist prefers to equate the economy to a game, where the spirit of free enterprise is seen as a lottery:

"[...] businessmen play a mixed game of skill and chance [...] the game of professional investment is intolerably boring and overexciting to anyone who is entirely exempt from the gambling instinct" (cf. Schumacker, 1980:132).

Also, when explaining the operation of the stock exchange, he resorts to a metaphor pertaining to the same conceptual domain, i.e. taking part in the stock exchange is the same as betting on the winner in a beauty pageant, when the jury's decision remains essentially subjective and impossible to predict.

In any case, his theoretical prose is distinguished among the works of other illustrious economists as being the most colourful, suffused with metaphorical descriptions of the economic phenomena of his time.

2.3.2.4. Modern metaphorical models

Generally, today's society based on technological progress is trying to implement mechanistic, engineering-inspired models to social sciences like economy. Thus, a specific phenomenon that occurs is what Mirowski (1989) called "physics envy", strongly felt especially in the political and economic areas. The reference work of the researcher mentioned above, *More Heat than Light: Economics as Social Physics, Physics as Nature`s Economics*, claims that even from the very beginning economy, especially during the Neoclassic period, has been controlled all along its history by a metaphor; the Physical model accurately has determined the substance of the economic theories so far. The theorist considers that economists operated a direct transfer of the present-day physical models onto the economic categories; for instance, the concept of utility was equated as a vectorial field to energy as a physical dimension, which allows for the adaptation of mathematical calculus to the economic field. Similarly, under the influence of the anthropologist M. Douglas, Mirowski considers that both physics and economy make use of anthropological concepts, drawing up a complex schema of these ambivalent concepts. In addition, in his opinion

theories are metaphors imposed on reality, although the study provides no clear delimitation of the term "metaphor", so that it is more than plausible that the author may have a larger interpretation of the metaphorical realm.

In his quality of historian, philosopher and economist, he is the one taking the conceptual mapping ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM/ MACHINE to its actualised interpretation, in perfect agreement with the technological progress of our present time— ECONOMY IS A COMPUTER. Famous for his interesting interpretations of Neoclassic economy by taking over concepts and metaphors from other sciences, especially thermodynamics, he proposes a view on economy that is deeply influenced by physic-mathematical notions and by the tremendous progress registered in the field of computer science. One of his major works, *Machine Dreams* (2002), combines the history of economic thinking in the 20th century to a war novel. To his mind, a revolution also occurred in economy as well, as suggested by the very subtitle of the book in question: *Economics becomes a cyborg science*. The robotisation of a discipline traditionally perceived as socio-humanistic is described in parallel with the evolution of modern society, marked by the cold war and all it implies. The main thesis defended by the author is that there is a permanent influence of computer sciences („cyborg sciences" according to the words of the writer) upon economy and social phenomena in general, but it is quite difficult to distinguish from the extremely complex and suffused with connotations of the text. It is interesting to note that the main character of the book is the mathematical genius John von Neumann (1903-1957), co-author of the famous Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour (1944), a completely revolutionary vision upon the economico-social organisation according to the theory of strategy games, which is itself centred on the conceptual

mapping ECONOMY IS A GAME and ECONOMY IS CONFLICT/ WAR. The ideas initially proposed by Neumann, like the interdependence of military and economic science is also present in Mirowski's case, as illustrated by the conceptual metaphor MARKET/ECONOMY IS AN AUTOMATED MACHINE, since the economic field is the one where human cognition is perceived in terms of logical algorithms, thus resulting in the emergence of the concept of economic rationality. In any case, *Machine Dreams* brings forth the powerful impact of computers on the notion of economic value, which, just like the economic agent, transcends the limitations of science and spreads into society. Consequently, economic value should not be determined by what happens in the "idealised computer situated between the ears of the representative agent", but instead perceived as "an intermediate output of a population of automata called markets".

A continuator of these ideas is E.T. Jaynes, who shares in the physics fascination displayed by economy, extending the previous analogy to thermodynamic systems so that to include the notion of entropy. The premise of his influential study, *How Should We Use Entropy in Economics* (1991), consists in the inability of previous theories, deemed as incomplete, to account for the current economic evolution.

"An economic system is in some ways like a mechanism, as is recognized in all theories. But it is really more like a thermodynamic system than a mechanism—an analogy also noted by others, but not yet developed sufficiently to judge the possibilities. [...] On this analogy, the failure of Keynesian and monetarist mechanisms to account for recent economic behaviour would be attributed, at least in part, to their failure to recognize the entropy

factors that must ultimately control economic change and equilibrium, just as they do in thermodynamics."(2)

It is also worth noticing that the entire paper makes use of metaphorical language on the whole, which is somewhat unexpected coming from an author who is a physicist at Washington University:

"At what velocity does the economic system drift up the entropy hill? How widely will it fluctuate about the deterministic path?"

This fragment may be easily decoded as containing the conceptual metaphors ECONOMY IS A MACHINE (economy is characterized by speed and has operation fluctuations), ECONOMIC EVOLUTION IS MOVEMENT IN SPACE (it is inscribed in the deterministic trajectory), PHYSICAL DIMENSIONS ARE FORMS OF RELIEF (the the hill/ curve in the entropy graph).

Even the illustration of the theory is also metaphorical:

"What the theory suggests is the following. Even though a neighbouring macroeconomic state of higher entropy is available, the system does not necessarily move to it. A pile of sand does not necessarily level itself unless there is an earthquake to shake it up a little. The economic system might just stagnate where it is, unless it is shaken up by what an Englishman might call a 'dither' of some sort."(3)

The quotation above is an illustration of stylistically marked discourse, introducing what may be called "second-level analogies": economy is a thermodynamic system that has to reach the state of physical equilibrium / a pile of sand in need of levelling; economic evolution is an earthquake / an `impulse`. Jaynes expresses his theory in extremely familiar terms, bringing forth the extremely concrete image of a pile of sand levelled by an earthquake, and in the sentence immediately after, afraid that the

metaphor might be misunderstood or seen as overblown in context, he offers the toned-down interpretation of an `impulse`-generated disruption of economic stagnation. It is not without interest to note that the euphemism is used between inverted commas, in order to draw the reader's attention on its metalinguistic value.

In any case, the entire article is replete with physico-mathematical elements and definitions that prove extremely hard to follow without solid technical knowledge and a sound scientific background, drawing attention upon the interdisciplinary character of his research and the central role held by language in modelling thought processes and the appropriation of abstract concepts, especially in social sciences.

2.3.3. The discourse of mediatisation

This type of discourse is usually defined as a sort of mediation between the original discourse of science and technology and the secondary discourses, usually called vulgarisation or popularisation discourse. It came into the limelight mostly in the 1980s-1990s, which mark the so-called Western "discursive turn", exclusively centred on circulating information between the members of a certain scientific domain and the public at large, under the ever increasing pressure to create specialised languages necessary in order to understand, translate or interpret highly specialised documents. It is the moment when new analysis categories, such as paraphrase, metalanguage, rephrasing, enunciation, enter the ranks of common usage, as it happened for instance in French, in Langue française, no.53/1982, under the direction of S. Mortureux (cf. Moirand, 2005, 77). It seems that the discursive turn is the perfect way to draw attention on how language plays an essential role in conferring "materiality of expression", and

consequently acquires a central part in illuminating the whole of social praxis, especially when it comes to social sciences, like economy. It has been stated that "philosophical and scientific activity itself, after the turn, takes language as the metaphorical basis for understanding its own theoretical formation" (Angus, 1998:926).

Another salient feature of this type of discourse is the so-called "commoditization" (Agha, 2011:163); in the theorist's opinion, "in linking communication to commoditization, mediatised institutions link communicative roles to positions within a socioeconomic division of labour, thereby expanding the effective scale of production and dissemination of messages across a population, and thus the scale at which persons can orient to common presuppositions in acts of communication with each other". In this respect, commoditization acts conjointly with globalization, thus helping in creating a unified view in point of mainstream scientific concepts and ideas.

The essential objective of the discourse of mediatisation is undoubtedly "to rephrase scientific and technical discourses in various situations" (Peytard et al., 1984:3), among which the most important seems to be the theoretical presentation of facts pertaining to the technico-scientific domain in mass-media. Of course, the mediatic treatment of scientific entities, processes and events is more often than not socio-politically biased, and especially in the economic field it takes over, constructs or spreads cultural models of the types mentioned when discussing the theory-forming discourse. In this case the popularisation discourse may be seen as a typical representation of the "threefold" situation, when the mediator (the economic journalist) is the translator connecting the discourse of the economist and the public at large.

The analysis of this discursive type requires the consideration of its cognitive dimensions, like the referent, representation and/or its explicitation, as well as of its communicative dimensions:

-nominalisation activity, which is not just the mere association of a name to the designated object, but also the selection among several viable solutions dependent on the assessment that the speaker performs on the given situation according to previous situations and his own experience;

-enunciative topics built by discourse for the present or quoted speakers, the present or virtual hearers, the sources quoted;

-representations of previous discourses.

2.3.4. The Discourse of Advertising

2.3.4.1. Publicity as a contemporary phenomenon

It goes without saying that today's society is first and foremost a consumerist society, based on trade and governed by economic principles, able to influence human mentality and thus undoubtedly shape the structure of linguistic communication. As Beasley and Danesi (2002: 1) pointed out, "brand names, logos. trademarks, jingles, and slogans have become part and parcel of the 'mental encyclopedia' of virtually everyone who lives in a modern-day society". In other words, the field of advertising, which, although focused on essentially commercial, profit-making objectives, is almost completely achieved by strictly linguistic persuasive means, has reached a status of utmost importance in our daily lives. It goes without saying that advertising has nowadays become a source of perpetual fascination, that may be related to the recent concern of modern linguistics with marginal or interdisciplinary discourse types. Advertising, the natural consequence of the

reintegration of our country into the capitalist world, permanently confronting the phenomena of over-supply and under-demand, has recently acquired the status of a genuine literary sub-genre, overcoming its initial limitations and marginal position in the theoretical framework of literary theory. The discourse of advertising seems to arouse the most heated debates, leading to either acceptance and support, or denial and rejection, but always being impossible to ignore, which is actually its main characteristic, distinguishing it from other types of discourse from the very start. Nevertheless, neither the supporters, nor the opponents of advertising may possibly overlook its organizing qualities, its being an organizing process of social reality, the "mirror of the universe of political economy", which is of great interest to the modern recipient. Being an all-encompassing and especially unavoidable phenomenon of today's society, publicity claims an ever more important place in the consumers' conscience.

Often called info-persuasion, a symbiosis between the informative-descriptive quality and the argumentative dimension, publicity is a communication type with clearly delineated illocutionary, and especially perlocutionary functions, more or less visible beyond the original locutionary act. The latent communicational and pragmatic values of advertisements are undoubtedly essential to the axiological system of a society and the aspirations of its members.

2.3.4.2. Features of the discourse of advertising

According to the definition of discourse as "language context" (Brown, Yule, 1983:3), publicity is a special type of discourse, perceived as familiar and informal in nature and predominantly governed by its "mercantile" function.

Generally considered as a marginal discourse, at the border of the literary and the utilitarian, the discourse of advertising stands out first and foremost by its informative value—the product is made known to potential consumers—as well as aesthetic and persuasive value –the ability to convince consumers to purchase the product in question, sometimes without actually needing it. The configuration of this "suspicious discourse" evinces this ambivalence: "the discourse of advertising oscillates between marketing and seduction, between the mere analytical enumeration of the properties of an object and the multiform mobilisation of the resources of social psychology" (Hennion, Meadel, 1997:43).

Also, another distinctive feature is undoubtedly the marriage of the linguistic part and the image, the visual dimension of the advertising message being absolutely impossible to ignore, and sometimes being the one with the greatest impact on the targeted consumer. It was Charles Forceville who first highlighted this idea, introducing the notion of "pictorial metaphor". Attempting to adopt the principles of verbal metaphor, in Max Black's tradition, he claims that "[…] pictorial metaphors, unlike many verbal metaphors, have nothing corresponding to either the latter's linearity or their (form of the) verb to be, studying the context proves to be of crucial importance […]. At least three context levels must be distinguished: pictorial context; linguistic context […]; and world knowledge, cultural knowledge, or encyclopedic knowledge […]" (1994:26).

Just like his predecessor, Roland Barthes, the linguist considers that image consists in denotation and connotation, like any other linguistic sign. From this point of view, the analysis that Barthes performs on a seemingly insignificant advertisement—a green packet of Panzani pasta, placed beside other food items, such as tomatoes and

cheese—is extremely relevant. By image deconstruction, three types of Italy-related signifiers emerge from the image: iconic signifiers, i.e. strictly visual—pasta, tomatoes, cheese, with a clearly delineated and thus easily recognisable cultural meaning; the linguistic signifier—the sonority of the name Panzani; the plastic signifier—the colours used in the image, i.e. green, white and red, are also the colours of the Italian flag. It thus becomes evident that the advertisement examined by Barthes cannot be decoded denotatively, but only connotatively, starting from the socio-cultural implications, or the so-called "zero degree of comprehension" (Barthes, 1986:24). Therefore, the connotative-type signifiers construct and support the entire rhetoric of the image under discussion, based on the metaphor PANZANI IS ITALY together with everything that this identification evokes in the consumer's ideological, cultural and axiological system.

In addition, the pictorial deconstruction of the image is not random; "[t]he text directs the reader among various signified of the image, causes him to avoid some and accept others, through an often subtle dispatching, it teleguides him toward a meaning selected in advance. In all these cases of anchoring, language obviously has a function of elucidation, but such elucidation is selective; it is a matter of a metalanguage applied not to the whole of the iconic message, but only to certain of its signs" (Barthes, 1986:29). This anchoring is very close to what the cognitivists call "perspectivization", a fundamental process in establishing the common ground between tenor and vehicle.

Another equally relevant example is the advertisement for the Dorna mineral water, where the linguistic signifier is visually expressed and solely interpretable through image: *I drip* (the image is a nervous bride-to-be). *I tremble* (a baby cries when he is immersed into the baptising water). *I am drained out* (an athlete

covered in sweat at the end of the match). *I freeze* (an explorer has icicles in his beard). *You are 70% water* (a swimmer emerges from the water surrounding him like a halo). *You are what you drink*. The connotative aspect is obviously to be detected on a plastic level, the linguistic dimension being subordinate to the metaphorical mapping THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER, and the human emotions are seen as objects/ liquids placed in that vessel. In fact, the advertisement in point is based on a well-known physiological truth –You are 70% water – whose denotative aspects extend onto the metaphorical slogan You are what you drink, probably suggesting the care that the consumer should take of his/her body-temple by ingesting the mineral water advertised.

It is no rare occurrence that the linguistic signifier/ the text as such should be absent completely, being eliminated precisely as being perceived as redundant when combined to the extremely plastic image, as is the case of the advertisements published by United Colours of Benetton. But even at a strictly linguistic level, the collage technique and the extreme degree of plasticity, aimed at leaving a deep impression on the consumer and thus create a lasting effect in his memory, result in memorable actualisations that share in common the extreme scarcity of means, like in the following cases in point:

i) Revolvolution. The maximum condensation and the resort to alliteration, as well as the inspired pun manage to successfully promote the automobile make in question.

ii) Heinz Meanz Beanz. Beanz Buildz Kidz. (Heinz breakfast cereals). The advert proved very successful mainly due to the jocular alteration of the spelling, alluding to the target audience—children— and identifying through parallelism the manufacturing brand with the product advertised in absolute value. The minimalist syntactic structure facilitates fast memorisation, and the underlying

conceptual metaphor THE HUMAN BODY IS A BUILDING only adds to its persuasive power.

iii) How Fa will you go? The impact of this advertisement resides in the phonetic dimension of the brand name (making it untranslatable as well) which sends to the idiom *How far will you go [for a Fa]*? Suggesting that no effort should be spared to get the product advertised. The image supporting the text is also relevant and quite "bold": an attractive young woman makes the driver distracted by her scant clothing hit a hydrant and then care freely bathes in the gushing water.

Of course, the creative freedom of advertising messages is not boundless, as there are numerous supervising organisms, such as the Office for Consumer Protection or other types of regulatory bodies whose main attribution is to cut "false advertising". Nevertheless, argumentative strategies using tropes, especially metaphor as their communicative tool escape the constraints of absolute, or literal truth, precisely through their formation mechanisms and last but not least their extreme interpretive open-endedness.

2.3.4.3. The rhetorical dimension of advertising texts

In exploring the rhetorical dimension, the analysis may start from the various language functions shaping communication. As the basis function, i.e. the referential or denotative function, seems to be gradually losing ground in advertising, it is necessary to focus on the other functions, like the conative one, i.e. of orienting the message towards the addressee, phatic—establishing and maintaining the communicative contract, and poetic—mainly achieved through language effects, that are now reigning supreme in publicity, which is currently evolving towards more and more complex and sophisticated forms. Within the

framework of these functions that go beyond the scope of the denotative, the crucial role seems to have been assigned to meaning deviations of the poetico-conative type, among which metaphor, a metasememic hypoicon predominantly employed in contemporary publicity, whose means of drawing the consumer's attention and charming him/her into buying have become increasingly subtler and more persuasive.

Based on qualitative parallelism, metaphor imposes a change that is not just of domain, but of realm. "A label, which is the constitutive element of a scheme, may be taken from the original realm of this scheme and applied to sort out and organise another realm" (Goodman, 1967:104). This translation of domains from the literal to the figurative questions the problematic status of metaphor, traditionally associated to poetic literature and part and parcel of the literary style, and therefore unsuitable to the style of science, characterised first and foremost by precision and clarity. However, the past few decades seem to be constantly questioning the "classical" theory, granting metaphor one of the highest ranks among the features of specialised language, and viewing it as the main mechanism through which we understand abstract concepts and subsequently use them in reasoning processes. Peter Newmark provides a possible explanation in this respect: "metaphors […] help the reader acquire a more precise perspective, both from a material and emotional point of view […], being thus able to be included in the terminological lexicon of a certain domain" (1985:297). In the light of the same theory, George Lakoff considers metaphor as not a figure of speech, but a thinking mode defined as a systematic relation between a source and a target domain, characterised by systematicity in linguistic correspondences, the use of metaphor as a governing principle in reasoning and behaviour, as well as "the

possibility to understand new meaning extensions on the basis of conventional correspondences" (cf. Lakoff, 1996:210).

Furthermore, Lakoff proposes the experientialist theory of knowledge, according to which reality is structured on the basis of our conceptual schemes, leaving the experience in the domains where we lack these preconceptual schemes to be grasped through metaphors, called conceptual metaphors.

When it is so defined, metaphor ceases to be perceived as a mere stylistic ornament, becoming an essential means of conceptualisation and lexicalisation of newly-acquired knowledge, adapting language to the causal structure of the reality around us. According to this theory, the language of advertising is the ideal place to find conceptual metaphors, governing in most cases the semantic articulation of discursive sequences, also accompanied by a certain residual degree of indetermination and ambiguity, able to provide the consumer a certain freedom of interpretation.

From a formal point of view, metaphors are implicit comparisons, consisting of the referent proper, i.e. the object described by metaphor, called TENOR, and the image, i.e. the word used to name the referent, called VEHICLE. The analogy works on the basis of one or several common semes, making up the so-called GROUND. It is worth noticing that it is through this ground that the conceptual metaphors on which many advertising texts are based are fairly easy to decode, at the same time rendering them appealing to the consumer.

2.3.4.4. Corpus analysis

2.3.4.4.1. Method of analysis

The corpus under examination mostly originates in the televised advertisements on the main TV channels available in Romania (TVR1, ProTV, Antena1, Discovery, Eurosport), newspapers (The Daily Telegraph 1999, The Scotsman 1999, The Star 2001, Viața liberă 2003, România liberă 2003), magazines (Weekly Telegraph, 1998, 1999, Smash Hits 2001) or the Internet. Each case was dealt with in point of decoding the conceptual metaphor on which the linguistic part of the advertisement was founded, as well as the manner of achieving info-persuasion, perlocutionary force or in other words the seduction of the prospective consumer. The analysis was centred on the linguistic signifiers, and not on the iconic ones, as the former are more "substantial", being thus more prone to a clearly delineated interpretation. The original language of the advertisements concerned was preserved (either English or Romanian), as they are more often than not untranslatable without a significant degree of semantic loss.

It is obvious that the analysis of the conceptual mappings at the basis of advertising texts provide a whole new perspective on the phenomenon of publicity and the subtle manner it addresses the systematised structures in the consumers' mind, as well as the mechanism triggering the purchase of the products advertised.

Thus, most slogans or advertising texts may easily be equated to a set of already conventionalised conceptual metaphors, as it may be seen in the following illustrations:

➢ Don`t blend in/ Păstrează-ți individualitatea; Fii tu insuți (The Beverly Center L.A.)
DIFFERENT IS UP

- Nokia: Connecting people.

COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER (Reddy's Conduit Metaphor)

- St. Yves Skin Lotion Keeps Weather Out, Moisture In/ Loţiunea St. Yves menţine vremea la respect şi hidratarea in interior.

THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER

- Skippy. It`ll bring out the peanut butter lover in you./ Skippy va scoate la iveală iubitorul de unt de arahide din tine.
- Low fat is no guilt free. Fat free is!/ Un conţinut scăzut de grăsimi nu te scuteşte de sentimentul de vinovăţie. Asta face doar lipsa grăsimilor!

EMOTION S ARE OBJECTS IN A CONTAINER

- The good news is, just a half-cup of Kellogg`s All-Bran provides you with about one-third of your recommended daily fiber requirement. So make it a part of your everyday routine. Think of it as good housekeeping./ Vestea bună e că doar jumătate de cană de Kellogg`s All-Bran îţi furnizează aproape o treime din necesarul zilnic de fibre. Aşa că fă-ţi din asta un obicei zilnic. Ia-o ca pe o bună intreţinere a gospodăriei.
- Activia. Activ in interior, se vede la exterior.

THE HUMAN BODY IS A TEMPLE/ A BUILDING

- Ah, yes, the risk it doesn`t go away. At Guardian Mutual funds, we believe risk must be acknowledged. Then managed.

RISK IS AN ENTITY

ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE

- In business, a well-informed man is worth four. (Dialog mobile phone network))
- You`ll find our flights more refreshing. (Saudi Arabian Airlines)

MORE IS UP

➢ Don`t imitate (Hugo Boss)
DIFFERENT IS UP
➢ Head & Shoulders. Calea de la mătreață la un păr superb.
GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS

It goes without saying that advertisements are replete with conceptual metaphors, considered as the ideal tool for the interpretative openness required in the decoding process, pertaining to the following categories acknowledged by cognitivists :

a. Structural conceptual metaphors, in which a certain concept is structured in the terms of another concept not pertaining to the same sphere, as in TIME IS MONEY;
b. Orientational conceptual metaphors, which give a certain abstract concept a spatial orientation, as in the mapping MORE IS UP;
c. Ontological conceptual metaphors, regarded as manners of seeing events, activities, emotions, ideas, as concrete entities, such as TIME IS A THIEF, DISEASE IS AN ATTACKER, RISK IS AN ENTITY, etc.

2.3.4.4.2. Applications

As expected, it seems that most advertisements belong to the category of structural metaphors, which operate on matching the name of a brand or company with certain abstract concepts, perceived positive or desirable:

- ➢ Join the Germanos subdealer network now and get connected to the Germanos technology, efficiency and punctuality.
- ➢ Sara Merkur. Earnestness. Dynamism. Solidity.
- ➢ Chesterfield. The pleasure to discover.

The metaphoric scheme is in all these cases extremely simplified, the tenor and the vehicle being merely juxtaposed, while the existential operator is inferred from the context and absent in the surface structure.

A more intricate actualisation of the structural scheme occurs in the following illustrations:

- ➢ Don't let your hard earned money get lost in a sea of poor investments. (Weekly Telegraph, 1998:11)

The structural metaphor obviously is MONEY IS A LIQUID, with the adjacent corresponding structure INVESTMENT IS A LIQUID. The impact of the advertisement is all the more poignant as the slogan centres on the pair of contextual antonyms *hard earned* (câştigaţi cu trudă) and *poor* (slabe, proaste). Moreover, the illocutionary aggressiveness in the negative imperative beginning is doubtlessly able to persuade a potential customer.

- ➢ We're building our future, and yours. (Human Resource Center, in The Daily Telegraph, 1998:2)

The structural metaphor TIME IS A BUILDING is intertwined with another stereotyped cognitive metaphor, the so-called control metaphor: if time is a material structure, it may therefore be constructed and shaped according to human will, or in other words, be subject to human control. Similarly, it is worth mentioning the pronoun variation, performing the transfer from the [+SOLIDARITY] possessive *our* to the [-SOLIDARITY] *yours*, thus alluding to the responsibility that the consumer should exhibit.

For this metaphor category it may be stated that, from a structural point of view, the vast majority of metaphorical ads are based in fact on metonymical schemes, in which the name of the brand becomes the hyperonym of the promoted product, reversing the true-to-life relationships, as in the following example:

➢ Vrei pate. Vrei Gourmet.

The rhyming pattern draws the attention on the relation of hyperonymy, individualising the brand name placed in end-position.

The so-called "superlativisation" of a certain brand is another widely used strategy; the product is singled out in relation to the other brands on the market, by means of a feature that more often than not is not even mentioned, being left to the reader's interpretation:

➢ Noul Bona. Albul absolut.
➢ Ace. Albul pur, albul sigur.
➢ Alexandrion este unul singur.

The first two examples illustrate the structural metaphor BONA/ ACE IS WHITE, where a cleaning product (the concrete tenor) is redefined in terms of another concept (the notion of white / cleanliness, viz. the abstract vehicle). The third example evinces the tenor's uniqueness, the vehicle being inferred from the context, and being completely dependent on the interlocutor's subjectivity.

Another famous illustration brings forth the vehicle MAGIC, as a subtler hypostasis of the superlative :

➢ See the Black. Taste the Magic. (Black Label whisky)

It is noticeable that the persuasive means are expressed through the structural metaphor DRINK IS MAGIC, where the concrete tenor is linguistically actualised by the abstract vehicle MAGIC. This is an overt allusion to the secret power, control and differentiation from the consumer public that is usually associated to magic. The

mechanism which is at work in this advertisement operates by means of the following inferences expected from the potential buyer: the sight of the brand, Black Label, brings to the fore the taste of the beverage, that may bestow magical powers over the drinker, as per the collective imaginary so often found in folk tales. The association of the product image and the subjective halo (no matter how devoid of verisimilitude it may be) occasioned by the capitalised vehicle constitute the persuasive strategy at the basis of this advertisement.

The category of ontological metaphors is in turn richly represented by the following commonplace mappings : AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS AN ENTITY; THE PRODUSUL ADVERTISED IS AN ENTITY; PRICE IS AN ENEMY.

➢ We put fantasy to work. (DSM, in Time, 1990:23)

Just like in the illustration above, the slogan combines the ontological metaphor FANTASY IS AN ENTITY with a control metaphor. This "personification" of the abstract concept places fantasy under human control. In point of surface structure, the causative verb make [somebody do] used in the active voice is extremely suggestive in evoking the authority and ability to maintain control associated to the DSM company. A possible explicitation that would preserve the metaphoric dimension would probably be *We transform fantasy into reality/ We make fantasy real.*.

➢ În lupta cu prețurile, noi le facem knock-out ! (Carrefour hypermarket)

The scenario that advertising builds is centred on the metaphoric mappings TRADE IS CONFRONTATION, where the opposing sides are the sellers and the buyers, and prices are equated to the enemy that should be kept at bay, under control.

➢ Lexmark—the One Upgrade that can actually MAKE you money. (Lodging, 1998:15)

The consumer is seduced by the strategy of being better than the competition by using capitals for the key words (to be interpreted as singling out the uniqueness of the Lexmark printer), the tenor of the ontological metaphor THE PRINTER IS AN ENTITY. The ambivalent use of the verb *to make* with the immediate meaning of *to earn, to produce*, and also with the meaning suggested by the image in the ad *to print*, constitutes the element of surprise and the punch-line of the whole advertisement.

➢ Even cold rolled steel can have a heart and a soul. (Chrysler, in Time, 1999:14)

The metonymy *steel*, representing the automobile constitutes the source of the ontological metaphor steel "oţel" representing THE CAR IS AN ENTITY, hinting to the superior qualities, similar to human qualities that the car in question possesses, as well as the ultimate care of the producer in the manufacturing process.

Last but not least, the orientational mapping MORE IS UP constitutes the foundation of many advertisements, especially for food products, most likely due to the consumerist tendencies of today's society:

➢ Pharmaton. Vizibil mai multă vitalitate.
➢ Rama Yogurta. Pur şi simplu mai uşoară.
➢ Campina Frutis. Mai multă energie.
➢ Noul Smash. Mai multe arahide, mai multă energie.
➢ Bonux. Mai curat, mai economic, mai isteţ.
➢ Profi. Mai ieftin, mai bun, mai aproape.
➢ Colon Protect. În sfârş it, te simţ i mai uş oară.

In this respect, perhaps the most famous illustration is the Pepsi logo:

➢ Ask for more!

The impact of the metaphor is increased due to the logo's conciseness and imperative tone. The interlocutor is

given the impression that s/he may control the situation, own the upper hand, thus acquiring the right to make claims, and not only in regard to the beverage.

➢ My Rolex is more than just a watch, it makes me feel dressed. (Time, 1990:2)

The metaphoric mapping, decodable in context by the periphrasis "a watch which is more than a regular watch" is better than other watches, is supported by the implicit comparison "a Rolex is like a [smart] clothing item", built on the similarity of sensation experienced by the potential consumer.

➢ We open more doors. Get the mortgage that's right for you. (banking services, in The Daily Telegraph, 1998:15)

The typical scheme is combined to the symbol of the open door, meaning an auspicious financial opportunity. Thus, the metaphoric content of the copy is translatable by "Our bank provides a wider range of opportunities in regard to mortgages". -

➢ Drive your sales career forward. (Renault)

➢ It all starts with a Nesscafé.

When decoding the orientational metaphor the result is PROGRESS IS UP (cf. the conventionalised FORWARD IS UP), evincing the stereotyped positive connotations that the corporations involved are trying to impose on their customers.

➢ Take a different road! (Mitsubishi Space Star/ Eurosport)

The injunction is based on the metaphor DIFFERENT IS UP/ GOOD (significant for the individualist consumer of a capitalist society. The copy suggests the fact that by acquiring such a car the buyer may ensure his/her originality and personal success. In keeping with the same idea, both mappings above may be subsumed to the scheme GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS.

➢ Life is a rollercoaster. OK girls, get screaming! (promo for Ronan Keating's new CD, in Smash Hits, 2001:67)

In this case the scheme is altered by modifying the scale (from the vertical to the horizontal axis) in a spatial metaphor, which is explicitated in the initial part of the advertisement, the unexpected source "rollercoaster" probably being a variation of the source in the conceptual prototype LIFE IS A JOURNEY, with the same implications of adventure, risk, variety as motivation. The second statement extends these connotations, by adding the nuances of entertainment and adrenaline rush commonly found in an amusement park, similar to the response of the feminine public to Ronan Keating's music. Of course, the advertisement is rather prescriptive than descriptive, trying to induce a certain type of behaviour into the consumers (i.e. appreciation of the music advertised).

➢ Oreo. Even Moreo. (Bovee, Arens, 1998:518)

The extremely simplified, but highly poignant slogan is supported by the appealing phonetic dimension, hinting to the fact that just like the ad departs from the norm, the promoted product is also unique and different from the competition.

Extending the sphere of analysis, one may distinguish several types of metaphors, whose complex actualisation keeps with the strategy of "double entendre", the very essence of metaphor theories.

This strategy is applicable to the advertisements of metaphorical-idiomatic type, resorting to the double possibility of interpretation of the conventionalised linguistic phrases. A case in point would be the advertisement for iodine-enriched salt:

➢ Dacă vrei ca familia ta [...] să fie capabilă să iasă din turmă.

The metaphorical content of the Romanian phrase *a ieşi din turmă*, i.e. "to prove intelligence and independence", benefits that the intake of iodine-enriched salt claims to bring, is all the more striking in point of actualisation, as the ad depicts the cartoon representation of a sheep family, promoting the desired behaviour of consumption.

➢ Colgate îi lasă pe toţi cu gura căscată.

Both the literal, and the connotative meaning ("to make a good impression") are actualised in the advertisement for toothpaste ; the interlocutor is captivated by the interplay of the two meanings: the linguistic signifier promotes the figurative one, while the image alludes to the denotative sense.

➢ An offer that's out of this world. (cell phone company, in The Daily Telegraph, 1999:11)

The slogan is untranslatable in Romanian due to the very metaphorical content: the attributive *out of this world* may be interpreted as "extraordinary" according to the conventionalised collocation in English, and also as the literal "from outer space", hinting to the communication satellite used by cell phone technology. It is worth noticing that the context provided by the metaphorical interpretation is prevailing in the consumer's conscience, and not the literal one, which is brought to the fore only by means of the image in the advertisement.

The so-called synaesthetic metaphors are also worthy of attention, as they are in fact an unexpected combination of references to various human senses graphted on ontological metaphors:

➢ Setea ta n-a văzut aşa ceva. (Lipton Tea)

The ontological metaphor THIRST IS AN ENTITY, where the tenor is marked [+GUSTATIVE], is associated to the seme [+VISUAL] of the verb in the slogan. The advertiser's intent is therefore to suggest that the product is

able to provide gratification to more senses than the one immediately involved, satisfying the consumer's expectations on more than one level, in a more complete frame.

➢ Descoperă cheia prospeţimii cu cea mai nouă notă Tic-Tac. Tic-Tac Spearmint. Dă tonul prospeţimii.

The dominant semantic field (*to call the tune, key, note*) belongs to music, thus being marked [+AUDITORY], but the tenor in the present metaphor (Tic-Tac Spearmint) implicitly contains the seme [+GUSTATIVE], and the vehicle the seme [+OLFACTORY] (the abstract idea of freshness).

➢ Mirinda. Gustul de care nu te poţi dezlipi.

The structural metaphor MIRINDA IS THE TASTE brings out, through the seme [+TACTILE] associated to the attributive clause the hint of plenary appeal to the consumer's senses.

Taste is also the main sense involved in the next instantiation, where it is placed on equal footing with sight, both combined with the mappings SKITTLES IS A RAINBOW and presumably SEEING IS TASTING:

➢ Skittles : See the rainbow. Taste the rainbow.

The situation is different for the following example, which is built around the equivalence between a brand of yogurt and the abstract concept of rest and relaxation, so sought-after by all potential customers:

➢ Napolact. Picătura ta de tihnă.

In this case, the abstract vehicle tenor is rendered by the concrete liquid vehicle (the drop of yogurt), illustrating the typical cognitive mapping ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE, thus emphasizing the product's ability to provide the consumer with the desired state of relaxation.

The same mapping is visible in:

➢ Kinder Country. Micile bucurii merită culese ş i încercate.

The abstract vehicle, the state of joy, is transposed in terms of the tenor marked [+GUSTATIVE], the bar of Kinder Country chocolate, on the ground of the features the two share in common, i.e. the ability to be picked (out of the numerous similar products on the market) and tested/ tasted.

The sense of taste is also involved in the following advertisement for Werther chocolate:

➢ It's what comfort tastes like.

By equating the abstract term comfort to taste, the most important ingredient in a quality chocolate brand, the advertisement appeals to the customer's emotional nature, thus inducing the desire to acquire the product.

More often than not, the metaphorical mappings are extended, the advertisements thus becoming genuine mini-stories. These mini-stories are typically said to increase the impact on potential consumers, by their easily memorable nature and emotional force; in the following example, this type of "sensory" advertising also makes intensive use of exotic terms, depicting a vivid image of a Malaysian fruit market:

➢ Take your senses on a trip to a bustling, colourful Malaysian foodmarket, teeming with mangosteens, papaya and galangal, and let the aroma of coconut and spices waft up your nose. Ahhh. In Malaysia, rendang is often lovingly prepared for special occasions, festivals and the like. But our tasty vegetarian version works just as well on a regular weeknight or lunch break. Feel free to dress up in your finery to enjoy it, though.

Another interesting such instantiation is provided in the scenario-ad for Ford Mondeo:

➢ Mondeo Hipnotic. Ediție cu puteri magice.
Uită-te la cercuri! După 20 de secunde o să intri in transă şi te vei duce la dealerul tău Ford unde vei

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cumpăra un Mondeo TDCl de 115 CP cu dotări extraordinare gratuite in valoare de 1275 euro sau orice alt model pe benzină sau motorină cu un discount de aceeaşi valoare. O să te trezeşti din hipnoză cu un autoturism de excepţie ce are trei ani de garanţie fără limită de kilometri.

Magie limitată.

The vehicle MAGIC is often used as a means to seduce and persuade the consumer, but here the tenor is slightly more explicit, the context being interpretable in two manners: the OFFER and the very ACT OF PURCHASING [a Ford Mondeo].

2.3.4.5. Conclusions

It goes without saying that the discourse of advertising, adulated or discredited, cannot possibly be overlooked in today's society, as it plays a crucial role especially in the economic field. Its main feature is the mixture of means, both linguistic, and visual and auditory, facilitating info-persuasion, and coaxing the consumer into purchasing the products advertised. -

The present-day theories of metaphor, especially the cognitivism proposed by Lakoff and Johnson, focus on the role that advertising plays as an instrument of knowledge and structuring of the surrounding reality, as well as of appropriation of abstract concepts which cannot be otherwise comprehended. These valences of metaphor are best illustrated in the case of publicity, as it is the simplest and most direct pathway towards the collective subconscious, the aspirations and desiderata of the consumerist society. The appeal to more or less standardized conceptual metaphors is obvious in most advertising slogans, from the simplest to the most complex.

Thus, the following types of conceptual metaphors may be identified :

a) structural METAPHORS:
BRAND/ COMPANY X IS AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT
PRODUCT X IS TOP QUALITY
PRODUCT X IS MAGIC
PRODUCT X IS BRAND X
TIME IS A BUILDING
MONEY/ INVESTMENT IS A LIQUID

b) ontological metaphors :
AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS AN ENTITY
THE PRODUCT ADVERTISED IS AN ENTITY
PRICE IS AN ENEMY
TRADE IS CONFRONTATION

c) orientational metaphors :
MORE IS UP
PROGRESS IS UP
DIFFERENT IS UP
PURPOSE IS A DESTINATION

d) control metaphors.

Besides these common metaphorical mappings, advertisements may focus on idiomatic-type metaphorical structures, where the marriage of the literal and the connotative meaning constitute the element arresting the consumer's attention, or on synaesthetic metaphors, playing upon references to several human senses at once. The most complex actualization seems to be the metaphoric story, when the advertisement builds an entire scenario on metaphoric premises.

In conclusion, in the discourse of advertising metaphor, with its double status of literary ornament and cognitive instrument, is a mechanism to be taken into account, an infallible means to arrest the consumer's attention, to persuade him, to create the behaviour deemed as desirable by the copywriter.

3. Contrastive analysis of the metaphoric dimension of economic texts (Romanian/ English)

3.1. Preliminary remarks

Starting from the seminar work by Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), metaphor has ceased to be perceived only as a mere linguistic ornament, going on to acquire the high status of structuring means for our entire conceptual system and all types of human activities. Taking the metaphor out of the constraints of literature and changing the view on its role led to numerous interdisciplinary studies, treating various economic or socio-economic issues from a metaphorical perspective. On the one hand there authors who focused on studies of applied linguistics, among whom Henderson (2000), Boers (2000), Charteris-Black (2000), Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001), and also researchers that showed a real interest in metaphor as a scientific tool in the socio-economic field, especially organizational science, such as Morgan (1996, 1997), or Grant and Oswick (1996). Both perspectives are centred on the idea that metaphor plays an essential role in understanding social and economic phenomena at large.

The present chapter attempts at analysing and comparing various types of conceptual metaphors, as well as their linguistic actualisation in the economic texts in English and Romanian. Their main concern lies in examining the systematicity of metaphors and their organization into hierarchically organised structures, as well as evincing the differences in the linguistic instantiation of the typical conceptualisations in economic discourse.

Numerous researchers have remarked that, due to the present-day state of facts in the world, where the United

States reign supreme in point of economy and politics, the development of modelling structures for the interpretation of economic phenomena is almost entirely of Anglo-American extraction. Thus, many languages exhibit a similarity of conceptual metaphors (Charteris-Black, Ennis,2001:251), especially in the economic field. Sometimes it is even possible to find the precise source/ author of a certain metaphorical concept, as in the commonplace metaphor *money laundering* "activity whereby money obtained illegally are used in legit commercial transactions or transferred into bank accounts so that to hide their origin". The metaphor seems to have appeared for the first time in print in 1973, in connection to the infamous Watergate affair, which brought about the fall of the Nixon administration. Since then the phrase has spread to most languages, including Romanian— spălare de bani, French— blanchiment d'argent, German— Geldwasche, Italian— riciclaggio di denaro sporco, Spanish— lavado de dinero, Slovenian— pranje denaria, etc. (cf. Bratoz, 2004:181).

It is not the only case where the Romanian terms are clearly influenced by the Anglo-American counterparts. The process of metaphoric transfer operates on a conceptual level and it is not bound to result in linguistically equivalent instantiations.

Lakoff, Johnson and their followers evinced the close connection between metaphor and thinking, proposing the idea that it is not just the conceptual system which is involved in the metaphoric "processing", but instead the entire thinking is structured in metaphorical terms. The systematicity of metaphor in the surface structure only reflects the conceptual deep structure, by means of which an abstract entity, phenomenon or process is understood, stored and processed under the form of a concrete object, entity or phenomenon. It is common knowledge that

metaphors involve a source domain (usually concrete and familiar), a target domain (usually abstract and much less structured), as well as a set of mapping relations. These mappings are of two types: ontological (i.e. involving entities in both the source, and target domains) and epistemic (referring to knowledge relations with these entities) (Lakoff, 1993). The main purpose of this work is to identify conceptual metaphors by analysing the ontological and epistemic correspondences found in the corpus consisting of conventionalised metaphors used in business articles (in English and Romanian). The English corpus mainly comes from The Economist, Financial Times and Business Central Europe. The first two publications are quite popular among the readers initiated in the economic and political fields, mainly dealing with current issues a ta global level. Business Central Europe focuses, as the name clearly shows, on socio-political and economic events in Central and Eastern Europe. The Romanian periodicals were selected in order to constitute a relevant sample in the area of economic journalism, viz. newspapers specializing in the business field, such as Ziarul financiar, Capital, Săptămâna financiară, as well as national newspapers for an average, non-specialist audience, such as Evenimentul zilei, Curierul naţional, Adevărul, Gândul, Gardianul, România liberă (the financial section), covering the interval July/ August-October 2005, as well as March2013-August 2017. The materials treat a variety of topics, from financial reports and economic news to editorials on local and international financial news.

3.2. The systematic character of metaphoric structure

From the point of view of structural systematicity, there are conceptual metaphors operating in parallel in Romanian and in English:

a) ECONOMY IS A SHIP;
b) MERGERS ARE MARRIAGES.

a) Transposing the target domain (the science of economy) into the more familiar terms of the source domain (the science of navigation) gave birth to a solid systematic structure in both languages under study. The mappings of the metaphor are therefore easy to distinguish:

i.   Ontological correspondences – the entities in the naval field systematically correspond to the entities in the economic field, as shown in the following table:

SOURCE: SHIP	TARGET: ECONOMY
Captain/Skipper	The President of the central bank
Crew	Financial assistants and counsellors
(rough) sea	socio-economic climate
Obstacles (storms, cliffs, reefs)	Critical situations in economy
Nautical instruments (compass, anchor, map)	Plans, strategies and operational guidelines

ii.   Epistemic correspondences – the knowledge about the ship is structured into knowledge about economy, such as:

- The captain of a ship knows precisely how the ship operates, where it is headed or the manner it may be affected by the decisions taken;
- The president of a bank knows precisely how economy operates, where it is headed, or the manner it may be affected by the decisions taken.

- The crew assists the captain in managing the ship ;
- The financial assistants and counsellors assist the president in managing the company.

- At sea may occur various obstacles affecting the ship;
- In the socio-economic climate of a country may occur various critical situations affecting the economy.

- The captain of a ship uses navigation instruments to reach the point of destination and overcome the possible obstacles;
- The president of a company uses plans, strategies and guidelines to achieve goals and surpass economic crises.

The English corpus contains the following contextualized examples:
- Mr Grasso needed further warning that he is steering a potential Titanic (E., July 1999);
- ...the NYSE's fattest rats have been preparing to jump ship (E., July 1999);
- ...in this increasingly foggy world, the chances of navigational errors are high (E., September 1999);
- ...new hazards are looming, which the navigators, still euphoric about their defeat of inflation, have been slow to spot (E., September 1999);
- The seas ahead could get much rougher, if and when investors realise that Mr Greenspan has not discovered a new world (E., September 1999);

- […] the whole economy could sink (E., September 1999);
- […] Mr Greenspan and the rest of his crew […] (E., September 1999);
- The gold standard proved the firmest possible anchor, but at the cost of unacceptable swings in output (E., September 1999);
- The options are either to fix the exchange rates permanently or to float (E., September 1999);
- Central banks cannot use their money supply to sail on auto-pilot, but they would be foolish to ignore its warning lights (E., September 1999);
- …their instruments are blunt (E., September 1999).

The equivalent Romanian corpus is the following:
- […]marea agitată a investiţiilor străine de capital (S.F., August 2005);
- Intrarea pe piaţa românească a unui nou competitor va agita „apele" concurenţei in sistemul bancar românesc. (C., November 2005);
- Leul greu: ultima noapte de festivism pentru oficiali, prima zi de derivă pentru populaţie. (C.N., July 2005)
- Nori negri la orizont in paradisul vânzărilor de maşini.(C., November 2005)
- Producătorul de automobile de lux Jaguar va continua să piardă bani şi in următorii ani, inainte să iasă la liman in 2007. (C.N., November 2005)
- Un nou val de concedieri poate lovi Tractorul, Rulmentul şi Nitramonia. (A., November 2005)
- Prea mulţi angajaţi in barca firmelor mici (C., July 2005)

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- Măsura are ca scop aducerea la suprafaţă a unor venituri din economie, dar şi orientarea IMM-urilor către impozitarea profitului, nu a venitului. (C., July 2005)
- Povara derivei institutionalizate (Cotid., August 2017)

It is worth noting that the metaphors in the English corpus are more varied and specialised, sometimes leading to subtler associations, like the hint to the discovery of America, the generally accepted presupposition that rodents leave a ship in danger of sinking, etc. In addition, the metaphorical terms are more overtly marked as pertaining to the jargon of navigation : a naviga pe pilot automat "sail on autopilot", ruliu/ tangaj "roll/ pitch", lumini de avertizare "beacon lights", etc. Also, Romanian is a little more sensitive when designating the assisting staff of the manager by the term *crew*, adopting the sporting term *team* instead (probably due to the higher distribution and popularity of sports, especially football, as compared to sailing in the collective mentality of the Romanian public).

b) Another highly productive conceptual metaphor sees company mergers in terms of marriage, according to the following table of correspondences:

Source: LOVE RELATIONSHIP	Target: COMMERCIAL MERGER
The two lovers	The two companies
The love relationship	The business relationship
Courtship	Negotiation
Wedding	Signing the merging contract
Marriage	Merger

The epistemic correspondences are quite numerous, such as:

- Two individuals get involved in a sentimental relationship and decide to get married ;
- Two companies get involved in a business relationship and decide to merge.

- After a courting period, the wedding is organized;.
- After a period of negotiation, the merger is organized.

The quite transparent correspondences in this case, undoubtedly resulting from the fact that both events (marriage and merger) are major moments in the human existence in general and the business environment in particular, transform the conceptual metaphor into an inexhaustible fountain of metaphorical phrases. Usually these metaphoric extensions occur systematically in the same text, becoming the major story thread and cohesive device, as in the following example:

> Our merger brief is a reminder that, when couples mate in a hurry for the wrong reasons, things can go wrong. [...] the marriage of Bayerische Vereinsbank and Bayerische Hypotheken-und-Wechselbank was announced in July 1997. [...] It serves as a lesson of what can go wrong if corporate couples leap too hastily into each other's arms. It is also a remainder that old rivals can turn out to know much less about each other than they thought. [...] The

banks were scrambling to the altar. The merger was touted by some to be a match made in heaven. Here were two cross-town rivals that had long known and respected each other, but had only just realised they were in love. Yet this was not a love match. Vereinsbank went a-wooing mainly because it was the object of an unwanted suitor. (The Economist, August 5th, 2000)

In Romanian the same phenomenon may be observed in a variety of cases:

CNSLR şi BNS, logodite sindical , dar divorţate politic. După o lungă perioadă de tatonări, negociere şi indecizii, mult-aşteptata fuziune dintre CNSLR Frăţia şi BNS, două dintre cele mai importante centrale sindicale autohtone, se va produce in 15 octombrie. Numai că, in spatele festivismului şi al aparentelor „relaţii cordiale", anunţatul mariaj sindical ce va naşte noua confederaţie BNS Frăţia va fi inghiţit cu noduri de reprezentanţii şi simpatizanţii ambilor parteneri. [...] Pornind probabil de la calculul că au mai multe puncte comune decât divergente, cele două confederaţii sindicale au decis să se inhame la un concubinaj, pe care îl speră fericit şi reciproc avantajos, liantul acestei convieţuiri comune putând fi administrarea patrimoniului fostului UGSR. [...] dacă privită din perspectiva sindicală, preconizata uniune nu prea prezintă

asperități, chiar și afilierea internațională fiind comună, diferențele de opinii și de abordare sunt generate de opțiunile politice total diferite împărtășite de sindicaliștii și liderii celor două entități aflate in pragul unificării, ceea ce ar naște, in timp, destule animozități. „Ca din intâmplare, marea fuziune sindicală are loc exact in zilele premergătoare campaniei electorale". [...] Astfel, in timp ce relația privilegiată care s-a concretizat și prin propulsarea unor lideri sindicali in fotolii parlamentare, consfințită și printr-un acord politic, dintre CNSLR Frăția și PSD, este de notorietate, recenta alianță dintre BNS și PRM, [...] „sună ca dracu". De altfel, deși neagă cu vehemență, surse sindicale susțin că unul dintre liderii sindicali curtați pentru a deveni parlamentar pe listele PRM este Aurel Cornea, președintele FSLI, rebelul care nu a semnat „pacea profesorilor". Apropiindu-se și campania electorală, când vocile din sânul noii confederații unificate vor suna, in multe ocazii , diferit, iar interesele „de liste" vor fi total diferite, nu ar fi exclus ca proaspeții „insurăței sindicali" să divorțeze chiar după luna de miere. De aceea, privită ca un mare succes și o coagulare sindicală, viitoarea uniune s-ar putea să fie măcinată și dinamitată de ambițiile politice antagonice, mai ales ale liderilor, și să se transforme intr-un răsunător eșec mioritic.

(Gardianul, October 7th, 2004)

It is easily noticeable that both newspaper articles describe a merger in terms of a possible marriage: the merger between two banks in the English illustration, and the merger between two worker unions in the Romanian example. In the English text, it is worth mentioning that everything may be perceived as a description, in very concrete terms, of a human love relationship; only when the names of the protagonists appear, i.e. Bayerische Vereinsbank and Bayerische Hypotheken-und-Wechselbank, as well as the noun *merger* or the determiner *corporate* tip the reader off in regard to the existence of a metaphoric mapping illustrating a conceptual correspondence to be read and interpreted figuratively. In the same vein, the Romanian article also employs the conceptual metaphor heralded in the very title as the leitmotif of the entire text, apparent at the surface level by the determiners *logodite "engaged", divorț ate "divorced"*, as well as the partially synonymic nouns *mariaj "marriage", concubinaj "concubinage" , uniune "union", conviețuire "cohabitation", relație [privilegiată] "[privileged] relationship"* — resonating with the sources *unificare "unification", fuziune "merger", alianță "alliance", acord "agreement", coagulare "coagulation"* — or from a similar semantic sphere — *însurăței "newly weds", lună de miere "honeymoon", parteneri "partners"*. It is interesting to remark that the influence of the basis metaphor is so great that even incidental topics, such as the political view of the two syndicates are approached in the same linguistic vein, such as the past participles *curtați "courted"* or *consfințită "consecrated"*.

The corpus under study contains various actualisations of the same type:

- Asda […] has its eye also on France (E., September 1999)

- US Steel has a good cause to be a skittish suitor (B.C.E., July 1999)
- Hungary's Raba and Icarus court foreign investors (B.C.E., June 1999)
- Netia needs a mobile partner […] there is one boy on the dance floor and two lovely girls […] the question is who will get in bed with whom (B.C.E., August 1999)
- The Polish partners received the wink from the new lot and started selling their stakes (B.C.E., August 1999)
- Bulbank has a suitor […] but the state won't bless the union (B.C.E., October 1999)

- Unsprezece pețitori curtează BCR. (Z.F., September 2005)
- Orange şi Connex se intrec in a-şi „seduce" clienţii. (C., October 2005)
- Mariajul dintre Tractorul şi Landini a eşuat lamentabil. (G., October 2005)
- Privatizarea Petrom: trei pețitori pretenţioşi. (C. , April 2005)
- Macroeconomie: Tăriceanu anunţă posibilul divorţ de FMI. (A., October 2005)
- Cuplul România-FMI se apropie de divorţ. (G., October 2005)
- Fuziunea dintre Sony şi BMG a primit „binecuvântarea" Uniunii Europene.(Z.F., October 2005)

The most frequently distributed terms are common to both languages, designating the economic phenomenon (preceded by negotiations — courtship) which is positively marked as marriage, negatively marked as divorce, the participants/ actors are suitors (often seen as demanding

and hard to please), the approval from the competent authorities as the religious blessing. However, it is worth mentioning that in Romanian inverted commas are sometimes used, when the analogy at the basis of the metaphor is more difficult to perceive. Thus, it may be concluded that in English the degree of metaphor conventionalization is higher than in Romanian, where the corresponding metaphor is still felt as novel and stylistically marked.

3.3. Levels of metaphorisation
As shown previously, metaphorical mappings do not occur in isolation, but more often than not are organised in hierarchical structures, on various levels, where lower order correspondences are influenced by the higher order ones. According to the corpus under study, two such high-ranking metaphors seem to be the most common, resulting in numerous subcategorizations:

a. ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM:

a1. ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

The English corpus pertaining to the actualisation of this mapping is extremely well-represented:

- China's financial system is far from healthy (E., August 2000)
- Oil firms have been dumping assets on a depressed market (E., September 1999)
- The economy will wake up in a sweat (E., September 1999)
- Interest rates are set according to the economy's temperature today (E., September 1999)
- This was a benign sort of deflation, in contrast to the malign sort (E., September 1999)
- Demand picks up on uncertain road to recovery. (F.T., November 2005)

- Wall Street recovered from weakness in the previous two sessions. (F.T., November 2005)
- That will help shelter Phillip Morris from tariff changes, one of its biggest headaches (B.C.E ., November 1999)
- Wall Street turns a deaf ear to oil. (F.T., November 2005)
- Investors are thinking of injecting capital into the diseased subsidiaries (B.C.E., July 1999)
- Poor countries are hobbled by a lack of know-how (E., September 1999)
- British car industry now looks healthier. (F.T., October 2009)
- Crisis will be painful to everyone, and no single remedy will be enough. (F.T., October 2009)

Similarly, the Romanian corpus is extremely varied in point of actualisations:
- Toamna prinde bursa de valori leşinată. (C.N., August 2005)
- In doi ani, jumătate dintre companiile româneşti vor muri. (E.Z., August 2005)
- Dacia salvează Renault. (E.Z., August 2005)
- Zilele Biz iau pulsul afacerilor. (C., November 2005)
- Molima de promoţii de pe piaţa bancară din România (C., October 2005)
- TVA mare provoacă indigestie. (C., July 2005)
- O sterilizare de amploare determină aprecierea leului. (R.L., November 2005)
- Limitarea creditului in valută şi incurajarea celui extern reprezintă o palidă soluţie de diminuare a deficitului comercial. (A., July 2005)

- Programele de sănătate suferă de cancer. (Cotid., September 2005)
- Serviciile imune la austeritate (A., October 2005)
- Aşteptându-se la o reacţie virulentă a industriei alimentare, autorităţile iau in calcul o variantă de compromis. (C., July 2005)
- Se caută soluţii pentru intinerirea sistemului de pensii. (G., October 2005)
- Impozitul pe active—„taxă pe sărăcie" care ingroapă societăţile statului. (G., October 2005)
- Motoarele diesel rezistă. Producătorii auto ş i guvernul german ţ in tehnologia la reanimare (C., August 2017)
- Industria nu dă semne că iese din amorţ eală. (Cotid., August 2017)
- Cifrele care demonstrează comportamentul bolnav al business-ului autohton (Cotid., March 2017)
- Doar subvenţ iile ţ in firmele româneş ti în viaţ ă. (Cotid., March 2017)

The economy, considered ontologically as an organism, is most often actualized, as seen previously in the case of Marshall's model, by means of the vehicle PATIENT. Thus, it is suffering — it is unconscious, pale, suffers from epidemics or even cancer — and is therefore in need of recovering or saving actions. The plethora of medical terms in the corpus under study is commonly connected to the idea of harsh economic conditions requiring effective solutions.

The commonly found terms pertaining to the sphere of this conceptual metaphor generally include verbs like *to save, to die, to suffer, to bury, to take the pulse*, or nouns — *active/ passive*.

a2. ECONOMY IS A PLANT

Even if it is not viewed anthropomorphically, economy is still represented in biological terms, under the form of a plant, especially in the English corpus. In keeping with Kövecses' ideas, this metaphor is grounded in the rich and varied knowledge according to which the biological growth of plants corresponds to the abstract development of complex economic concepts and systems. The elaborate knowledge about the growth of plants structures much of the way we conceptualize the developmental aspects of complex economic systems (Kövecses, 2000:133).

The English instantiations are numerous:

➢ Online exchanges have sprouted up in the past couple of years. (F.T., October 2009)
➢ America offers a thriving market. (F.T., October 2009)
➢ The branch of the company (F.T., October 2009)
➢ The root of Net economy (F.T., October 2009)
➢ Korea has a blossoming and diverse economy. (F.T., October 2009)
➢ Joint venture with overseas firms is flowering. (F.T., October 2009)
➢ If we share economic fruits, the system won't survive. (F.T., October 2009)

Similarly, the Romanian corpus views economy as a biological entity, with the same morphological characteristics and cycle of development as a plant:

➢ Exporturile germane, seva creșterii economiei, au înregistrat în luna mai cea mai puternică scădere din ultimii trei ani. Dar au crescut importurile, care hrănesc țările în criză. (Z.F., July 2013)
➢ Brexitul va fi un act de auto-mutilare economică cu ramificații internaționale. (Z.F., June 2016)

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- ➢ Cine va lua fructele creș terii economice ? (Z.F., December 2016)
- ➢ Trebuie fructificat mai bine potenț ialul economic. (E.Z., May 2017)
- ➢ Cine sapă la rădăcina pilonilor de pensii. (Cotid., August 2017)
- ➢ Marea asanare—ce se află în spatele pierderilor record din sistemul bancar. (A., February, 2015)

As expected, these headlines meant to make a deep impression on its readers make use of a combination of mappings referring to economy, mixing together vehicles belonging to diverse domains, like sports (pierderi record), constructions (a săpa, pilon), medicine (auto-mutilare), physics (potenț ial). This is proof that metaphors beget metaphors, as metaphor is a fundamental tool of cognition, theory-formation, mediatisation and popularization, thus pushing economic writers to slide into a sort of "metaphoric spree" whenever they have to introduce their lay audiences to economic processes and phenomena.

a3. SLIM IS HEALTHY/ OBESE IS UNHEALTHY

This metaphor is visibly less productive, probably due to the relatively recent tendencies to conceive health in terms of physical shape, whose main desirable attributes seem to be suppleness, harmony, a pleasant bodily appearance. In any case, the English corpus is better represented and more varied than the Romanian one; it is worth mentioning that the English examples are for the most part hackneyed, "dead" metaphors, or on the verge of achieving this status, being already entries in specialized dictionaries, while the Romanian instantiations are still widely perceived as expressive means (sometimes with pejorative overtones, like the past participle *umflat "bloated"*, collocating with an unexpected noun, money/

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amounts of money). In any case, this scheme may be read as the reversed version of the orientational MORE IS UP.

- Germany's bloated central bank became a primer candidate for a shakeup [...] keeping the Bundesbank happy while it slims (E., September 1999)
- French workforces are shrinking (E., July 1999)
- Many international banks have pulled in their horns since the global financial crisis, lending less and shedding customers. (E., August 2000)

- Preţul computerului slăbeşte toamna. (E.Z., September 2005)
- Costurile de achiziţie sunt umflate in medie cu 20% de către samsarii de terenuri. (C., July 2005)
- O taxă de 23% ar scumpi pâinea şi ar diminua veniturile bugetului prin umflarea rândurilor firmelor evazioniste. (C., July 2005)

a4. TAKING OVER IS EATING

Examples are numerous in both languages, playing upon the hostile overtones of swallowing, consuming and erasing to be found in the idea of a takeover:
- They make no secret of their hunger to acquire (E., July 1999)
- This time everyone is determined to get a slice of the cake (E., July 1999)
- ConSors snapped up a French broker (E., August 2000)
- KBC has bitten off more than it can chew (B.C.E., July 1999)
- The bank has avoided Deutsche-style cannibalism (E., August 2000)

- The European Union Savings Tax Directive is unpalatable to many investors who, for legitimate or murky reasons, squirrel away cash in undeclared offshore savings accounts. (F.T., November 2005)
- Cooking up an economic policy (E., August 2017)

- Dolarul fuge de gura leului. (E.Z., July 2005)
- Persoanele fizice de pe piaţa bancară românească par să-şi formeze gustul pentru împrumuturi pe termen lung. (Z.F., October 2005)
- Canibalismul băncii de investiţii germane pare să constituie un real pericol pentru băncile mici din estul Europei. (S.F., August 2005)
- RCS a înghiţit RDS: RCS&RDS este noua companie de servicii de cablu, rezultată din fuziunea firmelor Romanian Cable System şi Romanian Data Systems. (E.Z., August 2005)

The phenomenon of acquisitions and takeovers is transposed in concrete terms into a basic human activity, eating, giving birth to actualisations like to swallow, cannibalism, taste, mouth, palate. The first example in the Romanian corpus also benefits from the play-upon-words created by the name of the national currency, associating to the economic instrument the semes [+ANIMAL], [+FEROCIOUS], which have proven extremely profitable in the linguistic creativity of our financial journalists.

a5. THE FINANCIAL MARKET IS A THEATRE
The vehicle THEATRE has given rise to very interesting actualisations in English and Romanian altogether:

- In a parallel debut on the Nasdaq, the firm recorded a 40% gain (E., August 2000)
- The Japanese still see high drama in the smallest setback (E., September 1999)
- Behind the scenes Mr Grasso has been preparing bold plans (E., September 1999)
- This week the theatre turned to the currency markets (E., October 1999)
- Mr Grasso is famous for his showmanship whenever a company lists (E., November 1999)
- It is a rosier scenario than those on offer elsewhere (B.C.E ., August 1999)
- New economy takes the spotlight at last. (F.T., November 2005)

- Circul financiar pe ordinea de zi de-acum până când? (E.Z., August 2005)
- Scenariile economice de culise au condus la falimentarea firmei. (S.F., October 2005)
- Lupta pe piaţa bancară se va da intre cinci actori.(Cotid., November 2005)
- România merge pe sârmă fără FMI. (A., November 2005)
- Licitaţie cu cântec pe spinarea bucureştenilor (A., November 2005)
- Printr-o politică agresivă de investiţii şi achiziţionare a altor bănci concurente, BCP a ajuns principalul actor pe piaţa bancară portugheză. (Cotid., October 2005)

Having as the main features dynamism and unpredictability, the financial market is seen as a theatre, probably subsumed to the famous theatrum mundi. The vehicles used bring to the fore images equating the economic environment to a stage or circus arena, the

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strategic marketing or management plans to what is going on behind the scenes, or even more often a script, and the economic agents and entities to actors and performers. Sometimes it is harder to distinguish the metaphor, as the trajectory from source to target is more intricate, as in the following example :

- Oglindă, oglinjoară, cine-i cel mai frumos card din țară? (C.N., November 2005)

The immediate receptor's response is to remember the magical incantation in the fairy tale Snow-White, transposing in an original and creative manner an object from the economic sphere, the modern card, into a traditional fairy tale character, thus accessing and building a multitude of associations of analogical-metaphoric nature, such as:

-the banking field is a magical realm, and economy is a modern fairy tale ;

-the card apparently is the evil step-mother, and in reality Snow-White, thus enjoying an ambivalent role of a useful paying method, which also has its disadvantages ;

-the magic mirror may be equated to the perception of the public using cards in everyday life, etc.

The insertion of the superlative is also worth mentioning, as it may be an allusion to the subcategorization a2, according to the idea that associates a pleasant appearance /physical beauty to the idea of good.

a6. COMPETITION IS CONFLICT

The English corpus is mainly composed of conventionalized metaphors, equating economic agents to the opposing sides engaged in battle, the economic environment becoming a genuine war theatre:

- Businessmen huff and puff about keeping out the Anglo-Saxons (E., July 1999)

- Barriers have kept foreign companies out of the country (E., July 1999)
- Elf last month fell victim to just such an impulse, when its bid was sabotaged by Norsk Hydro and Statoil (E., July 1999)
- Carrefour will still be vulnerable to a hostile bid (E., September 1999)
- Mr Schmidt is looking for targets in Italy and Spain (E., August 2000)
- Local banks are fighting back (E., July 1999)
- Investors struggle to beat inflation. (F.T., November 2005)
- Know your enemy: hacker secrets revealed (F.T. , November 2005)
- Local cigarette makers are up in arms (B.C.E ., September 1999)
- Raba, another national darling that was shielded from foreign takeover (B.C.E ., September 1999)

The conceptual mappings are as follows:
-businessmen= combatants;
-the competing economic agents = the enemies;
-to take economic measures or initiative= to go to war, to start a fight;
-to control the inflationary phenomenon = to beat inflation;
-to react to economic stimuli =to turn the tables, to start fighting back against inflation;
-to protect financially, to take protectionist measures=to defend, to organize de defence;
- restrictive economic measures= barriers;
-to be in a financially difficult position=to be vulnerable;
-companies to take over=targets, etc.

In Romanian the verb *a ataca* "*to attack*" and its synonyms occupy the main position in point of distribution frequency:

- CEC iese la bătaie pe piaţa creditului ipotecar cu 9,75% dobândă fixă. (Z.F., September 2005)
- Canalele de distribuţie ale băncilor specializate atacă zona rurală. Competiţia s-a ascuţit intre băncile care au la bază sistemul de economisire-creditare in sistem colectiv pentru cumpărarea sau construirea de locuinţe. Prin parteneriatele cu Poşta Română (...) băncile specializate vor ataca segmentul pieţei rurale. (C.N., September 2005)
- Se constată o ofensivă a bricolajului pe piaţă. (E.Z., August 2005)
- Ne aşteaptă invazia maşinilor vechi. (E.Z., October 2005)
- In prima zi de tranzacţionare, leul greu nu s-a dovedit prea puternic in bătălia cu euro. (E.Z., August 2005)
- Leul vechi va opune „rezistenţă" in casierii şi in magazine. (E.Z., August 2005)
- TBI Leasing şi TBI Credit atacă in forţă piaţa de credite. (C., November 2005)
- Alianţa strategică Danone-Yakult (C., November 2005)
- FMI rupe lanţul slăbiciunilor. (E.Z., October 2005)
- Cifrele războiului brutal din telefonia mobilă: Telekom România a pierdut peste 700000 de clienţ i cu cartele pre-plătite într-un an (Z.F., August 2017)
- Piaţ a imobiliară, ca o arenă de luptă (Cotid., April 2017)
- Taximetriş tii au declarat război deschis Uber. (Cotid., March 2017)

- Presiune pe pieț ele capitalei. Piaț a Obor, sufocată de noii dezvoltatori de retail : Auchan atacă din vest [...] (Z.F., August 2017)

This final example is an interesting mix of metaphors pertaining to the main mappings examined so far, i.e. ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM (being characterized by pressure as a physical dimension), ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM/ PATIENT (a market is suffocated), and COMPETITION IS WAR (one of the economic entities attacks from the west). It is no rare occurrence to have such combinations of metaphors, all working in unison to depict a vivid picture in the reader's mind, especially as far as headlines are concerned.

On the whole, it may be said that the best represented category is by far the conceptualization of economic competition in terms of conflict/ war, especially in the 90s, when Romania made the passage to market economy and free enterprise.

In a statistic representation of the grammatical categories included in the metaphor's vehicle, the predominance of verbs and nouns as compared to determiners is to be noted in all illustrations:
-verbs: to attack, to stand up in arms, to break, to oppose, to fight, to struggle, to huff and puff (also an allusion to the traditional fairy tale of Three Little Pigs), to battle, to resist; to invade;
-nouns: attack, invasion, battle, alliance, resistance.
-adjectives: strong, strategic.

a7. BUSINESS IS SPORT

The vehicle SPORT seems perfectly natural in rendering a source of this type, the mappings falling into place effortlessly: economy is a sports ground, where the economic agents—the players/ the opponents/ competing sides are involved in commercial transactions — sporting

events — whose ultimate goal is to gain supremacy/ win/ make profit/ be in the black.

The English corpus is suffused with actualisations like:

- The jurisdiction tug of war over takeovers (F.T., November 2005)
- Mighty dollar defies the currency bears: for a currency that most experts predicted would fall this year, the dollar is in remarkably good shape. (F.T., November 2005)
- Arab markets outpace their peers. (F.T., November 2005)
- For seven years the bridesmaid, Microsoft has triumphed in the rankings, but runner-up General Electric can take comfort from the praise it continues to win. (F.T., November 2005)

The anthropomorphic representation of economic agents and entities creates a vision of the economic environment where currencies may be strong and in good shape, markets beat their opponents, and the companies enter a race with a precise purpose and classification system, as well as appropriate rewards for the winners.

Similarly, the Romanian examples are quite numerous:

- Dolarului i se pregăteşte o nouă trambulină. (C.N., July 2005)
- BNR dopează leul. (C.N., November 2005)
- Fiindcă taxa este atât de mare, tentaţia „fentării" ei este extrem de intensă. (C., July 2005)
- Finanţele lasă şi portiţe pentru contribuabilii dispuşi să fenteze Fiscul. (G., October 2005)
- Turismul românesc a rămas in blockstart. (Cotid., August 2005)

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- Există o piață cu două viteze: sunt firmele care plătesc TVA și a căror dezvoltare depinde direct de gradul de fiscalitate; de partea cealaltă se regăsesc cele mai multe societăți, care preferă să nu plătească TVA. (C., July 2005)
- MYO a ieșit din cursă pentru privatizarea Tractorul. (A., November 2005)
- Colegul șefului UE joacă in finala BCR. [...] Meciul se joacă acum intre BCP Millenium și Erste Bank. Din cursă a ieșit Deutsche Bank, socotită pe tot parcursul de până acum favorita competiției. [...] Portughezii au mizat totul pe BCR. Au spus de la inceput că nu-i sperie numele adversarilor. (Cotid., October 2005)
- Germania dă startul unei noi etape în revoluț ia energetică. (A., August 2017)

Seen as a sublimation of the previous vehicle — conflict, sport is well represented in the metaphorical instantiations in economic texts, even reaching the point when it uses extremely specialised terms, like *blockstart*, which only proves the validity of the starting conceptual scheme. In Romanian the predominant mapping is also between the fundamentally competitional economic activity and the athletics race or the football match (the choice of the two sources was definitely performed due to their popularity in all strata of society).

b. MARKET INVOLUTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER:
b1. MARKET INVOLUTION IS DRAUGHT

In English this particular type of subcategorization is extremely frequent, yielding numerous instantiations:

- Rita's commissions began to dry up as her clients quit her for a better deal (E., July 1999)

- The government decided to channel state subsidies to millions of farmers (B.C.E., August 2007)
- The river of gold will soon run dry (E., July 2005)

In Romanian, the vehicle DRAUGHT is less frequent:

- Odată cu aplicarea noilor legi, vor seca fluxurile de investiţii străine. (Z.F., July 2007)
- Mediul de afaceri arid din zona Brăila-Galaţi (C., July 2007)

In both cases the tertium comparationis is the obvious discomfort created by the lack of a vital resource in survival : water, on the one hand, and financial resources, on the other hand. Thus, the conceptual subschema may be clearly associated with another commonplace conceptualization, i.e. MONEY IS A LIQUID.

b2. MARKET INVOLUTION IS BAD WEATHER

The actualizations in English are predominant, since English is traditionally well-known for its vast vocabulary in the meteorological field:

- Are Hong-Kong best days as a financial centre over? (E., August 2000)
- The outlook for the stockmarket will remain cloudy (E., July 1999)
- The outlook for the coal industry is bleak (E., September 1999)

Although considerably less numerous, the actualisations in Romanian are extremely colourful:

- Cotaţia aurului a intrat in aceeaşi zonă de turbulenţe in care se zbate de ceva vreme barilul de ţiţei. (C.N., September 2005)
- Nori negri la orizont in paradisul vânzărilor de maşini.(C., November 2005)

b3. MARKET INVOLUTION IS EARTHQUAKE

This subcategorization seems to illustrate the theory according to which in normal circumstances the economy tends towards a state of equilibrium and financial stability, disturbed by negative factors equivalent to an earthquake :

- South Korea's hard-won stability seems to be crumbling again (E., July 1999)
- Huge chunks of the economy will collapse (E., July 1999)
- The stockmarket is higher than it was before the crash (E., September 1999)

- Piaţa de capital zguduită de căderea dolarului. (C., July 2005)
- Denominarea nu a clintit piaţa de capital. (E.Z., July 2005)
- Economia mondială, ameninţată de creşterea tarifelor la carburanţi. Miniştrii europeni caută soluţii pentru atenuarea şocului petrolului. (A., September 2005)

b4. MARKET INVOLUTION IS NUCLEAR WAR

- In 1997 the stockmarket experienced a real meltdown, the most serious after the crash of 1929. (E., August 2007)
- This was the genuine fallout of the Chinese economy (E., July 2007)
- Soldiering through an economic meltdown (E., May 2007)

This is basically the only example where this subcategorization may be detected, without similar illustrations in the Romanian corpus, probably due to the relatively shocking and novel character of the mapping (which is rather distant from the collective mentality of the Romanian public). The difference of distribution may be explained by the fact that English-speaking countries are important nuclear powers (as reflected also in the established collocations in English), which is not valid for Romania. Thus, the inequality of representation for this particular subcategorization is precisely an illustration of the theory according to which reality is the one structuring linguistic choices.

b5. MARKET INVOLUTION IS EXPLOSION

In general, this metaphor pertains mainly to the extremely specialized discourse of the stock exchange:
- The volatile stockmarket would prove a surprise to all shareholders (E., August 2000)
- Everyone expected the stockmarket bubble to finally burst (E., June 1999)

In Romanian the applicability of the metaphor is significantly larger, and the collocations found include referents such as inflation, prices, market.
- De câteva săptămâni, prețul benzinei la pompă a devenit subiect de controversă politică. A fost doar scânteia pentru redeschiderea altui subiect sensibil, privatizarea Petrom. (Z.F., September 2005)
- Producătorii de țigări și alcool spun că „taxa pe viciu" va duce la explozia contrabandei. (S.F., July 2005)
- Benzina frige Europa. (E.Z. , August 2005)
- Volatilitate in scădere la Bursa din Sibiu (C., November 2005)

- Denominarea nu a reuşit să capteze [...] interesul investitorilor pentru piaţă, aceştia dovedind că au predilecţie pentru tranzacţii doar in condiţii de volatilitate a pieţei. (C.N., July 2005)
- Rectificarea bugetară [...] poate reaprinde inflaţia. Deficitul din sistemul de sănătate este una dintre puţinele supape pentru banii rămaşi pe 2005. (Cotid., November 2005)
- BNR va putea invoca, in baza a cinci clauze de exonerare, responsabilitatea in cazul exploziei inflaţiei. Banca Naţională aruncă in mâna Guvernului „cartoful" fierbinte al inflaţiei. (Gd., November 2005)
- Piaţa neagră, abia ţinută in frâu, va exploda, consumul alimentar va inregistra o scădere, iar bugetul va primi mai puţini bani. (C., July 2005)

As is obvious in these examples, the subcategorization domain for the vehicle "natural disaster" as the representation for "market involution"/ "economic difficulties" is quite varied, including draught, bad weather, earthquake or explosion, which all bear a strong negative connotation, to be expected in these times afflicted by economic crisis.

It is no rare occurrence to see how a certain mapping, such as MARKET INVOLUTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER, is combined in the same headline with mappings subsumed to the same type of conceptual metaphor, such as BUSINESS IS WAR and BUSINESS IS SPORT:
- Cu lecţia dezastrului elveţian învăţată, Cehia a reuşit să îşi apere coroana şi economia, iar acum face istorie dând startul în UE la scumpirea creditelor. (Z.F., August 2017)

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c.ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM

As previously seen in the theory-forming discourse, conceiving economy in mechanical terms is extremely frequent, with instantiations in both languages. As expected, economy is viewed as a precise, self-regulating mechanism that needs to reach a state of equilibrium in order to operate well:

- ➢ Money supply is not enough to grease the wheels of economic growth. (F.T. , October 2009)
- ➢ The country corporate-bond market has almost ceased to function. (F.T., October 2009)
- ➢ The media is important to a well-functioning economy. (F.T., October 2009)
- ➢ The American economy is operating well above capacity. (F.T., October 2009)

Within this mapping, the subcategorization BALANCED IS UP may apply to a high number of actualizations, like the following:

- Savings in the central government are more than offset by splurging by the states (E., August 2017)
- […] strict new rules on capital and liquidity introduced after the crisis have tilted the cost-benefit balance away from banks' least-profitable clients. (E., August 2017)
- […] strict new rules on capital and liquidity introduced after the crisis have tilted the cost-benefit balance away from banks' least-profitable clients. (E., August 2017)
- Aware that the pendulum has swung too far away from risk-taking, the Financial Stability Board, an international group of policymakers, is co-ordinating efforts to reverse the trend. (E., August 2017)

In Ormerod's opinion (1997), this mechanistic vision constitutes the intellectual basis for the laissez-faire economic policies of the 1980's in Britain and the U.S. According to his analysis, describing economic systems and processes in terms of machinery and mechanisms makes economy more amenable to prediction and control, thus assigning economists the necessary roles to maintain everything in good order, neglecting the roles of different cultures and institutions.

The corresponding Romanian corpus provides numerous instantiations as well, most of them pertaining to the subcategorization ECONOMY IS AN ENGINE:

- Cumpărăturile online rămân principalul motor al pieț ei de curierat. (Z.F., August 2017)
- Legea pensiilor militare a pus pe butuci sistemul de securitate naț ională. (R.L., August 2017)

Once again, it is quite normal that the same headline combines more than one metaphor, in order to increase its impact on the reader, in the continuous search for sensationalism:

- Ministrul Finanț elor, pus la colț în PSD. Explodează scandalul mecanismului prin care băncile fentează statul. (E.Z., August 2017).

This particular example, in addition to viewing economy as an engine/ mechanism, also brings to the fore mappings like BUSINESS IS SPORT and MARKET INVOLUTION IS AN EXPLOSION. This type of combination of apparently separate metaphoric schemes seems to be quite common, according to Baldauf (2003:47):

"The habit of combining metaphors of various, in some cases even incompatible imagery, [...] is surprisingly widespread."

3.4. Conclusions

The analysis of the corpus leads to the conclusion that the economico-financial discourse found in Romanian publications abounds in conceptual metaphors, which constitute not only stylistic instruments able to arrest the reader's attention, but also an entire network of ontological and epistemic mappings able to shape the reader's perception of realities, entities, phenomena and processes of economic nature described by financial journalists. The considerably high occurrence of metaphors in economic texts are evidence towards the extremely close connection between the concrete perception of the surrounding reality and the abstract structuring of the economico-financial and business climate. Linguistically speaking, the levels of metaphorisation are easily noticeable, corresponding to the fundamental conceptual metaphors in the two languages in contrast.

These metaphors transgress language barriers, as there are numerous instantiations in English and in Romanian, according to the following schemes:

a. ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM:
    a1. ECONOMY IS A PATIENT
    a2. ECONOMY IS A PLANT
    a3. SLIM IS HEALTHY/ OBESE IS UNHEALTHY
    a4. TAKING OVER IS EATING
    a5. THE FINANCIAL MARKET IS A THEATRE
    a6. COMPETITION IS CONFLICT
    a7. BUSINESS IS SPORT

b. MARKET INVOLUTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER:
    b1. MARKET INVOLUTION IS DRAUGHT
    b2. MARKET INVOLUTION IS BAD WEATHER
    b3. MARKET INVOLUTION IS EARTHQUAKE
    b4. MARKET INVOLUTION IS NUCLEAR WAR
    b5. MARKET INVOLUTION IS EXPLOSION

c.ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM:
    c1. BALANCED IS UP
    c2. ECONOMY IS AN ENGINE

It is therefore easy to notice that the fundamentally human features, activities and experiences or meteorological phenomena are the predominant sources of the metaphor in the two languages under analysis.

It is also common practice to combine metaphor belonging to several schemes, sometimes within a short stretch of discourse, such as a headline, which maximizes the impact on the reader and increases the attractiveness of presentation, mainly in journalese.

4. Translating economic metaphor

4.1. Translation strategies and techniques specific to "economic metaphor"

It goes without saying that its open-ended, ambiguous, culturally-conditioned status places metaphor on top of the list of difficulties encountered by translators and interpreters. Their task is undoubtedly eased by the fact that, unlike literary metaphors, economic metaphors are usually stable, conventionalized, systematic mappings operating across languages. It is however important to note that the undeniable creative force of metaphor cannot possibly be overlooked, which means that any translation is in fact a transformation process, creating new meaning, and losing the original meaning, either totally or partially. It is no surprise that any translation, and especially the translation of metaphoric terms and phrases may prove extremely demanding for the translator, in point of his/her linguistic, cultural and literary resources in both the target and the source language.

Largely neglected by theorists, the translation of metaphor first started to draw attention and gain status when Dagut (1976) initiated a large-scope discussion of the subject. Seeing metaphor as "an individual flash of imaginative insight... which transcends the existing semantic limits of the language and thereby enlarges the hearers' or readers' emotional or intellectual awareness", he opines that all metaphor are "live" and "original", highly relying on "performance", and should therefore be distinguished from metaphorical derivatives, that have become part of the conventionalised semantics of language, and thus shifted to the realm of "competence". The translator of the latter may depend on the bilingual

competence of the translator, but metaphor proper has to be "recreated" in translation:

"[...] what determines the translatability of a source language metaphor is not its "boldness" or "originality", but rather the extent to which the cultural experience and semantic associations on which it draws are shared by speakers of the particular target language." (ibid.)

Traditionally, it is considered that metaphors may be translated by means of the following three prototypical strategies :

a) non-metaphoric/ literal translation — translating the expressive vehicle. This strategy is convenient in cases where the expressive content of the metaphor resides in interculturally-shared information, and metaphor is thus explainable as deriving from intrinsic human experience (the so-called "embodied experience").

b) periphrastic translation — translating a paraphrase of the original metaphor. It is usually applied when there are culturally-determined connotations currently associated to the vehicle in the source language, but not the target language. In this case it is however worth noticing that at least part of the metaphoric content is lost in the process, and in extreme cases the entire metaphoricity is no longer present in the translated product.

c) metaphoric translation — translating the expressive content. When it is selected, the result is another metaphor in the target language as well, but without preserving the expressive vehicle in the source language. Of course, the result will undeniably suffer from significant losses in point of the semantic and syntactic properties of the vehicle, which may also lead to similar loss and transformation at the level of content; in any case, this strategy has the great advantage that it maintains intact the metaphoricity of the original item. In addition, the

translator may face the phenomenon of overdetermination (expressing connotations that did not exist in the initial metaphor) or, in reverse, underdetermination may occur, thus depriving the starting metaphor of part of its characteristics.

The one who drew up a much more complete list of metaphor translation procedures was Peter Newmark (1985:304-311), who chose as a criterion in his approach the type of metaphors to be translated. He proposed the following classification:

1. Reproducing the same image in the target language. It may be applied successfully mainly for one-word metaphors or metonyms, on condition that there is cultural overlap between the source and the target language, or at least common universal experience. In fact, the more readily shared the meaning, the easier the transfer in translation.

Many instantiations may be provided, as follows:
-liquidity=lichiditate
-frozen assets/ prices= bunuri/ prețuri înghețate
-wage freeze= înghețarea salariilor
-daughter company= companie fiică
-immunization strategy= strategie de imunizare
-ceiling= plafon (preț maxim)
-tax haven= paradis fiscal

It is not without interest to notice that all these examples are based on the universally-shared experience, common to speakers of both languages in question, structured as ontological metaphoric mappings of the type MONEY IS A LIQUID, ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM (which also includes as a subcategory the mapping ECONOMY IS A PATIENT) or orientational metaphors, such as MORE IS UP (applicable to financial aspects). It is true that in many cases it may be argued that the metaphors were just borrowed and translated in a literal manner, as

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the image seems to have been striking enough for the a convenient transfer in Romanian. In this respect, there are situations where the image in the source language was slightly altered in order to increase its acceptability in the target language, although the initial image is still easily recognizable. It is the case of the final illustration above, where *haven* "adăpost" becomes, via semantic gain *paradis*, although one should not overlook the possibility of a negligent or even faulty translation (the English equivalent of *paradis* being the paronymic pair of *haven*, i.e. *heaven*). In a similar vein, one may quote the compound *parent company/ companie mamă*, where the dual gender of the determiner in the source language only actualizes in translation the [+FEMININE] equivalent; this phenomenon may have two possible explanations: either Romanian preferred to select the feminine out of the need to match the gender of the head noun *companie* (as in English gender is irrelevant), or the selection was operated on the basis of contamination by other femininely-marked metaphoric compounds pertaining to the same paradigm – *daughter/ sister company*.

The same researcher also remarks in his work the special case of "animal abuse" (the abusive/ inaccurate use of animal metaphors and metonyms). He claims that this type of metaphors is not intertranslatable, but instead possesses connotations on condition they are not marked for gender or age. Usually animal metaphors represent illustrations of qualities, by means of more or less justifiable or objective correspondences between the human tenor and the animal vehicle. It is interesting to note that there is a general human tendency to describe objectively animals with whom our contact is on a smaller scale; the list of semantic features out of which a selection may be operated is considerably reduced, and consequently increases the user's objectivity.

From the point of view of economic language, these correspondences are established according to rules that often prove contradictory or at least inconsistent and confusing. Thus, animals from the sphere of the immediate reality , such as the domestic cat, become the image of frequent metaphors in English, such as the following:

-dead cat bounce (recovery, usually uncertain and short-lived, of the selling price of stock);

-wildcat (risky, when used about a financial enterprise);

-wildcat strike (spontaneous strike, without the consent of the union).

The first instantiation seems to rely on the prototypical semantic features [+VERSATILITY], [-PREDICTABILITY], [+RESILIENCE], and also [-SAFETY] generally associated to feline behaviour. The tenor, stock price, is joined to the animal vehicle on the grounds of the fluctuating and unpredictable character: a cat who is apparently dead may still bounce, just like the stockmarket price may undergo dramatic and sudden changes. The other examples reduce the number of semantic features involved to [+UNEXPECTED], the vehicle being more remote from the familiar domain.

Another favourite animal in the economic lexicon is the dog, particularized to bulldog, in compounds as bulldog market or bulldog bond, in which it operates as a metonym for Great Britain (bulldog is the typically British dog breed, being often figured in drawings of John Bull, the embodiment of the typical Englishman). Being so overtly conditioned from a cultural point of view, the image cannot possibly be retained in Romanian, consequently switching to much less colourful equivalents, very similar, as it seems, to the British stockmarket or the British bonds. It may be said that the selected determiner is much rather close to symbol than metaphor, managing to epitomize by its

brevity the cultural essence of a nation. Thus, similar metonyms designating the foreign market or bonds make use of anthropomorphic referents with a high degree of cultural specificity:

-Samurai market/ bond for Japan;

-Yankee market/ bond for US;

-Matador market/ bond for Spain.

Another noteworthy issue is the propensity of English economic terminology for two animals seen in an antithetic relation, i.e. the bear and the bull. Thus, the former is situated at the negative pole, taking the form of a denominative metaphor, verbal metaphor or the most often a metaphoric determiner, as in the following instantiations:

- bear (speculant care mizează pe scăderea cursului sau a prețurilor);
- bears (vânzări fără acoperire);
- to bear (a vinde la termen fără acoperire);
- bear/ bearish market (piață cu prețurile in scădere);
- bear opposition (tendința de scădere a prețurilor);
- bear raid (acțiune conjugată a unui grup de investitori care îşi vând stocurile pentru a determina o scădere a cursului unor acțiuni);
- bear spread (opțiune rezultată in condiții dezavantajoase/ printr-o diferență de preț dezavantajoasă).

In a similar manner, the second term may operate in positively-marked contexts, such as:

-bull (speculant la bursă care cumpără titluri in speranța că prețul lor va creşte şi ulterior le va putea vinde obținând un profit);

-bull/bullish market (piață financiară ale cărei cursuri sunt in creştere);

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-bull spread (option resulting from an advantageous price difference);

-bullish (poziţia unui investitor care urmăreşte obţinerea de profit din tranzacţii financiare sau cu mărfuri, numai in condiţiile in care preţul lor pe piaţă va creşte);

-to bull (a cumpăra fără acoperire).

If for *bear* and the derived metaphors the motivation is fairly easy to determine — the ferociousness of a wild beast with the whole array of negative connotations reflected in the disadvantages expressed by the selected compounds, things are different for the term *bull*. Probably it was selected for the similarity of form and contrast of meaning with the counterpart *bear*. Thus, from the sonority point of view, it is very close, being monosyllabic, and built around the same consonant; semantically speaking, it is characterized by the features [+TAME], [+USEFUL], the animal as such being often seen in conflict with its antonym.

Another notable example is the metonym *stag* "cerb", included in the economic terminology under the periphrastic/ explanatory translation "speculator who buys stock with the intent to sell them immediately for profit". Of course, the motivation of such a term is extremely hard to find ; it may however be analysed from the perspective of the main characteristic associated to the animal vehicle, i.e. fast movement as a means of survival. In conclusion, the business success of such a speculator is based on his/her fast reaction to the fluctuations of the market or the business environment in question.

Although the animals involved in metaphoric imagery are quite familiar to Romanians, this equivalence resorts not to transferring the image, but to paraphrasing , resulting in explanatory definitions, not equivalents proper. However, there is one exception, the case of *shark*

"cămătar, rechin". It seems likely that this time Romanian kept the source image under the neological influence of the past few decades, borrowing all the nuances, including the meaning extension "unethical and greedy person". It is also important to mention that American English displays meaning polarization in this particular case – "expert, knowledgeable person", adding positive connotations to a metonym that is the epitome of negative connotations par excellence. In any case, the verbs derived with or without prepositional complementation—to shark "a fura, a escroca", or to shark on/ upon somebody "a suge/ stoarce/ jecmăni pe cineva" are variants of periphrastic translation or conversion to the basic meaning of the source term. It is to be remarked that the Romanian version of the prepositional verb may be considered as a derivative from the conceptual mapping #MONEY IS A LIQUID#, with the subcategorization LOSS OF MONEY IS LOSS OF LIQUID.

Taking these examples into account, it may be concluded that the Romanian economic language tends to avoid reproducing the image in English, no matter how suggestive it may be. This avoidance is justifiable — in none of the cases can it be said that there is sufficient cultural overlapping so that the image could cross over the language boundary and operate satisfactorily in the target language. In addition, it is possible that the missing link is the formality degree of the register that is inherently associated to the specialized language under examination.

2. Replacing the image in the source language with a similar-function standard image in the target language. It is the preferred variant for ossified metaphors and especially proverbs, which due to their clichified status compel the translator to treat them with utmost attention.

"It is often necessary to convert their metaphors to sense in translation, merely because they are so stereotyped." (Newmark, 1985:307)

Of course, there are certain situations, especially in informative or explanatory economic texts, when the translator aims at perfect clarity, transparency and comprehensibility of the message conveyed in the target language, therefore opting for the removal of any cliché that may prove opaque to the potential reader.

This method is usually used when the source image is somehow "far-fetched" for the image in the target language, as it may be seen in the following instantiations pertaining to the general economic vocabulary:

-black economy "economie subterană" (not "neagră", which would have triggered connotations like death, darkness, etc., felt as exaggerated in the present situation, which merely refers to lack of rules, illegality);

-hard currency "valută forte" (not "tare, dură");

-to pour money down the drain "a arunca banii pe fereastră/ gârlă/ apa sâmbetei" (not ",la scurgere");

-to cook/ salt the books "a falsifica/ aranja/ cosmetiza registrele contabile" (and not the literal "a găti/ săra").

3. Translating metaphor through a comparison. This method has the obvious advantage that it allows for the initial image to be preserved, sparing the translator the effort of looking for similar images in the target language, which may be quite an arduous and often impossible task to achieve. At least in theory the impact of the source text metaphor is diminished, especially if the text does not have an overt expressive component, as "the comparison is much more downtoned and scientific than a metaphor" (1985:307-308). It is however clear that such cases are sporadic in the economic field, even in newspaper articles, which are reputed for the creative use of specialized terminology. A case in point may be the widespread term *workaholic* (a blend between work and alcoholic, therefore translatable by "obsedat de muncă"), which is sometimes

translated by a comparison: "a munci ca un apucat/ pe rupte/ fără răgaz", losing much of its original flavour.

4. Translating the metaphor by comparison plus sense (the Mozart method). It is the most clarifying of all these methods, as it takes not only one, but two precautions. Newmark uses a metaphor himself when he describes the advantages deriving from this approach, which represents the classical formula that Mozart used for the piano concerto, pleasing both the educated, and the less initiated (1985:309). Once again the illustrations are not very numerous, probably because of the length of explanatory paraphrases that prove awkward in a specialized economic text, where the terms are clearly delineated, and the concepts should be easy to grasp and handle. In any case, the previous example may be used as an illustration of the new translation procedure: *workaholic* "persoană care munceşte fără intrerupere, aşa cum un alcoolic bea fără intrerupere". It is easily noticeable that clarity adversely affects the expressive force of the blend, as the lengthy explanation dilutes the impact of the original image. This is the very reason this method is preponderantly used in dictionary entries or glosses to economic texts. The method is however not entirely devoid of a certain didactic value, as it proves useful in explaining the metaphoric terms and phrases that so frequently pervade economic texts in English, the comparison being the element that makes it possible for students to accumulate the new vocabulary. Among the cases in point are the following:

-black knight "rival care aşteaptă momentul favorabil pentru a prelua o companie aşa cum cavalerul negru aştepta momentul favorabil pentru a-şi lovi adversarul in turnir" (the colour symbolism is identical in both cultures and therefore makes it so much easier to explain and learn the metaphor);

-white knight "salvator al unei companii pe cale de a fi preluată de una rivală, aşa cum cavalerul alb îi salva pe cei aflaţi la ananghie".

It is obvious that the two instantiations may be subsumed to the conceptual metaphor BUSINESS IS WAR, building an entire network of possible equivalences:

Tenor	Vehicle
Investors	Knights
Company	War spoils; the city under siege
Commercial transaction	Conflict
Business environment	War theatre, battlefield
Attempt to take over the company	Confrontation on the battlefield, final battle

It cannot therefore be overlooked that such equations, although very clear and thus very useful in lexicography and teaching methodology, become awkward because of their exaggerated length and cannot actually work in real life.

5. Conversion of metaphor to the base sense. It is no surprise that most English metaphoric terms lose their metaphoricity when rendered in Romanian. Removing the metaphoric nuance altogether seems to be the necessary compromise in order to ensure accuracy and concision when dealing with English realities, especially when these have no counterpart in the Romanian environment. The difficulty of this approach lies in the need to perform, in the preliminary stages of translation, the componential meaning analysis, so that the translator may be sure to preserve the relevant semantic features, common to the tenor and the vehicle, so that the "perspectivization" in the initial metaphor stays the same and is accurately

interpreted. By performing such a detailed semantic analysis, the translator is sure to judiciously operate the selection of the proper synonymic means (such as paraphrase), thus "disambiguating" the source text and provides the reader with his/her own interpretation of the original. In this respect, when referring to the terms discussed previously, *bull* or *bear*, impossible to translate in another manner except conversion to sense, the semantic features preserved in translation will not be [+MASCULINE], [+MAMMAL], etc.

6. Modifying the metaphor. It is mainly used in texts which do not focus on the expressive function, when the metaphor in the source language is too bizarre or exaggerated. It is usually subjected to a process of attenuation, with the declared purpose of minimizing the impact on the reader of the target text. It goes without saying that from the translation point of view it is a risky procedure, as it allows for the alteration of the source text, compelling the translator to become a critic and guiding his/her translation process towards exegesis. In any case, it is not frequently employed in economic discourse, which mainly deals with ossified metaphors already included in the specialized dictionary and therefore recognizable by the wide public.

7. Complete elimination of metaphor, together with its meaning component. It is a procedure which works best with redundant or useless metaphors. Just like in the previous case, it is rarely necessary in economic texts. In fact, it seems more useful when the metaphors are closely related to the culture of the source language, which makes it virtually impossible to render them accurately in the target language on account of the lack of culturally specific information on the part of the potential reader. Of course, it cannot possibly be applied when the whole text to translate is built around such a metaphor.

8. Preserving the same metaphor plus sense. The translator maintains the source language image, but is not confident enough in its clarity and evocative power, therefore deciding to add a gloss, usually under the form of a footnote. Taking as reference point the previous situation, this method is best suited to culturally specific metaphors that cannot be removed from the source text without affecting its very structural core. A case in point may be the metaphoric compound *triple witching hour* "tripla oră vrăjită", glossable by "ultima oră de efectuare a tranzacţiilor la bursă, in a treia zi de vineri din lunile martie, iunie, septembrie şi decembrie, când expiră indexurile opţiunilor de acţiuni", or the metonym *twist* "torsiunea dobânzilor", which needs compulsory explicitation as "operaţie care constă in majorarea dobânzilor la creditele pe termen scurt şi totodată reducerea dobânzilor pe termen lung".

In conclusion, from a statistic point of view the most commonly used translation strategy seems to be the periphrastic one, or more specifically, the conversion of metaphor to sense. Such an approach ensures the adequate perception of the message from the source language, minimizing at the same time the obvious disadvantage of exaggerated length and the occasionally awkward style of the equivalent in the target language.

Conceptual metaphors, able to transgress the boundaries between languages as they are created on the basis of similar cognitive mechanisms, are, in their vast majority, prone to literal translation; nevertheless, as a general rule the Romanian economic language tends to avoid reproducing the source text image, however suggestive it may be, due to the lack of cultural common ground or register dissimilarity.

Metaphors which are overtly marked by culturally specific elements are either mostly eliminated in

translation if they are marginal or illustrative in the source text, or rendered as such plus the obligatory gloss under the form of a footnote or in rarer cases an endnote.

The metaphors possessing or having regained expressive force (especially present in journalese or the discourse of advertising) are mainly translatable by modifying the metaphoric image, as it is almost always attempted to preserve their initial flavour and the stylistic value intended in the source text.

The more obscure the connection between the tenor and the vehicle, the more difficult the translator's task. Sometimes this "ground" seems to be so arbitrary, that the translator is in absolute need of a good specialized dictionary, contextual clues, and, last but most definitely not least, the support of the expert in the economic field.

From a formal point of view, the Romanian equivalents of the English metaphorical terms and phrases have a much more extended syntactic structure, with more complex relations between the components, which dramatically decreases metaphoricity, but on the other hand increases message clarity and precision.

Another issue of utmost importance in economic language is the existence of slang, explainable by the extraordinarily fast development of this type of specialized language in the past decades. Statistically, the number of metaphoric terms which may be considered as slang is not too high, but its mere existence is enough to prove the vitality and productivity of economic language. The extreme difficulty that the translator is faced with when attempting to provide suitable equivalents in Romanian evinces not only the inherent specific cultural differences, but also the uneven development of the economic environment and consequently the specialized language describing it in an accurate manner.

4.2. The English influence on today's Romanian economic terminology

As it may easily be seen when examining the economic terminology in Romanian used nowadays, only a very small part was created on Romanian soil; the vast majority of terms show a strong foreign influence, mostly English, easily explainable by the events occurring globally in the past two decades. Once Romania has embarked on the post-revolutionary path, trying to integrate in the sphere of global economic phenomena, it is constantly under pressure to adapt its economic language to the new state of facts.

Unlike the French area, overtly reluctant to Anglophone terminology in the economic field (in accordance to the so-called "purist" tendency initiated by the French Academy), has Romanian proved much more open to the Western influences, especially after 1989, adopting a wide range of English words and phrases, either borrowed or adapted. Thus, it is worth mentioning the concept of "Romglish", as a clear illustration of the linguistic interferences in an age of politico-economic interdependences, in a world on a definite path towards globalisation and aiming at complete availability of mass-communication, especially in point of trade and free enterprise.

The researchers into language history agree that one of the commonly manifest tendencies worldwide in point of language evolution is the enrichment of vocabulary by inserting internationalisms. The process may be accounted for by the very intense economic, technico-scientific and cultural exchanges on an international scale, the extraordinarily easy and fast communication among peoples, and the ever increasing publication circulation on a global level.

"We should agree that the vocabulary of different languages is gradually getting levelled. It is normal to acknowledge the disappearance of words specific to only one language, words naming old-fashioned objects or notions , and the introduction of common international words, as nowadays the same objects and notions emerge everywhere as a result of the convergent evolution of human communities" (Graur, 1967:797). Thus, economic language undergoes changes with the passage from a social-economic evolution stage to another, as well as during the same stage as a result of the need to integrate emerging economic phenomena and processes. Also, it progresses due to the huge strides in the scientific research performed on economic life, characterized by dynamism and constant change, and the more and more in-depth knowledge of the complexity of the economic phenomenon in itself.

The politico-economic domination of the English-speaking countries is being increasingly felt these days, when terms such as *management, marketing, franchising, leasing, broker, merchandising, discount, cash, holding, brainstorming, dumping, clearing/ cliring, input, output* are part and parcel of the general usage, and on the basis of the principle of minimum effort and maximum informativeness they are preferred to autochthonous creations (e.g. *agent de bursă* instead of *broker* or *reducere de preț* instead of *discount*). In some instances, although there are no clear regulations on the issue, the higher education departments in economic studies faculties felt the need to replace certain loans of this type in their current activity, considering that the proposed equivalents are clearer and may successfully replace the foreign words (which may often prove difficult to pronounce for the Romanian average speaker); in this respect, *management* becomes *conducere* or *gestionare/administrare*,

consulting turns into *consultanţă*, and *engineering* into *asistenţă inginerească*.

Of course, it is worth mentioning that there are also numerous barbarisms, i.e. English doubles for terms already existing in Romanian, emerged from the speakers' snobbery and tendency to imitate the foreign influence deemed as superior; this category may include *shopping center* used instead of *centru comercial*, *trend* instead of *tendinţă*, *gap* instead of *decalaj*, *job* instead of *slujbă, loc de muncă, serviciu, oportunitate* instead of *ocazie, şansă*, etc.

The economic terms of English origin found diverse ways of insertion into the Romanian language, these borrowings taking various forms among which: Anglicisms, such as *leasing, cash, job, know-how*; Romanianisation, either as spelling, as in *cliring, boicot* or as pronunciation, such as *trust, brand, supermarket, tour-operator*; partial or total calque, as in *Banca mondială* (after *World Bank*), *carte/ card de credit* (after *credit card*), *capitaluri febrile/ flotante* (after *hot money*), *tripla oră vrăjită* (after *triple witching hour*) etc.

The example of France in the sphere of linguistic policy may serve as a model in the attempt to find official, unanimously accepted policies regarding these terms whose status is still unregulated in Romanian, which may have the endorsement of the Romanian Academy and be published in widely-read economic journals and magazines.

4.3. Contrastive elements in metaphoric terminology

In regard to metaphoric terminology, the equivalences in Romanian are even harder to establish than in regard to everyday, general terms, mainly because of the creative, figurative, open-ended nuances involved in the figure of speech.

From a conceptual perspective, ontological metaphors are clearly favoured, as they actualize anthropomorphic characteristics for objects, phenomena or abstract notions. Thus, both Romanian and English use the human standard in conceiving and/or assessing the MARKET, MONEY/ CAPITAL, INVESTMENT, COMPANIES, thus giving rise to compounds that include determiners strictly pertaining to the human sphere of attributes, such as captive, autonomous, calm, aggressive, hot, weak, strong, active, inactive, etc. Similarly, the relations between companies are seen as kinship relations, producing collocations such as mother, daughter, sister-company. It should be remarked however that there is an interesting difference in the metaphoric image of the Romanian *filială*, evincing this particular conceptualization, and its English counterpart *branch*, which prefers rendering the metaphoric family relationship under the form of the connection between a tree and its branches (the image also operates as a verbal metaphor— *to branch out* "a deschide sucursale"). The same prototype is also drawn upon in metaphors like *bastard* "produs impur", *orphan article* "articol fără urmări juridice' or *adulterine society* "societate neconstituită juridic".

The anthropomorphic perspectivization of economy is salient in both languages, especially when dealing with the mapping ECONOMY IS A PATIENT, actualized in subcategories such as *immunization strategy* "strategie de imunizare"; *recovery* "revenire, rambursare"; *sterilization* "sterilizare, stabilizare".

A similar metaphoric subcategory, COMPETITION IS CONFLICT, conceptualizes the business environment in military terms. In this respect, the English economic language is replete with terms like *war* "război" in price war "război al prețurilor", bullet "glonţ" in bullet "împrumut rambursat tot odată", adverse "opus, duşman" in adverse

balance "balanţă pasivă" or adverse budget "buget deficitar", trigger "trăgaci" in trigger level "nivel de reaprovizionare", riot "revoltă, răscoală" in riot selling "vânzare la preţuri foarte scăzute", shooter "trăgător" in trouble-shooter "instigator", spoils "pradă de război" in spoils system "funcţii acordate alegătorilor drept răsplată după alegeri", cut-throat "ucigător" in cut-throat competition "concurenţă acerbă", etc. there are also special cases, when the economic language takes over the entire collocation, with sense-modification: headhunter "vânător de capete" becomes recrutor, persoană care incearcă să atragă persoanele din funcţii de conducere din alte companii; chain of command "scara de comandă" acquires the novel adapted meaning circulaţia informaţiei intr-o intreprindere conform structurii ierarhice; to back "a asigura spatele" ends up meaning a rambursa, a gira, a acoperi financiar.

In any case, the metaphoric propensity which is manifest in English operates on a much wider scale than in Romanian when it comes to ontological metaphors; determinants describing typically human features lose their metaphoric charge, being explicitated or paraphrased in the Romanian equivalents. Thus, the adjectives combined with money/ bani or market/ piaţă, such as thin "slab", naked "gol, nud, dezbrăcat", sound "sănătos" or idle "leneş" are interpreted as "in minus/ cu oferte puţine", "neacoperit, neexecutabil", "stabil/ solvabil" and "nefolosit/ neproductiv", respectively. Other determiners characterized by the semantic feature [+CONCRETE], combined with the same head nouns, are treated in a similar manner: soft "moale, blând" becomes "slab/ de scurtă folosinţă"; hot "fierbinte" becomes "eficient, profitabil" but also "suspect, de speculaţie"; tied "legat" becomes "condiţionat, cu clauză"; short "scurt" becomes "fără acoperire, pe termen

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scurt, incomplet, insuficient"; sticky "lipicios" becomes "rigid, problematic, inflexibil".

Statistically speaking, the nominal metaphor with the highest distribution is MONEY IS A LIQUID, shared in common by both languages:

- cash flow/ flux de numerar; circulating assets/ capital circulant;
- efflux of capital/ scurgere de capital;
- flow of funds/ flux de fonduri;
- liquid assets/ active lichide;
- frozen assets/ active îngheţate;
- liquidity/ lichiditate;
- outflux/ scurgere de numerar;
- price freeze/ îngheţarea preţurilor;
- quick ratio/ coeficient de lichiditate;
- unabsorbed costs/ costuri neabsorbite;
- wage freeze/ îngheţarea salariilor;
- watered stock/ capital diluat.

There are also instantiations when in Romanian the metaphoric mapping, although theoretically the same, is actualized periphrastically: shrinking market/ piaţă in regres; shrinkage/ pierdere, minus valoare; to unfreeze/ a debloca. English extends the conceptual scheme to other tenors, such as WORK — drift of labour "migraţie a forţei de muncă", PRODUCTION VOLUME – overflow "depăşire a capacităţii", or even ECONOMY — upsurge "creştere, dezvoltare".

Sometimes, Romanian actualizes the metaphoric mapping to the detriment of English: creditul de aval or integrarea in amonte are equivalent to back credit and backward integration, in which there is obvious simplification of determiners and the vehicle LIQUID is no longer overtly actualized.

Another highly productive metaphoric mapping is ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM, with various and sometimes intriguing actualizations, such in the following examples:

- Boiler room (whose explanatory definition would be "sala maşinilor de pe o navă, caracterizată de temperaturi ridicate şi activitate intensă, care menţine nava in stare de funcţionare") designates in fact "sala cabinelor telefonice de la bursă";
- Gearing ("mecanism, angrenaj") actually refers to "structura capitalului unei intreprinderi";
- High geared capital (literally translatable by "capital bine angrenat") is the equivalent of "capital alcătuit din acţiuni preferenţiale";
- Trigger price mechanism ("mecanism de declanşare a preţurilor") is in fact to be understood as "nivel al preţurilor care declanşează anumite măsuri corective";
- Sliding scale price (the literal translation of the nominal determiner is the highly specialized "şubler") means in fact "preţ ajustabil";
- Soldering credit ("credit de sudură/ care sudează") should accurately be rendered as "credit de legătură";
- Switching ("intrerupere a unui circuit electric sau magnetic") was included in the economic jargon as such, glossable as "inchiderea unei poziţii deschise pe piaţa mărfurilor şi deschiderea unei poziţii similare cu livrarea la altă dată";
- Wheeler-dealer (in which wheel literally means roată) acquires the novel metaphoric meaning "speculant, om de afaceri care se foloseşte de practici neloiale, „invârteli", „manevre", „maşinaţiuni"".

It goes without saying that the mapping predominantly operates in English, but it is recognizable in the Romanian equivalents.

In English special mention is undoubtedly due to the category of animal metaphors; these however always have non-metaphoric equivalents and require detailed explanations, as they often possess a quite obscure *tertium comparationis* (as in for instance *deadcat bounce*) or merely arbitrary (e.g. *stag, bull, bear, babyshark, lame duck*).

Due to the same reason English metaphors containing a colour determiner are translated paraphrastically with the notable exceptions of the few terms built around a widely accepted symbolism of the colour in question: black economy/ piață neagră; grey market/ piață gri, paralelă; green currencies/ monedă verde. But more often than not the terminology contains collocations including colour determiner which prove extremely difficult to decode; for example, to be in the red/ black = a fi in roșu, pe minus / a avea bani in cont clearly originate in the two standard colours used to point out the minuses/plusses in the traditional English accounting system; grey wave = companie considerată profitabilă intr-un viitor indepărtat probably refers to the connotatively – marked semantic [-CLARITY], [-SAFETY] ordinarily associated to the grey colour; blue collar= muncitor manual alludes to the colour of the uniform typically worn by such a type of employee, metonymically represented by its collar; white collar= funcționar similarly sends to the working clothes of an office employee. Sometimes the determiners of this type prove totally arbitrary and thus impossible to decode without the help of a specialized dictionary: blue laws= legi care interzic tranzacții duminica; yellow-dog contract= contract de neaderare la sindicat.

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Another contrastive element between the two languages studied is the uneven development of the vocabulary referring to labour conflicts. Thus, it is obvious that English disposes of a rich lexicon of metaphoric terms designating in a very concise but utterly suggestive form types of strikes: *bumper strike/ de sprijin a altor grevişti; irritation strike/ prin incetinirea ritmului de lucru; lock-out/ grevă patronală; sit-down strike/ grevă la locul de muncă; sit-in/ grevă prin ocuparea unui spaţiu; token strike/ grevă scurtă; walkout/ grevă neoficială; wildcat strike/ grevă spontană neautorizată; work-in/ grevă la locul de muncă; work-to-rule/ grevă cu incetinirea ritmului de lucru, dar cu respectarea strictă a regulamentului*. From a structural point of view, certain of these cases are mere illustrations of the mapping ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE (*walkout, sit-in, work-in*); others select vehicles like *bumper* "tampon", token "obiect simbolic" that allude to the mapping STRIKE IS AN OBJECT, or *irritation* "enervare, iritare" actualizing the mapping STRIKE IS AN ENTITY.

However, the relations between management and employees dispose of a varied metaphoric vocabulary, mostly pejorative and polemic. Thus, an open and relaxed management style allowing managers to take the decisions they deem fir is metaphorically described as *loose rein* "hăţuri slabe", possibly alluding to A COMPANY IS A CART/ MECHANISM, with the submappings THE MANAGER IS A CART-DRIVER, EMPLOYEES ARE HORSES; the demotion of management and the massive personnel redundancy in order to decrease costs is called a *shake-out* "scuturare, cutremur", a possible illustration of the mapping MARKET INVOLUTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER or SLIM IS UP; difficult, poorly-paid jobs become *stinkers* "lucruri urât mirositoare"; a workplace without proper working conditions where employees are

treated abusively is a *sweatshop* "transpirație, sudoare" + "atelier", mainly perspectivizing the negatively marked result of strenuous effort; an aggressive, dynamic leader, who stimulates and pushes his employees further is called a *thruster* "motor de propulsie automată", also observing the mechanistic view of economy or the corporation as a representation of economy on a smaller scale (pars pro toto). It is easily noticeable that these examples bring forward the argumentative function of metaphor, which selects from the plethora of semantic features only the representative one, transposing it into a striking image, more prone to being remembered by the speaker.

The same development inequality between the English and Romanian economic vocabulary is seen in the field of the stock exchange, where metaphor serves as a mechanism of maximum compression of complex information, which is often out of the reach of the uninitiated speaker. This is the area with the most cases of explanatory translation: the terms are for the most part monosyllabic (probably due to the tremendous rapidity of transactions specific to this line of work), overtly of Anglo-Saxon, not Latin origin (preventing possible associations to Latin terms which would be easier to transpose into their Romanian counterparts), with a multitude of metaphoric tones and undertones (more often than not pejorative or jocular, which are lost in almost all cases of Romanian translation). Here are a few cases in point:

-Shake-out "scuturare" = schimbare a bursei in direcție opusă celei prevăzute;

-straddle "incălecare, răscrăcărare" in general English; "oscilare" in American slang= operațiuni cu dublă opțiune (the metaphoric term only preserved the derivative, connotative meaning);

-spread "răspândire, intindere" = opțiune rezultată din diferența de preț la cumpărare și la vânzare (the

common element between the tenor and the vehicle is the spatial distance trasnposed in the abstract domain as difference or margin);

-strip "şipcă; fâşie, panglică" = opțiune triplă, una call şi două put;

-strap "baretă, curelușă, chingă" = opțiune triplă, una put şi două call;

-strangle « sugrumare" = operațiune cu dublă opțiune dar cu prețul la call mai mare.

These final three terms are so highly specialized that even their glosses contain untranslated items, as they are known to the specialists but completely opaque to the public, translatable in turn by a highly specialized paraphrase :

-Call= opțiune transferabilă cu dreptul de cumpărare la scadenţă a anumitor active ale vânzătorului la un preţ determinat; opțiune pentru cumpărarea de acţiuni, de devize sau alte valori intr-o perioadă determinată şi la un preţ fixat dinainte; corespunde unei prime tratate la bursa acţiunilor;

-Put= opțiune de a vinde/ transfera la o anumită dată marfă/ valută/ titluri, la un preţ de exercitare determinat; opţiunea de a vinde un activ la un anumit preţ de exerciţiu, la o anumită dată a exerciţiului sau anterior acestei date.

From the translator's point of view, the field of the stock exchange is definitely the most difficult one, posing numerous equivalence problems, which often leads to borrowing the original term and giving up on awkward, verbose paraphrases.

It is also interesting to notice that English has a wide range of slang names for money: *dosh, dough, readies, wherewithal*, which may recall the metaphoric mapping MONEY IS FOOD. In this respect Romanian slang is also rich, with instantiations like *biştari, verzişori, mălai*, etc.,

which may only partially be categorized as pertaining to this scheme. In addition, English slang also contains phrases referring to large amounts of money, such as *bar* = un milion de dolari, or *yard* = un miliard de dolari, with no Romanian counterparts.

Another important aspect is the propensity of English for describing metaphorically economic graphical representations, which is also inexistent in Romanian. As expected, since a graph is a visual metaphor in itself, the terms belonging to this category are very colourful, actualizing basic metaphoric mapping, as follows:

- Head and shoulders = reprezentare grafică a fluctuaţiei preţului acţiunilor, care conţine o valoare maximă (capul) intre două valori medii (umerii) – this particular metaphor is a perfect illustration of the embodiment hypothesis, which transposes the level difference in the stock exchange graphs in anthropomorphic terms, according to the metaphoric mapping GRAPH IS AN ENTITY;
- Pie chart= diagramă circulară, in care sectoarele se divid ca feliile unui tort – it brings forth another important aspect of human existence, viz. nourishment, actualizing the scheme GRAPH IS FOOD.

Theoretically, these metaphors are in fact projections of the initial metaphors (first degree metaphors) ECONOMY IS AN ENTITY and ECONOMY IS FOOD, the graph only being the concrete representation of economic phenomena.

In any case, all the terms describing the market evolution are part of the orientational mappings MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN: *boom, upsurge, upswing* describe ascending trends, while *crash, smash, slump, trough, depression* refer to decreasing trends, sometimes pushed to the extreme. Certain metaphors are borrowings, such as

boom (which also preserves the original pronunciation), others were slightly adapted, like *crash* (which became *crah*, whose distribution is strictly confined to the financial domain), or calques, such as *depression* (depresiune/ depresie, a clear reference to the typical ontological mapping ECONOMY IS A PATIENT).

In regard to the scheme MORE IS UP, both languages deal with its bipolar interpretation, thus leading, in addition to the obvious positive instantiations, to the negative connotations seen in *bloated prices/ prețuri umflate, whopping bill/ factură, notă de plată umflată, exagerată, inflation/ inflație, puffing/ reclamă exagerată, puffer/ ofertant fictiv.*

From the point of view of forming compounds and porte-manteau words, English seems much more prone to acronyms, such as *stagflation (stagnation+ inflation), slumpflation (slump+ inflation)*, etc., which are treated in various manners when adapted in Romanian. The so-called "transparent" terms, like *stagflation*, become calques (stagflație), as the components are easily recognizable and so transplantable in the target language; the terms with more opaque elements, like *slumpflation*, resort to the conventional foul-proof periphrastic translation (i.e. depresiune economică însoțită de inflație).

Special mention should be made of the terms taken over from the vocabulary of religion :
- the nominal metaphor angel (investitor care oferă capital de risc);
-the nominal metaphor emolument — approximately "binecuvântare" (remunerație, indemnizație, retribuție);
-the nominal metaphor savings "salvări, mântuiri" (economii);
-the compound act of God (force majeure/ forță majoră) which the language of contracts and insurance preferred to borrow from French;

-the loan goodwill— bunăvoință, approx. grație (divină), providență (suprabeneficiu; proprietate intangibilă/ imposibil de pus sub sechestru; cont de activ intangibil/ care nu poate fi blocat; vad comercial, amplasare favorabilă; reputație bună);
-the calque halo effect (efect halou—luarea deciziilor doar pe baza aspectelor favorabile, neglijându-le pe cele mai puțin favorabile);
-the verbal metaphor of religious extraction to redeem "a mântui" (a răscumpăra, a rambursa).

These cases in point are all based on the positive associations triggered by religion and everything pertaining to it in both cultures under comparison.

4.4. Conclusions

As a result of the contrastive analysis, it may be said that in general the fundamental conceptual metaphors operate in both English and Romanian, being actualized differently, as expected, according to the typical features of either language. As a rule, English seems to contain more terminological metaphors, especially in the field of the stock exchange, famous for its complexity, dynamism and propensity towards the figurative meaning of terms. Romanian, on the other hand, while trying to integrate into the international economic orientations and structures, is also attempting to upgrade and update its economic vocabulary, which proves to be quite a challenge and an arduous endeavour. In general ,the Romanian equivalents tend to paraphrase foreign terminology, with the express purpose of insuring message accuracy and clarity. However, loans are not a rare occurrence, with or without keeping the pronunciation of the source language, and so are structural or semantic calques.

From the point of view of cognitive theory, the most commonly used are ontological metaphors: MONEY IS A LIQUID; ECONOMY IS AN ENTITY — with the adjacent sub-structures ECONOMY IS A PATIENT, COMPETITION IS CONFLICT, which may be easily traced back to the fundamental economic lexicon. In comparison, the structure with the lowest number of actualisations in Romanian, including in point of translation, is ECONOMY IS A MECHANISM.

Also, orientational metaphors are equally well represented in both languages, which is to be expected in the economic field whose main focus lies on gathering wealth and increasing resources. So, MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN have approximately similar actualisations, including the cases of bipolar interpretation.

When the metaphor is centred on vehicles whose connotations are harder to grasp and interpret, such as colours or animal referents, it is virtually impossible to preserve the image in Romanian. In these cases the adopted strategy is paraphrasing, although the result may prove excessive in length and thus stylistically awkward in discourse.

The most notable differences between the two languages under consideration occur in the field of human resource management and labour conflict management, as they are obviously more developed and varied in English, having yielded a rich metaphoric terminology that Romanian has not yet adopted or replicated.

Similarly, metaphors describing the graphic representations of economic trends and phenomena, although extremely flavourful, do not have counterparts in Romanian.

From a structural point of view, English is much more adept at forming acronyms, many of the terms within these compounds being monosyllabic and thus entering

such combinations effortlessly. Romanian, on the other hand, does not enjoy the same ease in creating porte-manteau terminology, on account of syntactic restrictions, and the need to insert prepositions in almost all such cases.

It may therefore be concluded that there is a clear inequality in the development of metaphoric terminology: on the one hand, English is backed by a much richer tradition in the field of market economy , which resulted in creating and imposing the use of a much larger pool of specialized terms; on the other hand, Romanian is currently trying to adapt its economic vocabulary to the present-day phenomena, usually resorting to loans and calques. Metaphors, due to their imaginative character and the typically culturally specific nuances are usually downtoned, paraphrased or explicitated, thus losing much of their evocative power, but acquiring clarity and comprehensibility.

5. General conclusions

The present book aims at exploring the fundamental aspects in the tropology of the specialized economic discourse, which is becoming ever more important in Romanian society and worldwide, focusing on its metaphoric dimension as a distinctive feature, at the level of the surface structure, as well as the deep structure.

Theoretically speaking, the diversity of approaches and interpretations that the metaphor has been subject to as the most important figure of speech is rather an arduous task for the researcher; upon reviewing traditional theories (metaphor as substitution and implicit comparison), and contemporary visions (interaction, transfer of properties, conceptual conflict and speaker's "proposal" in pragmatics), the analysis goes on to examine metaphor from a cognitive perspective, fundamentally based on the American linguists

Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work. They are the first to completely discard the view on metaphor as a mere ornament, redefining it as a fundamental tool in organizing our entire conceptual system; metaphor goes on to become a mapping between the structure of a source model (concrete and familiar) and a target model (usually complex, abstract and in need of clarification).

There is also a brief presentation of the newer Blending Theory, which takes a step further and examines metaphor from a more integrated perspective, focusing on the cognitive operations resorted to by humans for combining/ blending words, images and ideas into a complex network of mental spaces in order to create new meanings out of the old.

These approaches provide the transition towards the epistemological function of metaphor, that subsequently becomes the predominant element in scientific discourse, apt to provide the cognitive coverage necessary for the comprehension and terminological settling of the new concepts. The economic field, seen in its wide acception of the study of the part of the global social system concerned with commercial trade, is an extremely complex subject, with its intrinsic symbolism and replete with descriptions of complex processes. Thus it proves to be a fertile ground for metaphoric terms, in both the theory-forming discourse, and the popularization discourse, as metaphoric projections are the most suitable for processing and communicating specialized information.

The theory-constitutive discourse proposes basic cultural models, under the form of cognitive schemes shared by an entire cultural community. Among these, the most important are those devised by: Adam Smith — who sees economy as a Newtonian mechanism and imposed the famous metaphor of the invisible hand of the market in the language of economics everywhere; Alfred Marshall — who

is the promoter of the Darwin-inspired biological vision and conceives economy in the terms of a living organism, especially a patient; John Maynard Keynes — who resorts to multiple neo-liberal metaphors, out of which the most representative seem to be economy as a gamble or a sport; Paul Mirowski and E.T.Jaynes — who render economy in physico-mathematical terms.

The mediation or popularization discourse is mainly aimed at reformulating technico-scientific discourses in mass-media, or so to speak spreading, popularizing and sometimes vulgarizing the cultural models proposed by the theory-forming discourse.

A discourse that has always been extremely intriguing, albeit marginal, but on an ascending path in the past decades, is the discourse of advertising, so multifaceted that it is hard to include in the previous categories; a combination of informativeness and persuasion, and overtly recipient-oriented, publicity is the best place for the interpretive openness provided by metaphor. From a cognitive point of view, the typology of metaphors in advertisements is extremely varied, including structural, ontological, orientational and control schemes.

From the point of view of the contrastive analysis of the metaphorical dimension of economic texts in English and Romanian, it is no surprise that the fundamental conceptual metaphors are identical, according to mappings such as ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM and MARKET INVOLUTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER, with multiple subordinated metaphorisation levels.

In relation to the translation of "economic metaphor", it should be remarked that the metaphoric image is often discarded, by paraphrasing or conversion to sense, although it is extremely clear that conceptual metaphors transgress the boundaries between languages and actualize similar cognitive mechanisms. The translator

has to bravely face multiple difficulties in finding the required equivalences due to the intrinsic differences between the two languages under study, the inherent cultural constraints, and last but not least the uneven economic development of the two realities represented by the two languages, and is therefore compelled to resort to a careful and detailed analysis of the context and the assistance of the economic specialist.

It is beyond doubt that Romanian cannot possibly escape the pervasive influence of economic terminology of English origin; specialized language abounds in loans and semantic or structural calques, mainly occasioned by the identity of the main conceptual schemes in the two languages analysed (especially ontological and orientational metaphors), which will probably continue to exert their influence on a global level and especially an emergent economy like ours, leading to an ever more internationalized character of Romanian terminology.

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