Languages for Specific Purposes –
from Theory to Practice

A CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH CENTRAL BANK REPORTS

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Abstract

The present research article is a cross-linguistic approach to economics discourse lexis, more exactly to the expression of business trends in Romanian and English. The analysis focuses on the use of conceptual metaphors in expressing increase and decrease of economic indicators such as price, GDP, unemployment, etc. and uses as corpus the Romanian and English Central Bank reports. Starting from Lakoff and Johnson's definition and Deignan, Gabrys and Solska's classification of conceptual metaphors, several types of such linguistic expressions are identified and compared. The findings of the research indicate that the metaphors used to express economic trends are largely the same between the two languages but differ in terms of frequency and lexical realisation. The study is intended to prove helpful to Romanian speaking economists reading and writing in English, as well as to translators and ESP students.
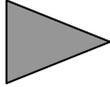
Introduction
Conceptual metaphor and cognitive semantics

The 7th and the 8th decades of the 20th century brought along an increase in the linguists' interest in figurative language, prompted by their efforts to find methods of describing the semantic structure of words. Thus, a new way of considering metaphor was initiated, surpassing the limits of the strictly linguistic approach and taking into account mental processes, as well as the influence of social and cultural stereotypes on language. Metaphor has been viewed as part of people's ordinary thought, of people's reason and imagination, of their perception and understanding of the world, as both a cognitive and a social semantic process.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) consider the process of metaphorization as being closely related to the presence of cognitive models existing in peoples' mind, such so called preconceptual "image-schemas" which structure our existence, of the type container – contained, up – down, foreword – backward, source – means – purpose, etc. These concrete images are used in conceptualizing abstract realities. The study of the two researchers leads to the conclusion that it is a common tendency among all types of discourse to render an abstract concept by means of a concrete one, or, in other words, the metaphor establishes a relation between two cognitive fields, usually "explaining" the abstract via the concrete. The examples they bring speak for themselves: in English, the abstract concept of argument is rendered linguistically by words and phrases belonging to the semantic field of war ("argument is war"): *to defend /to attack an argument, to win / lose an argument, to shoot holes in one's argument, to take aim at a premise;* or "argument is building" in *build the argument brick by brick, provide a scaffolding for our side,* etc. In Lakoff and Johnson's terminology, the abstract field in view is called target field, while the concrete one which describes the former is called source field. For example, coming back to the subject of our analysis, several metaphors such as the following could be met both in the English and the Romanian economics discourse: *economic growth, healthy economic growth, mature economy, weak financing, the recovery of the market* and *creştere economică, economie matură, supraîncălzire a pieţei, creştere economică sănătoasă, a revigora o cotaţie, finanţare tot mai slabă,* etc. In this case, the economy and economic phenomena like the market or financing are target fields conceptualized by means of a concrete source field: a living organism growing, suffering, having a certain age and physical properties such as temperature. Metaphor seen in this way is everywhere in our daily discourse and not only in highly figurative literary or poetic language (Ennis, 1997: 9). Much of it is so automatic and deeply rooted that it has become lexicalized and we do not even notice it is there: for example when we talk of *inflation, liquidities*

or *economic growth*, terms and phrases which due their current use to conceptual metaphors.
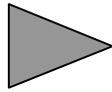
Linguistic level vs. conceptual level

Metaphor has increasingly been seen as an essentially cognitive rather than purely linguistic phenomenon. Many writers now – including Deignan, Gabrys si Solska (1997) – have extended the line of investigation initiated by Lakoff and Johnson, starting from a clear-cut distinction between the conceptual level of a metaphor (the way in which a certain reality is conceptualised on a cognitive level) and the linguistic realisation of the metaphor (lexical expression). For instance, the phenomenon of increase of certain economic indices could be rendered lexically by such words or phrases as: *to grow, to recover, to climb, to reach a peak, to go up, to improve, to surge, to hike,* etc., lexical or surface realisations of conceptual metaphors as connections between two semantic areas: that of economy and the other – a more concrete one –in turn, that of a living organism increasing its sizes (*to grow*) or starting to feel better after a period of illness (*to recover*), or increasing in prices, for example, is a movement upwards on a mountain slope (*to climb, to reach a peak*), a crowd of people moving quickly forwards (*to surge),* or somebody taking a long walk *(to hike)* and so on.

A comparative analysis of the use of conceptual metaphors in several different languages is more susceptible of highlighting the difference between the cognitive and the linguistic levels of metaphors. Deignan, Gabrys si Solska (1997) point out that although all languages make use of metaphors, neither conceptual metaphors nor their linguistic renderings will necessarily be the same across languages. In a cross linguistic analysis of metaphor in English and Polish, the three linguists establish a classification of several cases of metaphor matching.

1. Same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression, or the literal "translation" of the linguistic expression would result in an L2 metaphor describing the same concrete reality. This case can be illustrated in English and Romanian by such examples as: *in the light of (what has been said)* vs. *în lumina (celor spuse), to bite one's tongue* vs. *a-şi muşca limba* or, in economic discourse, *economic growth* vs. *creştere economică*; *weak currency* vs. *monedă slabă*; *a wave of (takeovers)* vs. *un val de (scumpiri /creşteri /optimism), jucător pe piaţă* vs. *player on market, etc.*

2. Same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression. For instance *to stretch one's legs according to the coverlet* vs. *a nu se întinde mai mult decât îi e plapuma,* and in economic discourse, *a robust growth* vs. *o creştere viguroasă, to tumble (global stock market tumbled yesterday)* vs. *a se duce la vale*

(leul se duce la vale), to knock down (the crisis knocked down the private sector) vs. *a încasa o trântă (dolarul a încasat o trântă serioasă).*

3. Different conceptual metaphors and, consequently, different linguistic expression: *be crystal-clear* vs. *a fi limpede ca lumina zilei, to beat about the bush* vs. *a bate câmpii,* and, in news reports on economic issues, *to wind up (a bankrupt company)* vs. *a lichida (o companie falimentară), a massive decrease vs. o scădere în bloc, to save money vs. a pune bani deoparte,* etc.

4. Words and phrases with similar literal meaning but different metaphorical meanings. A good example for this case, which actually is less frequent than the previous ones, would be the "pair" *to hit – a lovi*. Although in both languages the words have the same literal meaning: "to move quickly onto an object or surface, touching it with force", there are differences in their metaphorical use. More concretely, the use of *to hit* in English with the meaning of "to reach, to get as high as a particular level" as in *bullion hit an intraday high of $738.30 an ounce* compared to *a lovi* use in Romanian with the meaning 'to affect, to cause damage' as in *investitorii se tem că în SUA vor fi lovite şi alte instituţii financiare.*

To these four cases, Ennis (1998) adds a fifth one:

5. L1 metaphorical expression rendered non metaphorically in L2 and vice versa or, in other words, conceptual metaphor in one language and absence of metaphor in the other one corresponding to one and the same target field: *jam (traffic jam, paper jam)* vs. *blocaj; loaded* as in *loaded question* vs. *subtil, insidios; to rocket (prices, value of shares)* vs. *a creşte brusc*; *to plummet (prices, value of shares)* vs. a scădea brusc/puternic.
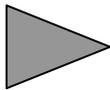
Corpus and methodology

This article makes a comparative linguistic approach of the economic discourse, more concretely a lexical analysis having in focus the Romanian and English forms of this technical discourse. The study aims to analyse the extent to which the use of conceptual metaphors – in Lakoff and Johnson's perspective (1980) – as well as the lexical resources employed in order to render economic phenomena by means of metaphors differ among the two languages in question. The analysis focuses on the expression of economic trends, of the increase and decrease on stock exchange and financial markets.

Due to the space restriction to which we have to limit our study, the research takes into account only one discourse genre, namely, the quarterly reports on inflation released by the Monetary Committee of The Bank of England, on the one hand, and the one issued by The Romanian National Bank, on the other hand, downloaded from the web sites of the two Central Banks, released on November, 2007. While the English report refers mainly to the international financial crisis, describing its consequences on the British economy, in the Romanian one the

theme is equalled in importance by the effects of the summer drought on economy. It should be mentioned that the American subprime credit crisis has had a great impact on global economy, but at that moment, the Romanian financial market did not witness dramatic consequences as it was the case, for example, of the closing of mortgage lending funds which caused panic among the British population. The effects of the crisis on the Romanian economy were rather indirect, a result of their association to other various circumstances, and, moreover, they were revealed later.

The steps taken in the analysis started with the identification of the main conceptual metaphor categories expressing economic phenomena followed by the grouping of the lexical expressions accordingly. At first, a statistical analysis of frequency of use was applied to the data, and next a comparative study of cross-linguistic metaphor matching in terms of linguistic expression and concept. The results revealed small differences with respect to the former criterion and more important ones regarding the types of metaphors found. The fact that both inflation reports were obtained in electronic form (pdf. format) enabled great part of the data collecting stage to be realized by the computer. The analytical procedure relied on the option "search" of the Adobe reader program which identified all instances of a certain word or word root in the text, in terms of number and context of occurrence. All the percentages mentioned represent the number of occurrences reported to the total number of metaphors of the corpus in focus. The results of the analysis are presented in tables 1 and 2 below.

I feel obliged to mention that the present paper is part of a larger investigation project[1] which compares the use of conceptual metaphors among two main discourse genres: the monthly bulletin of the National Banks of the respective countries and news reports of financial newspapers. The results of the analysis lead to the conclusion that the most important differences regard the types of metaphors used, as the Central Bank report discourse uses a more cultivated style relying on accuracy, while the newspaper report discourse counts on a more expressive, vivid, stirring style, on informal phrases.

The discourse community (Swales, 1990) which produces and which, at the same time is addressed by the Central Bank report is made up of academic experts in the field of economics: professors, researchers and students; people responsible with taking decisions in government institutions and departments; banking system managers; stock exchange dealers; managers and personnel of companies' financial departments; international institutions in the area (IMF, World Bank, etc.) and foreign investors, etc. Their common set of public goals, in Swales' terminology, would be that of providing and receiving detailed and accurate information on economic phenomena; of creating and relying on an economic official data basis

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[1] Pecican, A.2007. "A cross-linguistic analysis of conceptual metaphors in Romanian and English financial news reports" in Limbi. Culturi şi Civilizaţii Europene în Contact, 4th Symposium Volume, Târgovişte : University of Targovişte PH.

that enables the development of appropriate economic strategies and policies; of stimulating research in certain directions; etc. Thus, the communicative purpose (Swales, 1990) of the genre "central bank report" is to provide accurate information on the national economic setting over a certain period of time.
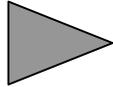
Description and analysis of results

Table 1: Metaphor use in the *Report on Inflation* of the Bank of England, Nov. 2007, (approx. 25,000 words) – 1480 occurrences (6.03%)
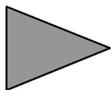
Conceptual metaphor (1)	Conceptual metaphor (2) Subcategory	Lexical expression
1.Economy as a living organism 48.42%	1. Health/medicine 68.09%	To grow (281), to deteriorate (4), to weather (2), to recover (15), vulnerable (3), strong, strength (36), weak, weakness, weaken (40), to pick up, a pickup (26), to affect (35), robust (11), firm (4), to support (15), to prompt (3), to underpin (2), sensitive to (4), tough (1), immune(1), exposed (1), to respond to (2)
	2. Conflict/ violence 12.56%	subdued (14), target (28), threat (2), to cut (5), sharp, sharply (29), muted (6), first-round, to deter from, divergence, to impair, severe, retrenchment, to pare back, shielded,
	3.Burden 8.02%	To ease (17), to push (push up, push down, push down on, push smb. into) (7), pull down (2), to weigh on (4), to relieve, to bear down on (3), to constrain (5), to unwind (5), heavy/heavily (3), pressure (54)
	4.Movement 6.07%	to settle around a value/level/etc. (3), to move, movement (28), to return to a value, pace of growth (8), lagged, be/remain close to (4)
	6.Quality 3.17%	to improve (4), to worsen (2), modest (9), moderate (8),
	7.Competition/ game 1.51%	record (1), offset (10), first-round
	8.Psychological mood 1.38%	upbeat, positive (2), to falter (2), concerns on the market, sluggish (2), slack (2)

Conceptual metaphor (1)	Conceptual metaphor (2) Subcategory		Lexical expression
	9.Others 0.69%	Possession	loss (3)
		Food	To swallow
		Temperature	To cool
2. Movement up and down 37.25%	1. Mountainside 73.96%		to fall, to fall back, a fall (72), to rise, a rise (86),to decline, a decline (22), path (20), peak (7), high (54), low (25), downside (14), upside (13), to edge high/down (2), above (29), down (19), up (8), below (19), downward (8), upward (7), to run down (2), steep (2), to keep on track, turn down (1), to drop
	2. Size 17.95%		Tight, to tighten (62); loose, to loosen (6), small (6), narrow (6), great/greater (11), to expand to (2), shortage, big, to wane; wide, to widen (5)
	3. Water / sea 7.36%		To buoy (5), deep, to dampen, turbulence (28), spillover (4), flows, inflows
	4.Flying / air 0.71%		To boost/a boost (4)
3. Economy as a vehicle 8.29%	Speed 51.61%		To slow (27), rapid / rapidly (12), fast (4), break, accelerated (2), accelerator (1), slowdown (17)
	Mechanism 48.39%		Impact (54), momentum (2), to amplify(5), to recede (2), contraction (2), compression (2), to rebound (3), resilient, resilience (8)
4. Disaster 1.27%			turmoil (3), shock (5), magnitude (2), distorted, breakdown, collapse (2), fallout (3)
5. Others 1.53%	Sensorial perception		to smooth (2), softening (*a ~ in house prices*)
			hoarding (3), to wear off, solid ~ *pace of growth*, to limit (14)

Table 2: Metaphor use in Romanian, *Raport asupra Inflaţiei*, BNR, Nov. 2007
(approx. 27,500 words) – 1145 occurrences (4.16%)

Conceptual metaphor (1)	Conceptual metaphor (2) Subcategory	Lexical expression
1. Economy as a living organism 51.44%	1. Health /medicine 54.49%	puternic, ă – 18; slab, slăbire, a slăbi – 8; a suferi – 9 relaxare – 4, a afecta – 12, deteriorare – 12 , a resimţi – 5 revigorare – 2, sensibil la – 2, robust,ă – 1, a creşte – 234, a potenţa - 14
	movement 13.58%	traiectorie – 32, dinamizare – 6, a depăşi -15, mişcare – 13, salt – 1, abatere – 13
	psychological state 10.86%	prudenţă, tensiune – 6, nesatisfăcătoare, detensionare, schimbare de sentiment, temeri, optimism, inhibare, constrângere, temperare – 5, moderare, apreciere, a se aprecia – 32, a stimula, stimulent – 12
	possession 5.43%	câştiguri – 10, a câştiga 1, pierdere /i – 10, a pierde– 1; a deţine - 10
	Quality 4.07%	înrăutăţire – 14, a se îmbunătăţi – 2, ameliorare – 2, modest, ă – 6, sever, a
	4. burden 3.9%	uşor, oară – 18, lax, ă – 5
	6. conflict / violence 2.54%	advers, ă – 3, ţinta – 6, a anihila, sever, ă – 4
	5. food 2.03%	a alimenta – 12
	7. competition 1.86%	a devansa – 3, avans de ritm, a surclasa, record – 6
	Temperature 0.67%	reinflamare – 4
2. Movement up or down 21.92%	1.mountainside 65.33%	pantă, înalt, ă – 6, abrupt – 2, a urca – 12, a coborî – 9, a glisa – 2, declin – 6, vârf – 2, ascensiune – 2, ascendent (adj.)- 23, descendent – 13, a se ridica, ridicat, a – 41, a se plasa <u>sub</u> o valoare – 2, cu x % <u>peste</u> …/ medie/nivelul de… - 36, deasupra -7
	2. size 26.7%	a se restrânge, restrângere – 18, extindere – 13, expansiune – 3, lărgire – 2, a mări, mare – 22, mică – 9
	4. water /sea 7.17%	adâncire – 4, ancorare – 4, drenare, a eroda– 2, turbulenţe – 7
	3. threshold 0.8%	aplatizare, plafonare
3. Economy as a vehicle 19.73%	1.Speed 51.32%	alert,ă – 12, rapid,ă – 13, a accelera, accelerare – 34, viteză – 8 a decelera, decelerare – 16, a încetini – 12, frânare – 2, lent – 2, pierderi de ritm, intensificare a ritmului – 16

| Conceptual metaphor (1)	Conceptual metaphor (2) Subcategory	Lexical expression
	2.Mechanism 48.67%	impact – 45, recul – 2, a amplifica – 23, amplitudine – 11, resort – 3; impuls, a impulsiona – 5 propagare, a se propaga – 7, factor motor, motorul creşterii – 2 a induce (a cauza) – 1, tensiune, detensionare, decuplare 2, reverberaţie, a stopa, stopare – 6, comprimare
3. Disaster 3.49%		şoc - 36, magnitudine 4
5. Others 5.15%	Building 40.67%	a întări, întărire – 7, a consolida, ~are – 17
	Sensorial perception 6.77%	înăsprire (a condiţiilor de creditare) – 2, estompat – 2
	52.54%	accentuare, a se accentua – 20 determinant (adj., n.) – 11

Frequency of conceptual metaphors use

The first striking difference regarding the use of conceptual metaphors in the two languages in focus is the higher predominance of metaphors in the English report as compared to the Romanian one. The difference – almost a 2% - is comparable to the percentages of the total number of metaphors in each text and reflects itself in the preference of English for source fields such as health/medicine, violence and conflict, movement up or down as opposed to Romanian. To a lower extent, but more than its English counterpart, the Romanian report is richer in terms which originally express psychological state, movement, physical mechanism and disaster.

The distribution of the larger categories of conceptual metaphors in each discourse is roughly similar, namely, in both reports on inflation the majority of metaphors present the economy as a living organism. A comparable quantity of the terms and phrases used picture economy either as a vehicle and, respectively, as related to disaster. However, a notable difference between the two reports is the much higher frequency of terms expressing movement up or down along an axis in the English one as opposed to its Romanian counterpart. On the other hand, the Romanian text shows a greater preference for more cultivated terms coming from Physics which refer to the economy as to a mechanism or a vehicle.

From a different perspective, in the Romanian report there are a higher percentage of non metaphorical terms as compared to the English one. Data gathering indicated that, in English, the dynamics of economic indicators is expressed non metaphorically by such lexemes as *to increase, elevated* (only as an adjective)*, to reduce, to depreciate, to decrease, to diminish* etc. and their derivates with a frequency of 9.7% of all terms and phrases expressing increase or decrease.

On the other hand, in the Romanian bulletin these economic phenomena are expressed through the literal meanings of such terms as: *a(se) majora, a spori, excedent, a reduce, a scădea, a înregistra o scădere* etc. and their derivates totalling a frequency of 30.21% of all terms and phrases expressing increase or decrease of economic indicators. The 20% difference is quite relevant and can very well account for the fewer number of metaphors in the Romanian text.
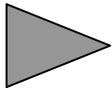
Lexis and register

Before analysing the types of metaphors present in the two texts in focus several matters should be specified on the nature of the lexis as a whole.

Both the English and the Romanian bulletins abound in terms common to a formal register: (Engl.) *to impair muted, to deter from, to falter*; (Rom.) *a glisa, aplatizare, a degreva*, etc. A number of the formal lexical resources are borrowings from French: (Engl.) *retrenchment*, (Rom.) *a surclasa, a glisa, a degreva*. Others are taken from the lexicon specific to scientific fields such as Physics: (Engl.) *momentum, to recede, impact*; (Rom.) *impact, recul, factor motor, decuplare, a amplifica,* etc. Conceptual metaphors having as source terms related to the interactions between forces, to mechanisms, are not rare in describing economic phenomena, especially for reasons of simplifying too complex or abstract phenomena. According to Ennis (1997:14), these metaphors have been used ever since the 19th century, being taken over from Newtonian mechanical physics which was viewed as a standard against which the "scientific-ness" of other disciplines was judged, and, used mainly for "theoretical purposes".
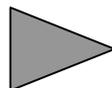
Types of conceptual metaphor matching

In terms of the classification provided by Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997), the overall comparison of the two central banks' reports suggests the overwhelming presence of Type 1 metaphors, same conceptual metaphors and equivalent linguistic expression: *a deterioration in income* vs. *deteriorarea costurilor unitare*; *an acceleration of growth in emerging Asia* vs. *o accelerare a creşterii*

cheltuielilor bugetare; *oil prices have reached a new peak* vs. *valoarea sa atingând vârful ultimelor trei luni*; *data suggest only modest growth in Q3* or *a modest but steady increase in sterling import prices* vs. *efortul în direcţia retehnologizării a înregistrat o creştere modestă*; *the international financial market turbulence* vs. *turbulenţele de pe pieţele financiare internaţionale* (in this case in particular, it is worth mentioning that Romanian prefers the plural form of the term. There is however a context of occurrence with the singular form – *turbulenţa declanşată pe pieţele financiare internaţionale* – which could be viewed as a sign of the influence of the English language on Romanian in describing the respective economic phenomenon).

Besides Type 1, other types of metaphors can be met. More concretely, the combination Type 2 (same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression), Type 5 (metaphorical expression rendered non-metaphorically) is second in frequency after the category mentioned previously. The term combination refers to the fact that to a lexical item from one language could correspond two or three lexical items from the other language, each of the latter being a different type of metaphor.

For instance, the improvement of an economic process after a period of stagnation or regress is expressed, among other terms, through the intransitive phrasal verb ***to pick up*** (*private sector employment growth has picked up after its weakness earlier in the year*) or the noun ***pickup*** (*the pickup in oil prices*). The words originally mean "get healthier/better, recover", so the metaphor relies on the concept of economy seen as a living organism. The corresponding Romanian term would be, on the one hand, *a reveni la (dinamica anuală a productivităţii muncii **a revenit la niveluri substanţiale**, după reducerea din luna aprilie), a se reînscrie pe un trend ascendant*, etc. ***(revenirea pe un trend crescător** a cursului de schimb al leului produsă în contextul turbulenţelor manifestate pe pieţele internaţionale),* which implies a Type 5 matching. On the other hand, another Romanian variant would be the noun *revigorare,* also encountered in the present corpus: *puternica **revigorare** a cererii de produse alimentare; Revigorarea creditării s-a datorat însă aproape în exclusivitate dinamizării creditelor pentru locuinţe,* which represents a Type 2 matching, the Romanian term also being a metaphor referring to economy as to a living organism, more concretely to its state of health.

Furthermore, the so often met verb ***to fall*** (56 occurrences*: industrial production fell in September, sales of new houses have fallen to around their lowest levels*) does not have a Type 1 corresponding metaphor in Romanian, the verb *a cădea* is not present within the frame of this text corpus. In exchange, the best matching words were found to be ***a scădea*** which also fits *to fall* on account of its large frequency (*ratele dobânzilor titlurilor de stat au scăzut aproape continuu pe parcursul trimestrului III, Vânzările nete de devize ale nerezidenţilor au scăzut la aproximativ o treime din nivelul lunii precedente*), and ***a coborî*** *(la) (rata*

şomajului înregistrat a coborât până la 3,9%, Dinamica anuală a preţurilor producţiei agricole a coborât în trimestrul II 2007 până la 0,65 la sută). Again, the types of metaphor matching are the second one, in the case of *to fall – a coborî* (same conceptual metaphor, downwards movement on a mountainside, different lexical form) and the fifth one for *to fall – a scădea* (metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical).

In the case of the adjective **firm** mostly met in the phrases *to remain firm, a firm growth* (*household and business spending have so far remained firm*), there are at least two Romanian counterparts: **constant** */ a se menţine constant* (*rata anuală de creştere a creditelor pentru consum s-a menţinut relativ constantă*) – a Type 5 matching, as the latter is not a conceptual metaphor – and **stabil** */ a se menţine stabil* (*ratele medii ale dobânzilor la creditele noi în monedă naţională s-au menţinut relativ stabile*). The literal meaning of both *firm* and *stabil* refers to concrete properties of bodies, that of being in a fixed position and not likely to move, as well as, in the case of the former, consistency. The identity of source field but the difference in linguistic expression makes of this case a Type 2 matching.

Another interesting case is that of the adjective **muted** whose literal meaning refers to sounds, to their state of being not as loud as usual. In the economics discourse it is to be found in contexts as the following: *the juxtaposition of strong capacity pressures and muted wage growth; Despite a recovery in employment growth, pay growth had remained muted.; the direct impact on GDP growth from a slowdown in the financial sector is likely to be relatively muted under current ONS methodology*. The best matching term in Romanian would be the adjective **discret, ă**, an adjective related to personality traits or people's behaviour, which is a Type 3 metaphor matching.

Another Type 3 metaphor appears if we consider as starting point the Romanian language, namely the pair **a se restrânge** (*restrângerii autoconsumului pe fondul slabei performanţe agricole; creşterii riscurilor datorită unei uşoare sporiri a cheltuielilor coroborate cu restrângere a încasărilor*) – **to fall** (*consumption growth falls below its average of the past decade, dwellings investment falls*). The former is based on the concept of decreasing in size while the latter is a moving downwards on a mountainside metaphor.

The pairs **loose**, *loosening –* **tight**, *tightening,* mostly present in contexts as *looser labour market conditions, a loosening in credit conditions* and *tighter credit terms/conditions; a tightening in credit conditions,* have a Type 3 matching in Romanian. These metaphors rely on a physical property of bodies – that of (not) being fixed against a body. However, in Romanian, they are paralleled by others referring to psychological state, *relaxare* (*ca efect al relaxării temporare a condiţiilor lichidităţii*), or to sensorial perception, *înăsprire a condiţiilor de creditare*.

An interesting case of Type 5 metaphor correspondence is the English term *spillover,* meaning "an effect that spreads more than people intended or expected" matched in Romanian by *efect*, according to the corpus analysed, or by a technical term *externalităţi,* not found in the text in focus but confirmed by other sources. Both *spillover* and *efect* were found in similar contexts (*potential spillovers from the US housing slowdown; But indirect effects from spillovers to closely related sectors could amplify any first-round impact. Vs. ca urmare a declanşării crizei de pe piaţa creditelor ipotecare din SUA şi a propagării efectelor acesteia pe pieţele financiare internaţionale;*), but while English uses a very plastic metaphor – that of too much water getting out of its container – the Romanian language describes the economic phenomenon rather plainly using a non-metaphorical term, also used by English, but not covering the whole meaning transmitted by the metaphorical one.

A frequent Type 5 matching would be very much justified mainly by the higher number of conceptual metaphors used to describe economic processes in English than in Romanian, which relies more on non-metaphorical lexis.
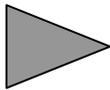
Conclusions

The present study is a cognitive and lexical approach to economic discourse, aiming to investigate the extent to which conceptual metaphors used in English and Romanian Central Bank reports differ or are similar in terms of frequency of use, on the one hand, and with regard to the relation concept – lexical expression, on the other hand.

The statistical analysis led to the conclusion that the English discourse makes use of a higher number of conceptual metaphors as opposed to the Romanian one, which presents a wider use of non- metaphorical terms and phrases. Although, the categories of conceptual metaphors are roughly the same in both languages, in the English report conflict related metaphors are more recurrent than in the Romanian one. The latter shows a greater preference for such categories as health or medicine possession and vehicle metaphors, and in both discourses dominate metaphors which conceptualize economy as a living organism, followed by those related to movement on a vertical axis, upwards or downwards.

With regard to types of metaphor matching across the two languages, the most frequent one is that of equivalence both in terms of concept and linguistic expression (type 1), but, at the same time, each language uses its own resources to express metaphorically a certain economic phenomena, which reflects in the high presence of type 2 matching – identity of concept but difference in linguistic expression and, to a less extent, that of type 3 – disparity in terms of concept and

linguistic expression. The matching metaphorical expression vs. non-metaphorical (type 5) is also frequent and relies mainly on the difference of frequency of metaphor use between the two languages. In other words, the metaphorical term more than often belongs to English and its counterpart in Romanian is a non-metaphorical one.

All in all, the findings of the present study are meant to prove helpful to Romanian speaking economists reading and writing in English, as well as to translators and ESP students who need to take into account both the similarities and the differences in metaphor use across the two languages in order to deal properly with the economic discourse.

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