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PREFACE

The present book is a collection of papers presented on the occasion of the Kick-off meeting of the CNCS-UEFISCDI project *Universals and variants of English and Romanian business metaphors. A corpus-based conceptual mapping of contemporary journalese*, UVaBuMet, Code: PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-2785, 2015 – 2017. The workshop was held in Alba Iulia, during 23-24 November 2015, at “1 Decembrie 1918” University of Alba Iulia.

Few large-scale contrastive analyses are available for figurative language in Romanian and English, and even less for the business genre, especially the business journalese. Romanian journalese was tackled by Zafiu (2001), who offered a rather critical and deprecating view on the use of metaphors in Romanian journalese, especially after 1989. According to her, there is a correspondence between the pretence of thematic ennobling (which is denied to a certain extent by the very democratising of phonemic transcription of lexical loans) and the adorning and extravagant metaphor (Zafiu 2001: 53).

A further exploration into the intrinsic relationship between language and culture cannot be but beneficial to the linguistic and intercultural training of students and professionals, especially in the business communication field, as well as for teachers of English and Romanian who can better contribute to an enhanced understanding of otherness, so necessary in the nowadays troubled political and religious war arenas.

The book is a collection of 12 contributions by teachers and researchers from Romania, Serbia and Poland and is organised into three main chapters, which address the issues of metaphors in the business language, as well as in literature, social media and historical writings translations.

Chapter One, *Universals and variants of English and Romanian business metaphors. A corpus-based conceptual mapping of contemporary journalese*, presents a comprehensive description of the research project, as well as the preliminary results of the team members, such as conceptual metaphors under the categories of time and money, building the repository of metaphors and pedagogical applications of the project.

The first paper in the series, *Business Metaphors Explained* gives a thorough insight into the history of the project concept, its objectives, methodology and expected results.

The second contribution, *A Corpus-analysis of TIME Metaphors in British and Romanian Business Press*, presents the project manager's personal view on the conceptualization of time in English and Romanian, as found in the contemporary business press. The underlying tenet of the whole project is that metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix, and that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections. Similarities and differences were identified in the conceptualisation of time, and examples were amply provided from the two self-made corpora, which were created for the purposes of the afore-mentioned project.

A Corpus-based Approach to MONEY Metaphors in Business English by Crina Herteg tackles the issues of money metaphors in business English from a corpus perspective. The approach adopted by the author lends itself to an extended analysis and investigation with the aim of identifying and comparing conceptual metaphors. Corpus linguistics is perceived, however, as a complementary approach to more traditional methods of metaphor investigation. The conclusions revealed that there exists a strong interaction between Source Domain and Target Domain.

Giacomo Ferrari's paper, *Computational Approaches to the Building of a Repository of Metaphors*, deals with the more technical, computational aspects of the project. The author presents the main stages in building a repository of linguistic samples, and details the various existing lexical databases, e.g. WordNet, MetaNet, etc. A useful review of the various computational resources and tools that helps towards metaphor identification and structuring is also provided.

The last contribution in the chapter is *Metaphors of Teaching or Teaching Metaphors*, which focuses on the educational side of the projects and offers some pertinent findings with regard to teacher trainees' metaphorical conceptualizations of the teacher and the teaching profession. The metaphors expressed by the students were clustered in conceptual categories that help us better understand the expectations and deeply-engrained pre-conceptions that future students hold of the teaching profession. Moreover, the paper presents samples of pedagogical instrument, various exercises aimed at the training of metaphors, which will be made available on the project site.

The second chapter "*Metaphorical approaches from other cultural spaces*" is made up of two contributions by teachers and researchers from Serbia and Poland.

Concepts of Happiness and Money in English, Serbian and Romanian Language: Common metaphorical expressions and proverbs deals with conceptualisations of happiness and money from the perspective of Natural Semantic Metalanguage. The paper discusses differences and similarities between the three languages with a focus on common metaphorical expressions and proverbs. The results of the investigation revealed that there exist more similar metaphors conceptualizing happiness and money than differences between the languages under scrutiny.

The second contribution, *Business Communication and Teaching Business English: The improvement of communicative skills via the application of metaphors* by Marlena Bielak brings to light a different metaphorical space, that of the Polish culture, which strives to find its own rightful place in front of the English language hegemony. The author advocates the introduction of the concept of the transcommunicator also into the domain of teaching and learning English for Specific Purposes, more specifically, Business English. The idea advanced by Bielak is that the use of metaphors in Business English pedagogy can contribute, among others, to the improvement of students' communicative skills, and moreover, to the enhancement of the communicative identity of the Polish high school classroom.

The third chapter, *Metaphors from an interdisciplinary standpoint*, brings together four studies that focus on interidisciplinary aspects related to metaphor analysis.

Rodica Chira's contribution, *On Economic Intelligence and Its Connection with Interculturality and Interdisciplinarity through Benjamin Pelletier* brings a novel vision on the relationship between hard sciences and humanities, seen from the perspective of economic intelligence. The analysis is performed on two major sources. i.e. the novel *À travers sables* and the personal blog on the management of intercultural risks. Benjamin Pelletier himself is the embodiment of the fortunate mingling between hard sciences, with their analytic side and humanities, with their synthetic characteristics.

Conceptual Metaphor and Its Usage in Pavel Dan's Writings brings forth a pertinent analysis of conceptual metaphors found in the writings of Pavel Dan, a Transylvanian writer, namely "fear is cold" and "affection is warm", which appear to be the most representative ones for his novels. The findings reveal that expressions within the concepts of cold, fear (that something bad might happen) are predominant in the texts analysed, whereas warmth and light are far less numerous, and generally, are created by the heroes' need for evasion. The author goes further in her

investigation and states that Pavel Dan lent a personal tragic vein to the Transylvanian space, as he revealed only one facet of his heroes' feelings and emotions, that of hopelessness and broken wings.

The paper *Metaphors, Analogical Reasoning and Children's Understanding of Science Concepts* addresses the role of conceptual metaphors in understanding the physical environment in the case of the pre-school children. The author advocates the use of metaphors in teaching sciences to young children, as these can help children conceptualise individual experience into abstract notions, and they also favour the development of critical reflection, facilitating learning by discovery, as well as mental visualisation of the source domain and in-depth exploration of the target domain.

The next paper, titled *Why some metaphors don't cross the language barrier: a relevance-theoretic approach* focuses on the issue of metaphor translation from a relevance-theoretical perspective. The investigation draws on examples extracted from an 18th century Latin-to-English translation. Monica Vasileanu undertakes to explain why certain metaphors are translated in an almost word-for-word manner, while others are equated with literal expressions. The analysis has led to the conclusion that innovative metaphors cross the language barrier in an almost word-for-word form, while conventionalized metaphors tend to be demetaphorized in translation. The former tendency seems to reveal that the translator has made an effort to preserve the possible cognitive effects of the source text without putting his audience under more processing strain.

The last contribution, '*Finanial Risk*' in Translation tackles the risks associated with translation of business terminology, from English into Romanian, especially found in business journalese. Examples are provided in order to illustrate the idea of financial risk in translation, as well as a strategy that the author considers helpful in diminishing the aforementioned risk.

To conclude with, the present book is an incipient result of research into metaphors seen contrastively in the English and Romanian languages, in particular the business journalese, as well as practical applications related to the pedagogy of metaphors and to other domains, such as literature, social media, translation of historical writings or Anglicisms opens new vistas for interdisciplinary research.

ABBREVIATIONS

AF (Adevărul Financiar)	OSINT (Open Source Intelligence)
AV (Adevărul)	POS (Part of Speech)
BC (Brown Corpus)	RACAI (Romanian Academy – The Institute for Research on Artificial Intelligence “Mihai Drăgănescu”)
BM (Business Magazin)	SD (Source Domain)
BNC (British National Corpus)	SF (Săptămâna Financiară)
CA (Capital)	SL (Source Language)
CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis)	TD (Target Domain)
CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning)	TE (The Telegraph)
CMT (Conceptual Metaphor Theory)	TL (Target Language)
CNCS (National Council of Scientific Research, Romania)	UEFISCDI (Executive Agency for Financing Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation, Romania)
EAP (English for Academic Purposes)	UVaBuMet (Universals and Variants of Business Metaphors. A corpus-based conceptual mapping of contemporary journalese Project)
EC (The Economist)	
EFL (English as a Foreign Language)	
ESL (English as a Second Language)	
ESP (English for Specific Purposes)	
EST (English for Science and Technology)	
GA (Gândul)	
GRI (Gestion des Risques Interculturels)	
IC (Intelligence Community)	
LSP (Language for Specific Purposes)	
MML (Master Metaphor List)	
NLP (Natural Language Processing)	
NSM (Natural Semantic Metalanguage)	

CHAPTER I:

UNIVERSALS AND VARIANTS OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN BUSINESS METAPHORS. A CORPUS-BASED CONCEPTUAL MAPPING OF CONTEMPORARY JOURNALESE

BUSINESS METAPHORS EXPLAINED

TEODORA POPESCU

1 Introduction

Business metaphors explained ... or how it all started. The whole idea of the current project took shape about four years ago, as a result of the numerous studies and sustained research on the nature of the business language carried out by the project manager. The project is based on the hypothesis that cognitive metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix, and that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections.

2009 saw the publication of the third edition of the remarkably unrivalled dictionary in Romanian lexicography - *Dictionary of Business Collocations. With Romanian translation and practice section*, the outcome of 10-year research endeavours in the field of business language. Collocations, i.e. “words that typically occur in association with other words” (Popescu 2007: 163), are the core of word knowledge, collocationally competent students are far more communicatively competent. The selection of collocations was based on the criterion of frequency of occurrence of lexical combinations in the authentic data used: *The British National Corpus* (BNC), *The Brown Corpus* (BC), a self-made research corpus of articles from *The Economist* (2005-2008), existing dictionaries of collocations, as well as well-established company sites, all these documenting the actual collocability of words in wide-ranging domains of modern business. The *core part* of the dictionary consists of 1,228 headwords and approximately 68,000 word partnerships with their core general meanings and business-specific ones. This 3rd edition has the added value of a *practice section*, made up of different types of exercises which take the learner from working with isolated word combinations to working with texts. Primarily, the dictionary reflects the authors’ sensitivity to the learners’ need for clarity, conciseness and logic

in the selection, format and presentation of information. Second, its accessibility, practicality, learner-centredness, and learner friendliness make it a valuable learning/teaching resource suitable both for classroom activities and self-learning.

2 Problem Statement

The problem addressed by the present research project is of extremely topical interest and relevance for all stakeholders studying or working in an international business communication setting, from multiple perspectives: educational, professional, social, cultural, and beyond. It aims at demonstrating through qualitative and quantitative research the intrinsic relation between language and culture, applied to the business language genre. The findings will have far-reaching implications for language educators and specialists working in cross-cultural communications planning and management. Business English language, as a genre in itself has been widely analysed and debated in specialist literature, as extensive research has been carried out in the field of teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP), specialists having centred on finding the best methods to teach students how to use the business language correctly and appropriately, with clear focus on the notional-functional aspect. However, less research has been made in the intrinsic nature of business English (Nelson 2000). According to Pickett (1986:16), there exists more than one facet of business communication, with some of it being “a lot nearer the everyday language spoken by the general public than many other segments of ESP” (cited in Dudley-Evans & St John 1998: 54). As far as its usage is concerned, Business English holds an interesting position – it is neither highly specialised, nor too common, representing a sort of “mediating language between the technicalities of particular business ... and the language of the general public” (Pickett 1989, cited in Dudley-Evans & St John 1998: 8).

As opposed to General English, it features some characteristics (Popescu 2007, 2011): 1. a certain fixedness of lexical associations, i.e. less free lexical combinations; 2. a certain degree of courtesy and formality which are to be found in the forms and frameworks of conventionalised transactions; 3. sociolinguistic and pragmatic orientation, by which we mean that the language used by business people display “sensitivity to subject matter, the occasion, shared knowledge and social relations holding between companies and communicators” (Pickett 1986:2); 4. metaphoric load: the language used in business materials may

be characterised by what we could call metaphoric load, i.e. the business language borrows words, phrases, idioms from the general usage and applies them to the specific contexts of the place of work: *abort a product, rat race, throw it at the wall and see if it sticks*, etc.; 5. marked idiomaticity: e.g. Instead, rather than undercutting television networks and producers, Joost might ...*give them new juice*. (= give vitality). It is particularly the two latter traits that the present project will focus on.

3 Literature Review

The starting point for our endeavours is the seminal work *Metaphors we live by*, published by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980, whose theory of *Conceptual Metaphor* (CMT) has opened endless vistas for subsequent research and debate. The basic assumption of this theory is that metaphor is not only a stylistic feature of language, but thought itself is metaphorical in nature. Thus, the conceptual structure of metaphors rests on correspondences or *mappings* between conceptual domains. These mappings function in a natural way, as some of them are already existent in the human mind emerging from background cultural knowledge, as different kinds of similarities between concepts. Further on, Kövecses (2005) argues that the cognitive view of metaphor can simultaneously account for both universality and diversity in metaphorical thought. He has proved that certain conceptual metaphors (for anger, time, event structure, and the self) are potentially universal or can be near-universal. He identified these as being “simple” or “primary” metaphors and/or complex metaphors based on universal human experiences (p. 64). He then explores embedded manifestations of generic level metaphors in order to prove that they are not candidates for near universal metaphors. Besides variations in conceptual metaphors at specific level there are others, such as when a culture uses a set of different source domains for a particular target domain, or when a culture uses a particular source domain for the conceptualization of a set of different target domains (p. 67).

Our theory further draws on Coşeriu’s view on language as a means of conveying knowledge and thoughts, being closely related to society, civilization, thinking, community, politics, etc. A linguistic community would mould and influence the future evolution of a language by accepting, rejecting or adjusting innovation occurring in language (Coşeriu 1997). Furthermore, we also resort to Rodica Zafiu’s research on Romanian journalese (2001), in which she identified metaphors grouped into cognitive categories, such as the metaphor of the road or zoomorphic

metaphors. According to Coşeriu (1997, 2000, 2001) a special relation is often established among words, attesting to their metaphoric and expressive-figurative load as well as to their associative character and collocability. Such relationships can occur either constantly or sporadically. In journalese, this association of words often does not take into account the notional compatibility of terms, neither certain combinatory restrictions; the result often lies in the humorous or comical effect upon the reader (Zafiu 2001). Journalese generally follows the same language patterns and evolution and so do the metaphors in journalese: at first they display an individual character, of uniqueness, then they are shared and widely accepted by the community of journalists and readers, and finally they turn into language patterns used by the community (Coşeriu 1997, 2000, 2001). This phenomenon has a two-fold purpose: to turn creative language into conventional language, due to frequent occurrence and constant usage and to coin new metaphors or expressive associations that will create a certain impression or effect upon the reader. This idea parallels Lakoff and Turner's (1989: 1) statement that "metaphors are so commonplace that we often fail to notice them".

As our focus is the business metaphor in the two languages, the cultural categories constituting our framework of analysis are derived from the anthropological research pertaining to the influence of culture on business. Our framework of analysis draws on Geert Hofstede's cultural dimensions - Power Distance Index (PDI), Individualism (IDV), Masculinity (MAS), Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), Long Term Orientation (LTO), E.T. Hall's factors influencing culture-bound behaviour (context, time, and space). An analysis of the metaphors in both languages may reveal aspects pertaining to, for example, uncertainty avoidance, and how a lower or higher degree of UAI is reflected in the linguistic expressions used in business journalese.

Our tenet is that cognitive metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix. Thus, we uphold the idea that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections (Popescu 2012). Our theory will be applied to contemporary business journalese in English and Romanian and we will try to identify universal metaphors and metaphor variations assignable to cultural characteristics of contemporary Romanian and British business reality reflected in the written press.

4 Project Objectives

The specific project objectives are:

1. Creation of 2 corpora (English and Romanian) made up of approximately 500,000 words each from British and Romanian journals (daily and weekly broadsheets). The articles will be collected both from business-proper press and general audience, on business and financial topics.
2. Conceptual mapping of business metaphors by cognitive categories identified in contemporary Romanian and English journalese using manual and automated collocation extraction with the help of concordancers.
3. Identifying universals and variants of Romanian and English contemporary business metaphors through contrastive quantitative and qualitative analysis.
4. Creation of an ontology-based automatic classification of business metaphors and inter-relatedness between cognitive categories and cultural categories.
5. Exploiting pedagogical opportunities of teaching Business English through a better understanding of both Romanian and English metaphors, by setting up a small scale corpus linguistics research laboratory based in the host institution and elaborating appropriate teaching methodology, for the modernisation of university curricula.
6. Creation of a web portal with an extraction tool for electronic retrieval of metaphors, a concordancer and pedagogical support for students and teachers alike (cultural info sheets, lexical exercises, lesson plans, etc.).

5 Methodology

The research methodology was decided upon according to the topic and the interdisciplinary character of the undertaking. Therefore, the theoretical framework of analysis adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining theories and methods peculiar to cognitive linguistics, computational and corpus linguistics, socio-linguistics, stylistics, semantics, cultural studies and pedagogy. The research itself - universals and variants of British English and Romanian business metaphors, analysed contrastively, entails a multimodal apparatus, including manual coding and electronic retrieval of selectional preferences in both languages.

The methods used include: 1. corpus creation and analysis; 2. hand-coded conceptual clustering and mapping, using interrelations between

cognitive metaphors and cultural categories; 3. clustering algorithm for electronic through ontology-based automated classification; 4. retrieval of stored annotation data through Open Archives Initiative Protocol for Metadata Harvesting (OAI-PMH, 2011); 5. concordancing algorithm for the retrieval of: words, lists, count word frequency, word usage, keywords, phrases and idioms; 6. creation of lexical, semantic and stylistic exercises for the development of business language mental lexicon of learners and users.

The elements of originality and novelty brought about by the project are self-evident, as the topic itself is ground-breaking, a field that has not been approached yet by Romanian specialists in the field. The project will exploit the state-of-the-art in the domain of corpus-based research on business English, conceptual metaphor and intercultural communication, will apply and integrate the fundamental concepts and findings to Romanian linguistics, by creating original corpora, concordancing and conceptual semantic mapping algorithms, as well as by finding relevant teaching methodologies that will exploit the project's results. The project is a natural follow up of the project leader's previous research and outstanding results in the field of lexicology, business collocations (see the Dictionary of Business Collocations), lexical semantics, corpus-based translation and intercultural business communication.

5 Expected Results

We expect that, given the novelty and seminality of the topic addressed, the results of our research will have a notable impact on the national and international scientific community. Through dissemination in international conferences and publications in relevant journals, with a significant impact factor, we will achieve a great step in the promotion of the Romanian language and culture worldwide. For the Romanian linguistics community new research directions will be opened, through the creation of an unparalleled knowledge base, a Romanian business journalese corpus that will be made available to linguists and students alike. For the international researchers in cognitive linguistics and cultural studies, new research data will be made available, as a reference and starting point for further inquiry into the relationship between cognitive metaphors and cultural categories. From the perspective of computational linguistics our research opens new gates to a semantics-oriented Natural Language Processing (NLP) application based on an algorithm for the recognition and interpretation of metaphors.

Last but not least, our research will have a compelling impact in terms of pedagogic research and practice, on four layers of language users and learners: 1. Business and economics students who learn business terminology; 2. Students at large who acquire communication and cultural competence in general; 3. Future teachers of English who specialize in teaching Business English and English for Specific Purposes in general; 4. Business professionals (experts managing corporate and cross-cultural communication in the process of lifelong learning and professional self-fulfilment).

The uniqueness of our research lies in the fact that we will demonstrate once again, through a new approach, the intrinsic relation language - culture in a globalised business context. We open broad horizons to further exploring business language, culture, and communications.

6 Limitations of Research

The degree of difficulty of our endeavour is given by the fact that there has been little, if at all, research carried out in Romanian linguistics in order to address the issue of business metaphors. Sporadic contributions have briefly touched upon the political discourse in the media, and in terms of figurative language, metaphor has mostly been tackled from the perspective of grammatical categories – speech parts and syntactic structures occurring in metaphors. Noteworthy is Rodica Zafiu's contribution to the field (2001), which opens new directions for research. The most important limitation of our research lies in the fact that to date, there is no available corpus of Romanian language from none of the 5 possible Romanian genres (*stiluri funcționale*): scientific, official (legal-administrative), journalese, belletristic (literary) and colloquial. The corpora that we will create as part of the project are limited, due to time constraints. A larger corpus of Romanian journalese would have been more appropriate for a larger-scale research. Moreover, the research is limited to British English only, as the cultural differences between the communities speaking other variations of English (American, Australian, etc.) would have been too time-consuming to address within the scope of this undertaking.

7 Conclusion

Throughout the duration of the project (October 2015 – September

2017) we intend to disseminate all project results on a regular basis, both through updating the project site (<http://business-metaphors.ro/>) and participation in different conferences and workshops, as well as publications in different specialist journals or, as in the case of the present book, in monographic or edited volumes. The major benefit will be to business students and specialists, as well as teachers of English, who will get deeper insights into business communication and intercultural exchanges. We expect that the practical side of the project will be of tremendous use to all stakeholders and a springboard for further research and applications.

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A CORPUS ANALYSIS OF TIME METAPHORS IN BRITISH AND ROMANIAN BUSINESS PRESS

TEODORA POPESCU

1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to analyse metaphors related to TIME from the business discourse (found in British and Romanian business press), and to identify the patterns of occurrence that are most frequent in the corpora. The main tenet is that cognitive metaphors are instantiations of cultural categories manifested in the language spoken by the community that shares a common set of characteristics within a given cultural matrix (see Popescu 2012). Our analysis is based on two corpora (British and Romanian), consisting of articles from general audience and financial broadsheets, written during 2002-2015. The newspapers used for this study are: *The Economist*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Telegraph* for the English corpus; and *Adevărul*, *Adevărul Financiar*, *Business Magazin*, *Gândul*, *Capital*, *România Liberă* and *Ziarul Financiar* for the Romanian corpus.

Economic discourse has abounded in figurative language from the beginnings of trade itself. The communicative function of metaphor in particular is self-evident in journal article titles, the financial press, headlines, marketing and advertising, etc. Another aspect is that of the interrelatedness of semantic and social change of the language, in order to reflect different historical moments, marked by social and economic transformations. However, besides its social, political and cognitive dimensions of the language used in the business domain, it also displays cultural underpinnings, pertaining to specific cultural concepts of one particular nation. Conceptualisations of culture, apart from cognitive categories offer deeper insights into intercultural communication. An understanding of people's metaphorical language can reveal deep meanings pertaining to different cultures. However, the processes of meaning creation are still to be investigated in order to establish the relation between cognition and linguistic expression.

When people acquire and use their mother tongue, they appropriate the concepts and classifications related to the world that surrounds them. In general, they do not challenge how the world around them is affected and regulated by their speech, as the whole community shares the same model, both in behaviour and linguistic manifestations.

Moreover, although speakers create linguistic classifications in order to categorise the world around them, they are not aware of how they influence their own language, neither of the linguistic impact on the shared cultural conceptualisations (Palmer 1996; Wierzbicka 1999).

2 Literature Review

Understanding the relationship between language and culture and their inherent intertwining stands at the core of intercultural communication nowadays, being of topical interest not only to linguists, but also to anthropologists and international business specialists. Along time, different theoretical frameworks have provided models to delve into the complex notion of culture in relation to linguistic structures (Holland, & Quinn 1987, Geertz 1973, Kachru, & Kahane 1995; Palmer 1996; Jackendoff 2007). By gaining insights into the mental lexicon of a particular language, one can better access the mechanisms that lie behind the interrelations between cognition, knowledge organisation and communication (Aitchison 2003; Wierzbicka 1992, 1997). According to the cognitive linguistic theory, one concept is represented in our mind by a series of other concepts that together constitute a coherent whole, in the form of a mental frame. However, there are social and cultural, even ideological concepts that are hardly generalizable, and hence, not universal. The differences between linguistically encoded meanings in various cultures or communities are grounded in cultural models based on assumptions and patterns of thinking engendered by the varying environmental settings and differently conceptualised life experiences. Conversely, similarities identifiable in many languages and cultures, reflect the universality of human conceptualisation paradigms. According to Wierzbicka (1997), linguistic universals afford a common groundwork from which variations found in various languages and cultures are created.

As analysed by Kövecses (2014), an example in case may be the representation of the self, which is variable across different cultures. Thus (pp. 62-65), in Western societies that emphasise the self, the concept is associated with a number of other concepts, including independence (personal), self-centred, self-expression, self-indulgence, personal goals

and desires, happiness (personal), achievement (personal), self-interest, selfishness, suspicion, pride, competition, indifference. Conversely, in some Eastern societies, the notion of the self is embedded in a different network of concepts, opposite to the above: interdependence, other-centred, saving the other's face, self-denial, social goals and desires, happiness (social), achievement (social), interest (social), sharing, trust, humility, cooperation, care, concern.

Geert Hofstede's anthropological theory of cultural categories (1991) is parallel to the above one, in that he also characterises societies as individualistic versus collectivistic. In individualist societies the ties between people are loose, people tend to look after himself/herself and their immediate families, whereas in collectivistic societies, people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, cherishing family values.

The interrelatedness between language and culture is at play when people belonging to a certain cultural group assign meaning to various linguistic expressions. These interactions are also responsible for how speakers communicate in their daily exchanges. According to Geertz (1973: 89), culture represents "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life". As long as our brain is shaped by our culture and language represents a strongly cognitive phenomenon, it follows that language will be embodied into a statement of our culture and experience. On the other hand, if our basic bodily experience is controlled or governed through cultural processes, we then have to pay heed to the linguistic and cultural matrix in which the individual is born. In Lakoff and Johnson's view (1980: 57), "[C]ultural assumptions, values and attitudes are not a conceptual overlay which we may or may not place upon experience as we choose. It would be more correct to say that all experience is cultural through and through, that we experience our "world" in such a way that our culture is already present in the very experience itself".

The way in which we speak about time can provide a better insight into how it is conceptualized. Lakoff (1993: 218) underlines that: "in our visual systems, we have detectors for motion and detectors for objects / locations. We do not have detectors for time ... Thus, it makes good biological sense that time should be understood in terms of things and motion".

According to Evans (2005), time is conceptualised in different ways, there existing a certain sematic network for the understanding of time, as

presented in the figure below (eight distinct senses, the main ones being the moment sense – 2, the matrix sense – 3, the measurement-system sense – 4, the commodity sense – 5).

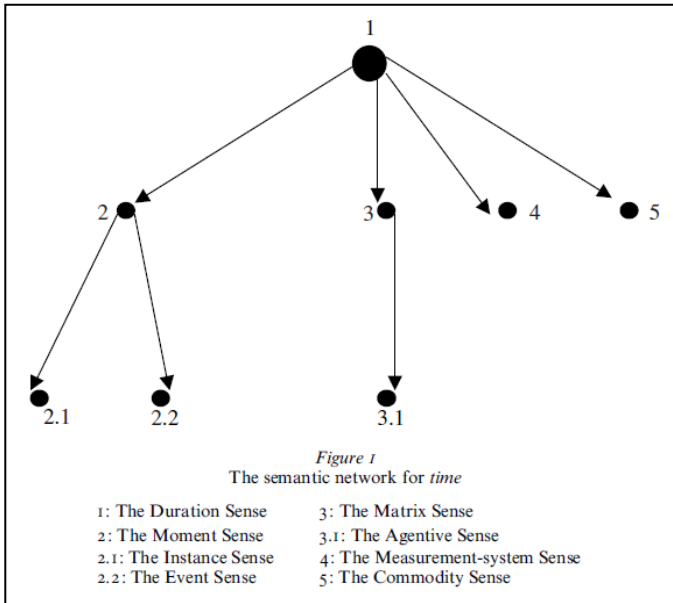


Fig. 1 The semantic network for time (Evans 2005: 52)

As the author himself admits, his theory might raise two issues in relation to the classical theory of conceptual metaphor of TIME, as posited by Lakoff and Johnson. First, the hypothesis that there exist a conceptual metaphor, such as TIME IS MOTION “fails to predict that a ‘matrix’ meaning associated with time collocates with very different verbs of motion, for instance, than the ‘temporal compression’ or ‘protracted duration’ variants of a ‘duration’ meaning” (Evans 2005: 71). Further on, he states that “a conceptual metaphor, and its range of associated mappings, are not able to shed light on the particularities in terms of meaning or collocational patterns exhibited by the meanings conventionally associated with individual words (i.e. lexical concepts). In supporting his theory that the lexeme time represents “a lexical category of distinct senses instantiated in semantic memory”, rather than purely conceptual categories, he contends that conceptual metaphors such as the two main variants of TIME IS SPACE (i.e. TIME IS THE MOTION OF OBJECTS, and TIME IS [MOTION ALONG] A PATH) may be ‘schemas’

in the sense of Langacker (e.g. 1987), abstracted from more specific ‘instances’ (e.g. temporal lexical concepts) (Evans 2005: 71).

3 Research Methodology

The current analysis is based on two self-made corpora (British and Romanian), consisting of articles from general audience and financial broadsheets, written during 2002-2015. The newspapers used for this study are: *The Economist*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Telegraph* for the English corpus; and *Adevărul*, *Adevărul Financiar*, *Business Magazin*, *Gândul*, *Capital*, *România Liberă* and *Ziarul Financiar* for the Romanian corpus.

Cameron and Low (1999: 88, as cited in Charteris-Black 2004: 34), brought forth three stages in the methodology of metaphor analysis, i.e.:

- a) collecting examples of linguistic metaphors;
- b) generalising from them to the conceptual metaphors they exemplify;
- c) using the results to suggest understandings or thought patterns.

Charteris-Black (2004: 34) finds in this distinction a replication of Fairclough’s CDA methodology, i.e. identification, interpretation and explanation. *Identification* of metaphor entails, at the first level, identification of “ideational meaning”, by which one has to establish whether metaphors can be identified in a text and if there is some “tension between a literal source domain and a metaphoric target domain” (Charteris-Black 2004: 35). Further on, the *interpretation* of metaphor is a result of “interpersonal meaning”, by which we understand the identification of the “type of social relations” that are inherent to these relations (Charteris-Black 2004: 35). Last but not least, explanation of metaphor makes reference to the textual meaning, in other words, the presentation of how “metaphors are interrelated and become coherent with reference to the situation in which they occur” (Charteris-Black 2004: 35). According to Stefanowitsch (2006), there exist three main strategies for extracting linguistic expressions (as cited in Chapeton 2010):

a) The first strategy is based on searching for source domain vocabulary. This entails selecting a potential source domain and then searching for individual lexical items from this domain using concordancers.

b) The second one resorts to searching for target domain vocabulary. An analysis based exclusively on these two methods will only identify a subset of metaphorical expressions, namely those which contain specific vocabulary belonging to the source or target domain.

c) The third strategy used in the extraction of metaphorical expressions is manual coding. The drawback to this method is that it limits the potential size of the corpus, as the researcher has to carefully read throughout the whole corpus. Moreover, this strategy involves manual annotation, a very time-consuming and painstaking process. For the purposes of this study, we employed a combined method for the identification of metaphorical linguistic expressions, based on keywords belonging to the target domain and a manual search inside the corpus.

The current research was carried out based on a combination of the above methods in order to identify metaphorical linguistic expressions, starting from headwords from the target domain and manual search throughout the corpora. The methods employed were: quantitative analysis, based on statistical data starting from headwords and collocations frequently identified in the corpus; and qualitative analysis, in which we analysed the metaphors found from the perspective of universality and cultural variation.

The size of the corpora was comparable for the two languages, i.e. approx. 500,000 words per corpus. However, the search for headwords returned a disbalanced number of returns from the newspapers included, with the highest frequency for the British newspaper *The Economist* and *Capital* for the Romanian corpus. These two, in general, have quality articles, and the range of business topics is varied. The title and, as the case may be, the author of articles in which metaphors were identified are given at the end of the present article, with the link which was valid at the time of the retrieval. The translation of the Romanian text was provided by the author of this chapter.

The concordancer used to identify lexical associations in order to analyse metaphorical mappings was *Concapp.exe*¹, which provides concordance searches, and includes full editing support and testing activities, and also word frequency text analysis.

4 Results and Interpretation

The results confirmed once more that metaphors clustered in cognitive categories account for cultural categories, both in terms of conceptual universals and variants, resulting in a complex mapping of interrelated cross-connections (see Popescu 2012).

¹ Available at <http://concapp.software.informer.com/5.0/>.

Time is an abstract concept and has represented the focus of research in various fields, ranging from philosophy to linguistics, from physics to theology, as well as education, sociology or economy. It is widely used and apparently known, but still remains a concept especially difficult to grasp.

The irreversible passage of time, indomitable and unstoppable as it is, has been reflected in people's myths, fables, proverbs and other manifestations of popular wisdom. Proverbs that reflect the metaphor "TIME is a FLOWING RIVER" for the inexorable flow of time, such as "time and tide wait for no man" / "Il tempo passa e non ritorna" (Ital.) / "Timpul are dinți de oțel, roade voinic și mișel"² (Rom.) / "timpul pierdut nu se mai întoarce"³ (Rom.) / "timpul toate le coace"⁴ (Rom.), or that of "TIME is a HEALER / JUDGE / WISE TEACHER", such as "time heals all wounds" / "Time is a great storyteller" (Irish) / "El tiempo restaura las heridas"⁵ (Span.) / "timpul le vindecă pe toate" (Rom.) / "Il tempo apre gli occhi"⁶ (Ital.), or that of "*patience is a virtue*", such as "toate la timpul lor"⁷ (Rom.) / "Cada cousa a seu tempo" (Port.) / "Alles zu seiner Zeit" (Germ.) / "Tröste dich, hab' Geduld; Zeit bringt Rosen"⁸ (Germ.) / "Con el tiempo y la paciencia se adquiere la ciencia"⁹ (Span.) / "Time and patience work wonders" / "Peste veacuri, toate-s fleacuri"¹⁰ / "Kommt Zeit, kommt Rat"¹¹; TIME is a CHANGER: "Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis"¹² (Lat.) or relating to the judicious use of time: "festina lente"¹³ (Lat.) / "There is a time and place for everything" / "An hour in the morning is worth two in the evening"; "Zur rechten Zeit ein Nadelstich erspart sicherlich neun" / "A stitch in time saves nine" / "Quien no acude a gotera, acude a la casa entera" (Span.) / "spărtura până e mică trebuie cârpită"¹⁴ (Rom.) "Non cercare la falce quando è già tempo di mietre"¹⁵ (Ital.) / "Leneșul mai mult aleargă și scumpul mai mult păgubește" (Rom., approx. transl.), What may be done at any time will be done at no time; the

² (transl.) Time has got steel teeth and can chew both brave men and scoundrels.

³ (transl.) Time lost is never found again.

⁴ (transl.) Time ripens everything.

⁵ (Transl.) Time will cure the wounds.

⁶ (transl.) Time is an eye-opener.

⁷ (transl.) All in its own time.

⁸ (transl.) Brace up, have patience, and time will bring you roses.

⁹ (transl.) With time and patience you achieve science/wisdom.

¹⁰ (transl.) After ages, all things are trifles.

¹¹ (Transl.) With time comes the advice.

¹² (transl.) Times change and we change in them.

¹³ (transl.) Make haste slowly.

¹⁴ (transl.) Repair the hole while it is small.

¹⁵ (transl.) Do not search for the scythe when it's time to reap.

metaphor “SQUANDERING is a SIN”, such as “procrastination is the thief of time” / “lenea pierde vremea¹⁶” (Rom.) / “Uomo lento non ha mai tempo¹⁷” (Ital.), “Accusing the times is but excusing ourselves”; TIME is GOLDEN, e.g. “Zeit ist das teuerste Kleinod¹⁸”; “THRIFT is a VIRTUE”: “Spare in der Zeit, so hast du in der Not”¹⁹ are more or less present in most languages. Many of the conceptualisations found in the proverbs above were later on identified in the business press corpora.

4.1 Universal TIME metaphors

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 8-9), the conceptualization of time is associated with the role of work in Western cultures. Since work is typically connected with the time it takes and time is precisely quantified, it has become customary to pay people by the hour, week, or year. TIME IS MONEY in a great deal of ways: telephone message units, hourly wages, yearly budgets, interest on loans, and paying a debt to society by serving time. Therefore, we understand and experience time as the sort of thing that can be spent, wasted, invested wisely or poorly, budgeted, saved, or squandered.

a) TIME is MONEY / TIME is a RESOURCE²⁰

The fast pace of technological breakthroughs, globalisation, consumerism and other aspects of postmodern society have contributed to shaping new existential paradigms which have upturned the meanings of everything we used to consider as the norm. Work schedules and patterns, leisure habits, all have changed, with a compulsive urge to use our time as judiciously as possible, to have at least two jobs, and very short holidays. One of the emblematic and symptomatic mottos of our nowadays business-oriented world is that of “time is money”. Therefore, not surprisingly, the most frequent occurrences were found in the case of this conceptualisation, both in English and in Romanian.

(1) Media outlets and sponsors retort that if women’s sport attracted more interest in the first place then they would

¹⁶ (trans.) Sloth wastes time.

¹⁷ (transl.) A slothful man never has time.

¹⁸ (transl.) Time is the most expensive gem.

¹⁹ (transl.) Spare in time, then you have something in your time of need.

²⁰ Or, TIME is a LIMITED RESOURCE / TIME is a VALUABLE COMMODITY, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 9), TIME is a VALUABLE RESOURCE, according to Kövecses (2005: 132).

invest more **time** and money in it. (EC, 2014)

(2) having spent lots of **time** and money since the crisis
(EC, 2013)

(3) people's most important resource is their **time** (EC, 2013)

(4) an excess of meetings is the biggest *devourer of time*
(EC, 2013)

(5) are a substantial waste of the recipients' **time** (EC, 2015)

(6) examine the **time** saved vs. quality tradeoff by comparing the processes and outcomes of Web searches in comparison with more traditional information searches (EC, 2013)

(7) Greece's €130bn bailout merely *buys it time*... (TE, 2012)

(8) why women need to *invest* cash, not just **time**, in other women (GU, 2014)

A relatively comparable number of occurrences was found also in the Romanian corpus (the translation provided below the examples is mine).

(9) se face în ritm de melc provocând *pierderi de timp* și financiare de ordinul milioanei de euro. (CA, 2015)

It is carried out at a snail-like rate causing losses of time and finances amounting to millions of euros.

pierderi	de	timp
losses	of	time

(10) Iar lupta brandurilor din ziua de astăzi se petrece în doar câteva secunde, exact **timpul** pe care astăzi orice consumator este dispus să îl aloce pentru a decide. (CA, 2012)

And the fight between brands nowadays takes place over a few seconds, exactly the time that any consumer today is willing to allocate in order to make a decision.

timpul	să ²¹	îl	aloca
time(def.art.m.)	to	it	allocate

²¹ 'să' is the specific morpheme (conjunction) for the Romanian '*conjunctiv*' – the subjunctive mood and it is used to form both the present and perfect aspect of this predicative mood. I chose to still translate it word-for-word with the infinitive morpheme 'to' in the English language. In contemporary Romanian the subjunctive is equivalent with the infinitive, which it tends to replace. Otherwise, 'să' has no translation into English.

(11) un zâmbet forțat și strâmb, încearcă să câștige **timp**:
„Mai repetați o dată!” (SF, 2015)

A crooked and forced smile, trying to gain time: "Please say that again!"

să	câștige	timp
to	gain	time

(12) RogentOS este, în fapt, un grup de programatori care au decis să își dedice **timpul** acestui demers. (BM, 2015)

RogentOS is, in fact, a group of programmers who have decided to dedicate their time to this undertaking.

să	își	dedice	timpul
to	themselves	dedicate	time

(13) tot aparatul polițienesc și judecătoresc ce-și pierde **vremea** cu prinderea și trimiterea în judecată a infractorilor. (CA, 2013)

*all the police and justice bodies that waste their **time** with catching and sending to court the offenders.*

ce-	și	pierde	vremea
that	themselves	lose	time

(14) 45 de minute de birou, foarte mulți consideră că **timpul** pierdut pe drum nu merită” (CA, 2015)

*45 minutes away from the office, very many consider that the **time** wasted on the road is not worth it.*

timpul	pierdut	pe	drum
time(+ def. art.m.)	lost	on	road

(15) care ar presupune consum de **timp** și bani pentru toți cei implicați. (GA, 2015)

which would entail consumption of time and money for all the people involved.

consum	de	timp
consumption	of	time

(16) Firmele, liber-profesioniștii și contribuabilii persoane fizice din România pierd, anual, zeci sau chiar sute de milioane de **ore** pregătind dosare, completând formulare și așteptând la rând în fața ghișeelelor. (CA, 2011)

*Companies, free-lancers and private individual taxpayers in Romania waste annually tens or even hundreds of millions of **hours** preparing files, filling in forms and waiting in queues in front of official counters.*

pierd	milioane de	ore
lose	millions of	hours

As can be seen, time can be *invested/allocated/dedicated* (to sth) (1), (8), (10), (12), *wasted/consumed/lost* (2), (4), (5), (9), (14), (15), (16), *saved/gained* (6), (7), (11), which proves that there is a universal

conceptualization of time as a resource that needs to be carefully spent, apportioned, eked out. The majority of verbs collocating with *time* in the Romanian corpus are “*to waste*”, “*to lose*”, “*to consume*”. The metaphorical expressions extracted above are based on the following mappings:

Investment → a period of time dedicated to an activity;
 Waste → time spent / lost in unfruitful activities;
 Saving → accomplishing something in less time than initially calculated
 Profit-making → obtaining an extended deadline.

This set of mappings derived from the metaphor of TIME are highly conventional, which reveals that people who live by it think of time in terms of profit-making, try to invest their time in the best possible way and keep waste at a minimum.

Although the metaphor TIME is a RESOURCE was encountered with the highest frequency rate in our corpora, the analysis showed that for the Romanian corpus it applied more to the domain of workplace, while in English it also refers to leisure, or fashion industry. The TIME IS MONEY metaphor can be related to the history of industrialization, when work started to be associated with the time it took to be performed. (Lakoff, & Johnson 1989: 8) Consequently, its association with the business field and with that of science and technology is perfectly understandable. However, beyond these domains there are other cultural factors to be taken into account.

Derived from the above conceptualisation, we found that time can be also considered as a personal belonging, TIME is a VALUABLE POSSESSION / TIME is a personal ASSET (with more frequency in the Romanian language, and when it is found in English, it is usually used with reference to foreign economies, e.g., Israeli or Japanese). Romanian people tend to be fonder of their free time.

(17) Israeli entrepreneurs nearly all know people in other countries. Many *divide their time* between home and abroad. (EC, 2012)

(18) That, in turn, depends on how well Europe *uses the time* bought by the ECB²². (EC, 2012)

(19) the Japanese are bidding their time, patiently playing their hand in a market with few other bidders. (EC, 2012)

²² European Central Bank.

(20) În ultimii ani însă, **timpul** a devenit și mai prețios, astfel că mulți români, indiferent de venit, aleg hrana gata preparată. (CA, 2012)

*Over the last years, however, **time** has become even more precious, so that more and more Romanians, regardless of their income, choose ready-made food.*

timpul	a	devenit	și	mai	prețios
timp(+ def.art.m.)	has	become ²³	even	more	precious

(21) Aspectul cald, neagresiv al amenajărilor interioare, dotarea cu aparatură performantă, respectarea riguroasă a programărilor, confidențialitatea, *respectul față de* pacient și **timpul** lui. (CA, 2002)

*The warm, unaggressive aspect of the interior design, the supply with high-tech equipment, rigorous time-keeping of appointments, confidentiality, respect towards the patient and his **time**.*

respectul	față	de	pacient	și	timpul	lui
respect	to	of	patient	and	time(+def. art.m.)	his

(22) Un program de susținere a angajaților în căutarea echilibrului între muncă și viața personală nu înseamnă reducerea **timpului** de lucru, ci mult mai mult. (CA, 2007)

*A programme for the support of employees looking for a balance between work and personal life does not mean the reduction of the working **time**, but much more than that.*

reducerea	timpului	de	lucru
reduction	time(+def.art.m.Gen.)	of	work

(23) Din perspectiva de CEO, **timpul**, experiența și «reinventarea» fac ca acele caracteristici puternic diferențiatore față de consultant să se atenueze și să poată fi temperate și înlocuite cu cele specifice acestei activități. (BM, 2013)

*From my CEO perspective, **time**, experience and "reinvention" make the characteristics that highly differ from a consultant to wane, to be tempered and replaced by those characteristics which are specific to this activity.*

timpul ...	fac[e]	să	se	atenueze
time(def.art.m.)	makes	to	itself	attenuate

²³ The Romanian language does not have the *Present Perfect* verb form. According to what it expresses, this tense can be translated through either present or past. The Romanian *Perfect compus* is used here, because it is rather similar in form, i.e. it is formed with the help of a specific form of the auxiliary verb *to have* and the *past participle*. However, grammatically speaking, it is not always the correct translation. In the example given, it happens to be correct, i.e. it refers to an action that started in the past and continues up to the present moment, given the time adverbial with which it is associated: "over the last years".

According to Kövecses (2005: 47), in many cultures time is conceptualised both as something static and as something dynamic. The static conceptualisation of time refers to the categorization of time into the past, present, and future, whereas when we conceptualise time in dynamic terms, we talk about it as “passing”, “flowing”, “flying”.

b) The TIME ORIENTATION metaphor

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 140), in English, the future is understood as being in front of us, the present as being by us, and the past as being behind us. Therefore, we can identify the following mapping:

the location of the observer → the present
the space in front of the observer → the future
the space behind the observer → the past

Given the fact that the corpora compiled were in general from texts published after 2012 (with few exceptions), after the world economic crisis, there is a positive orientation towards the future, strengthened especially by institutions which claim to safeguard people’s money and well-being. In particular, financial institutions, especially banks are trying to re-orient their discourse as to re-gain people’s trust in their capacity to protect their fortunes. Another aspect that was revealed from the Romanian corpus was the fact that Romanians are still a bit uncertain about the future, and in half the cases there were accompanying verbs and adverbials that expressed some uncertainty or ambiguity: *expect, believe, hope, probably*.

(24) Better **times** are *in sight*. Buying a house looks like an increasingly good bet compared with renting, according to *The Economist's* calculations. (EC, 2012)

(25) Soaring prices now *look* a thing of the **past**: values were essentially flat in the year to the fourth quarter of 2011. (EC, 2012)

(26) Given a certain payoff for selling and an *uncertain future* going it alone, it is not surprising that many people take the money. (EC, 2012)

(27) It can bring great benefits, he said, but without proper safeguards “such a *bright future* will be *overshadowed by dark clouds or even ruined by resulting disasters*.” (EC, 2014)

(28) At **present** the utilities own everything and have little incentive to let independents on to the system. (EC, 2014)

(29) Pentru anul **viitor**, antreprenorul *speră* să își mențină rulajul din 2014. (CA, 2014)

For the next year, the entrepreneur hopes to maintain the same turnover as in 2014.

pentru	anul	viitor
for	year	next

(30) Mă aștept ca și anul **viitor** să se păstreze un nivel scăzut al dobânzilor iar, în acest context, cred că din ce în ce mai mulți români își vor asuma riscuri mai mari, în căutarea unor alternative de economisire mai eficiente, care să le genereze randamente mai bune pentru banii puși deoparte. (CA, 2015)

*I expect that **next** year too the low level of interest will be preserved, and in this context, I believe that more and more Romanians will take higher risks, looking for more efficient saving alternatives, which will generate better returns for the money saved.*

anul	viitor
year	next

(31) La fiecare nouă intrare de bancă din **trecut** se pomenea de potențialul pe care îl are țara noastră în acest domeniu. (CA, 2015)

*For each new bank entry in the **past** they mentioned our country's potential in this field.*

intrare	de	bancă	din	trecut
entry	of	bank	from	past

(32) Astfel, dacă un angajat este plătit în **prezent** cu salariul minim pe economie și rămâne „în mână” cu 777 de lei, de la 1 mai va încasa un salariu net de 917 lei. (AF, 2015)

*Thus, if an employee is paid **at present** with the minimum wage and gets 777 RON in hand, starting with 1st May, he will get a net wage of 917 RON*

este	plătit	în	prezent
is	paid	in	present

(33) Mari proprietari de hoteluri pe litoral, achiziționate de la stat la începutul anilor 2000, nu par deloc interesați să investească în turism, așteptând **probabil timpuri** mai bune pentru le revinde cu profit. (AF, 2015)

Rich owners of hotels at the seaside, bought from the state at the beginning of the 2000, do not seem at all eager to invest in tourism, probably waiting for better times in order to re-sell them at a profit.

așteptând	probabil	timpuri	mai	bune
waiting	probably	times	more	good

c) The MOVING TIME Metaphor / TIME is a FLOWING RIVER

Kövecses (2005: 49) states that the conceptualisation of time as something dynamic is assignable to the passage of time. The resulting mapping of this moving time metaphor is the following:

objects → times
 the motion of objects past the observer → the passage of time
 the water in a river flows onedirectionally → the passage of time is irreversible

(34) a **deadline** that will probably arrive in early 2014
 (EC, 2013)

(35) Taylor agrees that the company's low profile has caused it problems and that the **time** has come for him and his peers to be more open. (TE, 2015)

(36) If that is merely a cyclical downturn in response to ultra-low interest rates, as some posit, Deutsche's investment should pay off handsomely when the good **times** roll again. (CA, 2014)

(37) odată cu trecerea **timpului**, la reducerea TVA se vor adaugă și alți factori care ar putea duce la modificarea prețului final al pâinii. (CA, 2015)

*with the passage of **time**, to VAT reduction will be added other factors which may lead to a change in bread's final price.*

odată	cu	trecerea	timpului
once	with	passage	time(+def.art.m.Gen.)

(38) Luați de valul succesului în carieră, al câștigurilor cât mai mari sau obligați să mențină ritmul epuizant al unui program de muncă supradimensionat, de teamă să nu fie concediați, angajații înșiși uită că **viața** trece pe lângă ei. (CA, 2007)

Carried away by the wave of career success, of ever increasing gains, or forced to keep the exhausting pace of an overloaded work programme, lest they should be fired, the employees themselves forget that life goes past them.

viața	trece	pe	lângă	ei
life	passes	on	near	them

(39) Însă, în prima săptămână după 1 septembrie, ieftinirea vine din reducerea TVA, dar cu cât trece **timpul** or să mai apară și alți factori - precum recolta bună, care duce la scăderea prețului cerealelor ... (CA, 2015)

However, during the first week after 1 September, the price reduction is assignable to VAT reduction, but as time passes by, other factors will appear too – such as good crops, which will lead to a reduction in cereals price.

trece **timpul**
passes time(+def.art.m.)

According to Kövecses (2005: 49-50), the MOVING TIME metaphor underscores our understanding of the passage of time. Since the source domain of objects moving in a line past an observer from front to back, we get an understanding of time with only one present, the times moving in the same direction, and times facing in their direction of motion. This line of thought is based on the following mapping:

there is only one observer → there is only one present time
the objects all move in the same direction → times move in the same direction
moving objects face in the direction of motion → times face in their direction of motion

d) TIME is a CHANGER

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989:40), “(B)ecause changes occur as time passes, it is possible to personify time itself as being the agent of change, that is, to see time generally as a changer.” Since metaphor may also be created by composition, the relationship among metaphors shows a high degree of complexity. “TIME is a CHANGER arises by composition of EVENTS are ACTIONS with our commonplace knowledge that things change over time” (p.86). This metaphor is in close connection with that of the moving time. The resulting mapping would be the following:

moving objects → moving times
moving objects can change the observer and the environment →
time has the force to change the objects and on-lookers

(40) After seeing how share prices *changed over time*, he wrote a book on the subject and made a fortune trading shares. (EC, 2012)

(41) Bad *times* also make get-rich-quick schemes more tempting. (EC, 2012)

(42) Many firms say *times* have changed and things are above board. (EC, 2012)

(43) Dispariția primului start-up îi creează un sentiment de nostalgie și își dorește să re trăiască **vremurile** de glorie ale retailului. (AV, 2014)

*The disappearance of the first start-up create a feeling of nostalgia and he want to relive the glorious **times** of the retail business.*

să	re trăiască	vremurile (def.art.pl.)	de	glorie
to	relive	times	of	glory

(44) Evaluările actuale ale BNR reconfirmă perspectiva plasării ratei anuale a inflației pe o tendință descendentă, dar în afara intervalului de variație în perioada următoarelor **luni**. (ZF, 2013)

*Current BNR evaluations reconfirm the perspective of placing the annual inflation rate along a descending trend, but outside the variation interval during the next **months**.*

în	perioada	următoarelor	luni
in	period	next(+def.art.Gen.pl.)	months

(45) Industria se adaptează la **vremuri** dificile pe termen scurt cu strategii menite să recâștige încrederea. (CA, 2014)

*The industry adapts itself to hard **times** on a short time basis with strategies meant to regain trust.*

vremuri	dificile
times	difficult

e) TIME is a JUDGE / AN EVALUATOR / A WISE TEACHER

Another extension of the TIME is a CHANGER metaphor is, according to Lakoff and Turner (1989: 42-43), TIME is an EVALUATOR, especially with reference to poetic metaphor. Things pass or fail the judgment of time, just as human actions stand (or not) the test of time. A type of change can also be considered a change of value. Therefore, the following mapping can be applied:

change in value → change occurring after the passage of time
agent that reassesses values we place of things → changing time

(46) Flow Traders was founded in 2004 by ex-Optiver employees; the other two firms date back to the 1980s and their **history** helps explain why Amsterdam has a big HFT industry. (EC, 2013)

(47) Only **time** will tell if we are about to cut back on nuclear power or not; for now it seems that many of us count on it to keep the wheels turning. (EC, 2015)

(48) Dacă vă veți întreba care sunt afacerile de familie pe care Nacu le va ținti în următorii doi ani tot ce puteți face este să vă uitați **în trecut**. (AV, 2013)

*If you should wonder what are the family businesses that Nacu will aim at in the next two years, all you can do is look into the **past**.*

să	vă	uitați	în	trecut
to	yourself	look	in	past

(49) BNR se opune vehement acestei soluții și am văzut **în trecut** că n-a trecut nimeni peste cuvântul ei. (CA, 2015)

*BNR opposes vehemently this solution and we have seen in the **past** that nobody disobeyed its word.*

am	văzut	în	trecut
have	seen	in	past

4.2 Variants of TIME metaphors

In Romanian, the conceptualisation of time in general, when referring to business as an economic phenomenon, is that of the TIME is a RESOURCE metaphor. However, this may be further strengthened into the TIME IS a DEPLETING RESOURCE metaphor, and this underscores that the menace of deadlines is a stressful factor, especially for Romanian people, who like to take things in their own stride. This is even more understandable if we think of the Romanian expression “Timpul și-a pierdut răbdarea²⁴”. Gone are the days when Romanians could spend their free time in an entertaining way, simply because they have less and less of it. As with any social and political reversals, people undergo a traumatic experience that displaces their life patterns. Such were during the past century, the rise of the communist regime, and then its downfall. Both were extremely disturbing for the Romanian society, whose members have now less and less time at their disposal, especially for pastimes, and constantly live under the pressure of spending their time as efficiently as possible. A favourite Romanian expression, less and less used now is “a-și

²⁴ “Time has lost its patience.” This is a famous adage from *Moromeții*, a novel by Marin Preda (two volumes, 1955 and 1967), used in connection with peasants’ life after the Second World War. The novel depicts a rural Romania, stuck in a mythical pre-war time, when “time was immensely patient with people”. After three years, after the end of the war and with the advent of communism, all known political, societal, economic or leisure patterns were upturned and people lost their sense of belonging to a space and time.

omori timpul²⁵”, was not found in either Romanian or British corpus, although the same idiom exists in English too.

time → a valuable resource

resources are limited → time is a depleting resource

(50) Un studiu al Visa arată că peste două treimi din IMM-uri consideră că plata taxelor și a impozitelor la timp a rămas o provocare, jumătate au probleme cu gestionarea fluxurilor de numerar, iar 60% spun că evidența clară a cheltuielilor reprezintă o provocare. (CA, 2014)

A Visa study shows that over two thirds of SME's consider that paying taxes on time has remained a real challenge, half of them encountering cashflow issues, while 60% say that a clear record of expenses represents the challenge.

plata	la	timp	a	rămas	o	provocare
payment	at	time	has	remained	a	challenge

(51) Supraaglomerarea cu task-uri zilnice, pretenții nerealiste, lipsa feedback-ului în timp util - toate țin de relația angajaților cu șeful direct, (GA, 2015)

Overloading with daily tasks, unrealistic expectations, the lack of feedback in due time - all pertain to the relationship between employees and their direct manager.

în	timp	util
in	time	useful

In Romanian, the metaphor of time viewed statically, objectified, can be transferred to a new domain. According to Kövecses (2005: 135; 142), the TIME is a CONTAINER metaphor can be found in the Hungarian language as well, as being different from English, in which the “literal meaning (e.g., Hungarian *tölt* meaning ‘fill’) is different from the literal meaning of the money-based term (i.e., *spend*) in English that is used for the expression of the shared figurative meaning (i.e., ‘use time for a purpose’).”

time → static object with boundaries in space

time → a container

In Lakoff’s view (1993), the logical properties of classical categories can be inferred from the topological properties of containers as well as the metaphorical mapping from containers to categories, if topological

²⁵ Transl. “to kill one’s time”, used to refer to spending one’s free time, while witing for something else to happen.

properties of containers are preserved by the mapping. This is to say that the language of containers applies to classical categories and the logic of containers is true of classical categories. According to him, the TIME is a CONTAINER metaphor (as in “He did it *in* ten minutes”), is based on the correlation between the bounded space traversed by the object and the time the object takes to traverse it (1980: 58-59). Events and actions are correlated with bounded time spans, and this makes them CONTAINER OBJECTS. However, WordNet defines a container as any object that can be used to hold things (especially a large metal boxlike object of standardized dimensions that can be loaded from one form of transport to another), which would rather favour the Romanian conceptualization of time as a CONTAINER, rather than the British one, which is realised morphologically (with the help of prepositions, e.g. in, within, etc.) and not lexically / semantically through verbs, for example. In Romanian, we use the verb “to fill one’s time” (“a-și umple timpul”), “to occupy one’s time” (a-și ocupa timpul)” or the place prepositions “in” / “inside” together with “a short interval”. “Filling” and “occupying” time in Romanian refer to using some otherwise unused time in a pleasant and relaxing manner.

(52) ... doar 16% dintre angajații români folosesc o tabletă pentru a-și umple **timpul** pe care îl petrec pe drum, în timp ce telefoanele mobile rămân în topul preferințelor lor ... (CA, 2015)

*... only 16% of Romanian employees use a tablet to fill the **time** they spend on the road, while mobile telephones remain on top of their preferences...*

pentru	a-	și	umple	timpul (+def.art.m.)
for	to	their	fill	time

(53) 27% dintre participanții la studiu au mărturisit că atunci caută cel mai mult să-și ocupe **timpul** cu altceva decât cu munca efectivă. (CA, 2014)

27% of the participants to the survey avowed that was when when they tried most to while away their time with something else than work proper.

să-	și	ocupe	timpul (+def.art.m.)
to	their	occupy	time

The morphological realisation of the TIME is a CONTAINER metaphor is also present in the Romanian language.

(54) Aceasta ar însemna o apreciere de 15% a capitalului într-un anumit interval de **timp**. (CA, 2015)

*This would mean an increase by 15% in capital over a certain period of **time**.*

într-	un	anumit	interval	de	timp
-------	----	--------	----------	----	-------------

- within

a

certain

interval

of

time
- (55) Fast house - proiecte de locuințe ce pot fi construite
într-un timp scurt, cu investiții reduse. (AF, 2015)
Fast-house - real estate projects that can be built
within a short time, with reduced costs.
- într-

un

timp

scurt
- within

a

time

short
- (56) Țara închisă într-o buclă a timpului (CA, 2015)
The country stuck in a time bubble
- într-

o

bucă

a

timpului(+def.art.m.Gen.)
- within

a

loop

of

time

Now let us turn our attention to the way in which our findings tally with the cultural categories that were identified by the anthropologists G. Hofstede and E.T. Hall. Below is the chart provided by the online comparison tool available at The Hofstede Centre, <https://geert-hofstede.com/>.

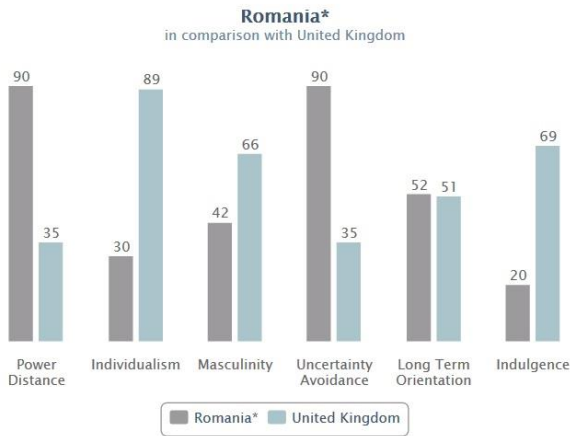


Fig. 2 Romania vs UK through the lens of the 6-D Model©

These results suggest that the Romanian culture emphasises more the idea of “working in order to live” and not the other way round, one of the characteristics of feminine cultures. In this type of culture the dominant values are caring for others and preservation, managers strive for consensus, people value equality, solidarity and quality in their working lives. Conflicts are typically resolved by compromise and negotiation and free time and flexibility are highly appreciated.

On the other hand, if we are to look at E.T. Hall's cultural factors, Romanians may be included under the category of polychronic. This is revealed by their aversion to deadlines (they are more interested in what they have to do, and not when they have to do it, and they usually ask for extensions of deadlines. They are easily distracted, and prefer to do more things at once. They usually embark on several projects at the same time, and hence, the quasi-inability to keep to deadlines. Romanian pride themselves on their "distributive attention" and capacity to make more things at a time, "just like Napoleon".

5 Conclusions

A better understanding of the metaphors used within a certain genre, by a certain in-group, at a certain political and social period of history can speak volumes of the cultural determinations that group is characterised by. In other words, the more aware we are of how and why metaphorical language is used, and at the same time, of the similarities and differences in our languages and cultures, the better we can communicate and function in an international business arena. An understanding of the culture and language of the people we come in contact in business can literally make or break deals. The results of our analysis are, to a large extent, in line with Geert Hofstede's framework (2001) of cultural characteristics. According to his line of research data, Romania scores 42% on the masculinity/ femininity scale, while the United Kingdom registers a score of 66, indicating a masculine society. The Romanians are more interested in spending, or rather wasting their free time doing some relaxing or self-indulging activity. They would hardly accept an intrusion into their leisure time – even at the workplace, most Romanians start their day drinking coffee and chatting with colleagues. Friday is usually a shorter day, and as a rule, the time before the end of the working day is spent on social media sites on the Internet, for personal entertainment and unwinding purposes. This also is relevant for the inclusion of Romanian into the polychronic culture-type of people.

Moreover, an interesting perspective was lent by the analysis of some proverbs concerning time in both English and Romanian, to which some other cultures were added, just to enhance the idea of time conceptualisation from a universal standpoint. People's attitude towards time as it was perceived from old popular wisdom was later on to be found in the corpora under scrutiny. Besides universal conceptualisations, we identified variants, such as a higher concern of the British people for a

wiser and more judicious distribution of time, whereas Romanians would be more concerned with the waste of time, in particular the time that they consider as their own possession, their own asset.

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A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH TO MONEY METAPHORS IN BUSINESS ENGLISH

HERȚEG MARIA-CRINA

1 Introduction

Our tenet is that metaphors are not symbols used in order to highlight the aesthetic function of language. The paper is conceived within the framework of cognitive metaphor theory coined by Lakoff and Johnson, which views metaphors as cultural categories present in our every day life.

Economic metaphors depict different ways of seeing business and economics with direct impact on business communication. The figurative uses of words turn business language more vivid. Our analysis is clustered around money metaphors by means of cognitive linguistic categories. We also draw on analysing the linguistic means by which these conceptual categories are expressed, as in many cases the morphological means can entail metaphorical load.

2 Problem Statement

The paper investigates money metaphors in business English from a corpus perspective. Generally, the sources for investigating conceptual metaphors include: scientific articles, books of economics and business press. The sources amassed in our corpus include authentic documents, online business English newspapers. We opted for a corpus-based approach, as we believe corpora provide the advantage of enlarging the analysis and investigation and they also enable us to study conceptual metaphors in business genre. Additionally, corpora provide a solid ground for comparison, conceptual categories identified in one language SL can be compared with similar correspondents in TL. In such circumstances a corpus-based approach should be seen as a complementary approach to more traditional ones.

3 Purpose of Study

Business and economics are seen in terms of wealth, markets, investments, currency, business metaphors reveal the way in which business is perceived. We will make reference to business English genre as a whole, without applying conceptual categories of metaphors to business sub-genres (banking, Stock-Exchange, finances). In our investigation we rely on previous research studies dealing with the figurative aspects of business language. Previous attempts to deal with various aspects of economic metaphors encompass Charteris-Black (2004), White (2003), Skorzynska (2012)¹.

Money is a key concept of business English, it is seen as profit, wealth. Along the time metaphorical implications of money have been studied both from a synchronic and from a diachronic perspective.

An interesting approach of money seen from a diachronic perspective was provided by Tejada Caller and Guerra (2012) who study the way money was perceived in classical Greek economy. In their research the authors study the way in which monetary vocabulary was realized during the 6th and 8th centuries BC, the development and evolution of monetary vocabulary from concrete to abstract, as well as the way in which money was seen and depicted. During the 8th century BC money meanings are close to the concrete realm, while in the 6th century BC money acquire more abstract meaning. The authors also outlined the idea that money was first seen as a means of exchange following the evolution of society in close connection with the development of vocabulary. From a lexical point of view the authors see an evolution from money seen as a means of exchange to money seen as profit. The authors traced back the emergence of the word profit in the 6th century BC.

Mouton (2012) fosters the idea that in studying the economic metaphor attention should be given to the historical perspective: "The historical perspective thereby helps us to see that the metaphors underlying economic reasoning should be seen as flexible and dynamic processes rather than as fixed and static systems." (Mouton 2012: 71). Therefore the mapping identified by Mouton *money seen as blood* is rarely available today, in our corpus it was identified only once as personification. Mouton explains this mapping blood-money by the close entailment between economies and evolution, economies are seen in terms of bodies, the lack

¹ Economic and business-related metaphors are dealt with by Honesto Herrera-Soler, and Michael White (2012); Jonathan Charteris- Black (2004); Michael White (2003).

of money in primitive societies is analogous to the lack of blood in simple organisms. (Mouton 2012: 63).

Nowadays money exists physically as coins, banknotes and virtually as deposits, credits, assets, debts, profits. The conceptual metaphors we deal with in this research are related to money and they reveal the way in which money is perceived. Money is identified in conceptual metaphors such as: 1. *Money is a liquid* with sub-categories such as: Money is frozen/ Financial resources are frozen, 2. *Money is solid*; 3. *Money is food*; 4. *Investments / Banks are containers for money*; 5. *More is up, less is down*; 6. *Money is wealth*; 7. *Money is waste*; 8. *Money is an investment*; 9. *Money is a means of transportation*. The headwords under investigation in our paper are: *money, cash, budget, income, revenue, currency, prices, investment* and they belong to the Target Domain of money.

4 Corpus-based approach

Before embarking on the study of conceptual metaphors and the metaphorical overload of business English genre we explored both the traditional approach and the corpus-based one. We will briefly expose the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches.

Many linguists advocate corpus linguistics tools and instruments in researching language. Nowadays almost any area of linguistics (lexicography, grammar, socio-linguistics, educational linguistics) can be studied from a corpus perspective. Corpora can provide additional information about language use and they represent valuable resources compiled for different purposes: for creating dictionaries, for studying language change and variation, for understanding the process of language acquisition, for improving foreign- and second-language acquisition. Corpus linguistics facilitates the exploration and understanding of word by identifying them in authentic contexts. Frequency of words in certain contexts plays an important role revealing the meaning/meanings which words can acquire. Corpus linguistics is widely explored in the study of metaphor. Metaphors can also be investigated from a corpus perspective. A number of linguists resorted to corpora to research metaphors: Charteris-Black (2004), Deignan (2005, 2008), Stefanowitsch (2006) and they yielded notable results.

According to Alice Deignan corpus-based approach requires two types of corpora: ready-made corpora and corpora compiled by the researchers. The difference between these two corpora is in the size, aim, and the means by which they are explored. Smaller corpora are more appropriate

for metaphor research, they are compiled by researchers to represent one text type or genre and can also be searched by hand (Deignan 2008).

As for the traditional approach the research is limited to smaller samples of data and it does not enable the investigation of only one genre.

We opted for the corpus-approach as it opens new avenues in the study of metaphors. Arguments for resorting to this approach include the large number of studies published in the field of metaphor research from a corpus perspective. Moreover, corpus-based approach sheds different light upon linguistic analysis. The first argument would be that an increased number of texts amassed in a corpus compiled for linguistic analysis brings higher validity to the results of the research. A second argument would be that the corpus-based approach is less time-consuming than the traditional one, larger volumes of data can be collected. In these circumstances we can view corpus investigation as a complementary approach to the more traditional investigation.

In our research the corpus proved an effective and valuable tool for investigating the conceptual categories of metaphors. In addition it enabled a more complex analysis of money metaphors in comparison with the traditional approach. We consider our corpus is representative of business English genre as it encompasses 50 articles from online business English press and it is structured in such a way that our findings encompass different categories of conceptual metaphors.

5 Methods

The methodology consists of amassing a large corpus of business English articles collected from online newspapers. We start from the assumption that comprehensive studies require analysis of large databases of authentic texts. Therefore our corpus encompasses 50 business English articles which represented the basis for our analysis. The corpus compiled for researching money metaphors can be investigated in two ways: electronically or manually. The electronic annotation has both advantages and disadvantages. A first advantage would be that it helps us focus on the frequency of words, therefore we consider it more suitable for extending our research to lexical analysis as well as for exploring collocational patterning. The tool suitable for lexical analysis is the edict concapp concordancing program which allows us to search for specific target words in a corpus, thus providing lists for the occurrences of headwords such as *money*, *cash* and *profit* in context. With the help of the concordancing program we are able to analyse the lexical collocations of

money and provide information on their frequency. The disadvantage would be that it makes difficult the identification of metaphors.

We resorted to manual retrieval of metaphors, money-related headwords were extracted from the corpus manually. The advantage of this type of annotation lies in the fact that it provides a systematic identification of conceptual metaphors. The manual annotation proves also useful in identifying cases of morphological change. Manual retrieval of metaphors has the disadvantage that the size of the corpus under investigation is limited. The next stage deals with the identification of the headwords. After identifying the headwords, we searched for the metaphorical entailments establishing between Source Domain and Target Domain. We also encountered cases in which money or money-related words are not explicitly mentioned.

Therefore, we believe that electronic annotation is more suitable for lexical analysis, while manual annotation seems more appropriate for investigating conceptual metaphors.

6 Findings

Metaphors are seen as ways of highlighting conceptual interactions between Target Domain and Source Domain. In business world money takes various forms as cash, currency, profit, income. Firstly, money is seen in terms of wealth and investments. Its conceptual correspondents in business and economics are a vehicle, time, a liquid. The newspapers we resorted to for compiling our corpus are *The Independent*, *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, *The Telegraph*. We observed that there are differences in the use of metaphors within the same genre: out of the newspapers subject to our analysis, *The Economist* turned out to be laden with metaphors, the figurative use of terms has deeper overloads in *The Economist*. The conceptual metaphors overlap in these newspapers, however their structure differs, in *The Economist* the language used to realize conceptual metaphors is more figurative. We may assume the different realization of conceptual metaphors is influenced by the target reader. The most frequent conceptual metaphors related to money encompass:

TABLE 1 MONEY METAPHORS

1. Money is a liquid	
In most of the cases the conceptual category <i>Money is a liquid</i> is morphologically	<i>This has squeezed bank profit margins,</i> which has in turn led to lower business investment and economic growth.

<p>realized by means of verbs or phrasal verbs. In the examples provided the textual metaphors are realized by means of verbs used with figurative meanings. Out of the six examples selected only one emphasises the negative overtones of <i>money</i> seen as unproductive assets. We notice a close interaction between the Source Domain and the Target Domain.</p>	<p>The government would like to fix all this by setting up a “bad bank”—an asset-management company that <i>would strip bad loans off the banks’ books</i> and thus enable them to resume normal service to businesses.</p> <p>A further cut in the ECB’s deposit rate of 0.2 percentage <i>points could squeeze the net profits</i> of European banks by 6%, according to Autonomous Research.</p> <p>Consumers, governments or foreigners <i>must juice up their spending to compensate</i>.</p> <p>With these <i>unproductive assets</i> tying up their capital, Italian banks are unable to extend new credit to businesses.</p> <p>To maintain a capital ratio of 8% of risk-weighted assets at the end of 2017 under the adverse scenario, <i>the big banks will require an injection of €14.4 billion</i>, ranging from €2.1 billion for Eurobank to €4.9 billion for Piraeus.</p>
<p>2. More is up</p>	
<p>This category of conceptual metaphors is realized by collocations and fixed phrases, in most cases their structure encompasses a phrasal verb: to double up.</p>	<p>Any form of pre-paid card, such as urban-transport passes, gift vouchers or mobile-phone SIMs could <i>double up as zero-yielding assets</i>.</p>
<p>3. Less is down</p>	
<p>In the first example banks are seen as containers absorbing money as a liquid.</p>	<p>The banks <i>have simply absorbed</i> the cost of deposits at the central bank, which has <i>dented profits</i>.</p> <p><i>I was broke.</i></p>
<p>4. Investments are containers for money</p>	
	<p>If your interest rate is 5 percent or lower, Mr. Ades added, it may not make sense to recast a loan, because the <i>extra cash could be put into an investment</i> with a higher return.</p>

5. TIME is MONEY	
	Today I worry about the opposite: we are aiming for too little. <i>Time is running out.</i>
6. Intensity is speed	
<p>This category is mainly expressed by motion verbs or phrasal verbs. The phrasal verbs indicate the forward motion. In terms of frequency the first place is taken by <i>push</i>, followed by <i>go</i> and <i>plunge</i>.</p>	<p>The big traders have been accused of having the power <i>to push prices up or down</i> by holding goods in storage and manipulating supply.</p> <p>To go back to Mr Greenspan's error, bankers did focus on their self-interest: they believed that if they didn't expand their balance-sheets and keep <i>pushing up profits</i>, they would be replaced.</p> <p>Plenty of economists tell me not to worry <i>about sluggish world trade growth and plunging commodity prices.</i></p> <p>As <i>interest rates creep further into the red</i>, economists' prescriptions have become bolder.</p> <p><i>the Bank will push up interest rates</i>; even though we know its past forecasts have been wrong.</p> <p>The oil <i>price had gone up dramatically.</i></p> <p>They believed that if they didn't expand their balance-sheets and keep <i>pushing up profits</i>, they would be replaced.</p> <p>They are low because <i>the price of equities and bonds has risen dramatically</i> in recent years.</p> <p>Investors have soured on such "high-yield" or "junk" bonds this year, causing prices <i>to fall sharply and yields to surge.</i></p> <p>The big news was that the OBR revised up its assumption on the <i>tax revenues</i> the government <i>could raise</i>, giving chancellor George Osborne the leeway to retreat from</p>

	<p>some (but not all) unpopular spending cuts.</p> <p>It has caused <i>bad loans to soar</i>, which in turn has prevented them from supporting a still weak recovery with new lending.</p>
7. Vitality is a substance	
<p>The metaphor is realized by the figurative meaning of the verb <i>to revive</i>.</p>	<p><i>Lending</i> by banks <i>is</i> slowly <i>reviving</i>.</p>
8. Money is wealth	
<p>This conceptual category depicts money as solid and it is morphologically realized by nouns.</p> <p>The Source Domain is wealth, the Target Domain is money. In this conceptual category money has concrete value, money acquires positive overtones and the tendency is usually towards the exaggeration of the amount.</p>	<p>The costs of counting, storing, moving and insuring <i>lorry-loads of banknotes</i> apparently trumps the smallish charge Europe's central banks are levying to hold electronic deposits.</p>
9. Personifications	
<p>In personifications there produces a semantic transfer of human traits to money. In the first example money has negative overtone.</p> <p>The second example dwells on Mouton's mapping money is blood, although the time perspective is different, there is no entailment between economy/ society and evolution.</p> <p>In the last example money is a textual metaphor.</p>	<p><i>Capital is blind.</i></p> <p><i>It is a Black Friday filled with uncertainty for the made-in-America retailer, which filed for bankruptcy last month after bleeding money for years.</i></p> <p><i>To juggle debts.</i></p>

Deignan (2005) points out the idea that metaphors change their grammatical behaviour, there is a tendency for words that are nouns in SD

to be used as verbs in TD, the idea is resumed in Deignan 2008: 291. When referring to the lexical profile of money metaphors we can easily notice that the only conceptual category morphologically realized by nouns is Money/ Cash is solid: *lorry – loads of banknotes, cash hoard, cash mountains, piles of cash, a pot of money, stock of cash*, in these cases the implications dwell on numerical exaggeration. Most of the conceptual categories are realized by means of verbs, phrasal verbs.

The large number of conceptual metaphors identified highlights the fact that the Target Domain money attains many metaphorical meanings. At the same time it proved to be easily available for metaphorical exploitation. The most common entailments between Source Domain and Target Domain include: *Money is a liquid, Money is health*, there produces a shift to new Source Domains such as *Vitality is a substance, Money is a vehicle*.

The change of register brings about a shift in metaphorical implications. Thus, the verbs *to supply* and *to short-circuit* rarely have metaphorical implications in technical texts, while in business texts they have metaphorical load, suggesting that money is a liquid:

To supply: The authors write that the Fed's unconventional policies *to expand the money supply*, known as quantitative easing (QE), have made short-term financial assets like stocks and bonds more appealing as their capital value increases, thereby diverting capital from more productive longer-term investments in the “real economy”. The result has been low investment growth, weak productivity, and stagnant wages.

To short-circuit: At least one prominent investor agrees. Last week, Bill Gross, the co-founder of PIMCO, a big bond fund, and who now oversees some \$1.4 billion at Janus Capital, wrote in his November Investment Outlook that *low interest rates are short-circuiting financial markets* and are causing capitalism to “not work well”. In both cases the verbs acquire figurative meanings.

7 Conclusions

We attempted to analyse and interpret metaphors within the framework of CMT proposed by Lakoff and Johnson. Our research is limited to business English press, we aimed to analyse money metaphors in business English press with the help of corpora. Metaphors were collected based on conceptual similarities between Source Domain and Target Domain and they were identified by hand. During the next stage we tried to identify and interpret the different conceptual categories of money metaphors in

business English press, focussing on the mappings arising between Source Domain and Target Domain, as well as on different ways of expressing conceptual categories in the business genre. We noticed that there is a strong interaction between Source Domain and Target Domain. In the examples analysed by us money attains concrete value, in the conceptual category *Money is wealth*, its amount is sometimes exaggerated. Most of the conceptual categories are realized by means of verbs, nouns prevail in realizing the category *Money is wealth*. The research also pinpoints the metaphorical load and potential of the business genre.

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COMPUTATIONAL APPROACHES TO THE BUILDING OF A REPOSITORY OF METAPHORS

GIACOMO FERRARI

1 Introduction

The building of a repository of linguistics samples does not require the use of computational techniques although it may profit of the processing power and the storage capacity of computers. In addition, the increasing dimension and complexity of the repositories collected by linguists makes the use of computational techniques more and more necessary in order to treat large amounts of data in a time span that still stands within the lifetime of a researcher. However, the use of specific software, tools, and linguistic resources can affect different levels of the task of data acquisition.

Collecting metaphors is an important step in the identification of the features of figurative language and can be carried in two classical ways. If a top-down approach is adopted, a list of metaphors is created from theoretical studies; conversely, by a bottom-up, or corpus-based approach, real texts are collected and metaphors are extracted by different techniques. A good example of the results of the former approach is the Master Metaphor List, a sort of handbook based on Lakoff's studies (available in PDF format at <http://araw.mede.uic.edu/~alansz/metaphor/METAPHORLIST.pdf>); this is also available at the website <http://www.lang.osaka-u.ac.jp/~sugimoto/MasterMetaphorList/index.html>. This approach requires an accurate reading of theoretical works and, possibly, the searching of appropriate examples. Its weakness consists in its being dependent upon the theoretically grounded list and, in principle, being closed with respect to new metaphors. The latter approach has given origin to some projects such as MetaNet, developed at the University of Berkeley (see <https://metanet.icsi.berkeley.edu/metanet/>), or Croatian Metaphor Repository (see <http://ihjj.hr/metafore/en/>). It may reveal interesting features such as unexpected new metaphors at both conceptual (rare) and linguistic level. Moreover, the statistical evaluation of the usage

preferences within a corpus of real language gives interesting hints on possible intercultural variation in figurative language. However, a strict bottom-up strategy makes the identification of metaphors a relatively unreliable and episodic exercise, based on the experience and the attention of human readers. In reality, no project of this type relies only on the human operators' intuition, but a number of semiautomatic techniques are used. In this article, after having briefly introduced the UvaBuMet project I will review the different computational resources and tools that may contribute to metaphor identification and structuring.

2 The project UvaBuMet

The project UvaBuMet aims at the creation of two corpora, one in English and one in Romanian, of newspapers business articles where the business metaphors are identified and annotated so that they can be retrieved by an appropriate interface. The objective of the project, for which see the chapter Business Metaphors Explained by Teodora Popescu in this volume, is to highlight correspondences and divergences between the cognitive metaphors in the two languages. In this view, the project can be roughly divided into four steps. The first step consists in the acquisition of the raw material and the preparation for the human operators to identify and annotate the metaphors. The second phase is the identification of the metaphor occurring in the selected texts. Human operators can work on the texts as they stand, or be facilitated by some pre-processing. The third phase will consist in the classification of metaphors according to some theoretical frame; this implies also the building of a network of conceptual relations within the two languages and across them. The comparison of the two conceptual systems shall rely on some ontological construction. The fourth phase will consist in the implementation of a specific interface.

3 Text processing tools

The first phase, the preparation of the input material shall rely on ordinary text processing tools. In particular, a tokenizer, a POS tagger, and a lemmatizer will be necessary as the morpho-syntactic coding and the identification of the lemma are the necessary entries for further and more sophisticated searches in resources like WordNet or FrameNet. In particular, while a POS tagger can assign labels also on a probabilistic base, lemmatization in general requires a dictionary. Text processing tools

are available for English in a large variety, so it is sufficient to choose one more suitable for the project's objectives, but for Romanian the choice is more restricted. There are few POS taggers and only one suite, consisting of tokenizing, tagging, and lemmatization, the RACAI-TTL suite distributed within the framework of CLARIN (<https://user.clarin.eu/resources/3729>) or through Meta-share (<http://metashare.elda.org/repository/search/?q=Romanian+ttl>).

Metaphors are correctly identified and interpreted within a significant linguistic context. This can be delimited mechanically, as is the case of concordances, or by a syntactic device. Thus the expression “put money into” can be assigned a correct interpretation only relative to a context that specifies the location; the sentence “Put your money into the wallet” triggers a literal (physical container) interpretation, while the “says there are more firms in Iran worth putting money into” (Popescu, in press) calls for a metaphorical interpretation (INVESTMENTS are CONTAINERS for MONEY) in force of the location “firms” that cannot be considered physical containers.

The delimitation of such contexts can correspond to a line of a simple concordance produced by mechanical segmentation of the text. In this case, a manual revision will be necessary, in order to adjust it left and/or right to make it really significant. The original text being “Sasan Rahnema, an Iranian businessman who returned from America in 2005, says there are more firms in Iran worth putting money into; he calls it a “cool situation”, a concordance program delimits the text from comma to semicolon, regardless of the meaning and the syntactic structure.

In alternative a syntactic analyser can be used which will specify that “put into” has “firms” as GOAL (CONTAINER) and “money” as object.

Simple concordancers are easily found in the web; as examples Simple Concordance Program is freely available (<http://www.textworld.com/scp/>) and offers different statistic services, KWIC Concordance is available for Windows (http://www.chs.nihon-u.ac.jp/eng_dpt/tukamoto/kwic_e.html) offers mark-up services, ConcApp is also downloadable at the site <http://concapp.software.informer.com>, together with many others.

Syntactic parsing can be carried by different techniques and produce different results. To make some examples, Carnegie-Mellon Link Grammar (<http://www.link.cs.cmu.edu/link/>) is based on a specific algorithm and returns two different representations, a “link” representation and a “constituent” one. It is available for English and has extensions for Persian, Arabic, Russian, and many other languages, but not Romanian. Stanford parser, instead, is based on a statistical method and returns dependency structures (see <http://nlp.stanford.edu/software/lex->

parser.shtml). Many other parsers are available for English and return different representations; the evaluation for the purposes of the project should take into account only the ability of establishing a syntactic relation between the constituents relevant to the contextualization of the metaphoric word/expression. For Romanian there seems to be only one parser, based on dependency grammar, in the TTL sequence.

4 Identification of metaphors

As stated above metaphors can be identified by a totally bottom-up method or by a combination of top-down and bottom-up strategies.

The first approach will not be considered in this article, as the weaknesses it suffers from make it very inappropriate to the objectives of UvaBuMet. The most realistic approach will consist in defining a set of “typical” business language metaphors in English and then searching the texts for the occurrence of those words or expression. The most common list is the Master Metaphor List. In addition, the work by Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001), carried out according to a plainly bottom-up method, provides a classification of metaphors specific to the language of economy. Such list will provide an initial set of words and possibly expressions to search for in the texts, but obviously the field is to be extended to words that stand in different semantic relations to those identified at the first round.

To make an example the metaphor ECONOMIC HARM is PHYSICAL INJURY (in Charteris-Black and Ennis terms THE STATE OF THE MARKET IS A STATE OF PHYSICAL HEALTH), licenses sentences like (see MML):

The stock market suffered a sharp dive today.
 Americans can expect painful cutbacks with the recession.
 My stock portfolio is very healthy.
 The market returned to health today.
 The symptoms of the recession have all but disappeared.

The underscored terms belong to the origin domain and are mapped onto the target domain (market or in general economy). In any case, the criterion formulated by Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) still holds: the terms have primarily a physical meaning, but are used to describe an abstract process.

The words found by this method do not exhaust the possibilities, but

other words can be used metaphorically, that stand in different relations with those listed. These can be identified by using conceptual dictionaries or other tools that define the semantic frame of a word or expression. An example will be shown in the next section.

5 Knowledge repositories

The procedure sketched above requires the use of several tools and knowledge repositories. Also in this case English has a large availability of material and software, starting by the metaphor list. It is certainly possible to translate such a list, together with the elaborations of the mentioned authors, into Romanian, but this has to be done with particular accuracy, paying attention to the high specificity and idiosyncraticity of the language of economics. Thus, in any case, a good dictionary of Romanian or a bilingual one are in order.

Also, English can rely on WordNet (<https://wordnet.princeton.edu>) as a conceptual dictionary, by which synonyms, hypernyms, meronyms, hyponyms of a (metaphoric) word can be found. WordNet is a lexical database where nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives are organised into groups of cognitive synonyms said “synsets”, and it is widely used to extract information on the main lexical relations. Thus, entering the word “disease”, it will be possible to relate it to “illness, unwellness, malady, sickness” as hypernyms. They will motivate expressions like “sick economy”, or sentences like:

What can policymakers do to cure the **malady of** low interest rates? (from <http://www.levyinstitute.org/publications/the-malady-of-low-global-interest-rates>)

WordNet is accessible and usable on-line or downloadable. Other WordNets have been created later for other languages. A Romanian WordNet, has been developed at RACAI (see <http://ws.racai.ro:9191/narratives/batch1/RoWordNet.pdf> or <http://www.racai.ro/en/tools/text/rowordnet/>) consisting of 67.000 synsets, aligned with those of the original American WordNet. This makes comparison easy and handy.

Finally, FrameNet (<https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/>) offers for English an idea of the elements involved in a conceptual frame; MetaNet relies heavily on such a tool to delineate the conceptual schemas and guide the search for metaphors. For instance, a search of the same

word “disease” will lead to the frame “Medical_conditions”, whose components are a Cause, a prominent Symptom, an affected Patient or population, and has a Name; it involves often a Body_Part and sometimes has a Degree. These frame elements are the main concepts from which mappings can be drawn. The examples presented above in §4 stand among them in a relation that is clarified by a frame view of “economic harm = sickness”.

Unfortunately for Romanian no such a product is available, however, Husarciuc and Trandabăț (2005a, b, 2008) and Trandabăț (2011) propose a simple method to translate semantic roles of English, specifically of FrameNet, into Romanian, thus practically offering the possibility to use the structures already formalised.

6 Ontologies

From a theoretical point of view the comparison between the English and Romanian metaphor system can highlight the following cases, as already pointed out by Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997) for the comparison between English and Polish:

- (i) same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression
- (ii) same conceptual metaphor and different linguistic metaphors
- (iii) different conceptual metaphors
- (iv) words or expressions with similar literal meaning but different metaphorical meaning

From a universalistic point of view case (iii) is not expected to occur, but from a strictly formal point of view it is one of the possible intersections of categories and it is necessary to take it into account for the sake of completeness. If such a case occurs, it is to be expected, anyway, that there is some sort of bridge between the two different conceptualizations. What unifies the three behaviours is the reference to a complex and possibly intercultural conceptual system that can be represented in terms of an ontology. The term ontology is intended here in the sense proper to computer science of an explicit formal specification of a share conceptualization (Gruber 1993). Ontologies are to be build by human operators well aware of the domain to be modelled. Ontology editors are widely used and some of them are a sort of standard, such as Protégé (<http://protege.stanford.edu>). FrameNet, as well as WordNet, are already organised according to a hierarchical order and this is easily rendered in terms of an ontology, where top levels represent highly general (universal?) relations between conceptual metaphors, while the single

linguistic expressions are the low level.

The ontology system should also accommodate a representation level that provide an explanation of cultural differences between the two metaphoric system, such as the one proposed by Hofstede (2001) and Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010).

7 Browsing

The final product is supposed to be an interface that shows to the user lists of metaphors, with reference to the source, by different entry keys. The most interesting one is the conceptual metaphor, by which a user might want to access metaphors in the two languages. In any case, such an interface shall rely on an annotation system expressed in term of an xml (or similar) tagging, which make reference also to the ontology entry points. Thus the preliminary step is the design of a tag-set that represent all the information to be displayed by the interface, and is compliant with the requirements of browsing systems.

8 Conclusion

The present contribution aims at focusing on the most relevant products that are used in projects for the building of metaphor repositories and may be used in UvaBuMet. The procedure, or alternative procedures, depicted above are simply hypotheses and do not imply any firm project specification.

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METAPHORS OF TEACHING OR TEACHING METAPHORS

GRIGORE-DAN IORDĂCHESCU

1 Introduction

One important aim of the UVaBuMet Project is the creation of pedagogic instruments for the learning of business metaphors by students of economics and other disciplines, through a web-based platform, which will include learning facilities, such as exercises, dictionary entries, conceptual metaphors versus cultural categories mappings, instruments for teachers, specific bibliographies, etc. The project will ensure further pedagogical opportunities of teaching Business English through a better understanding of both Romanian and English metaphors, with examples provided from the business press published in Romania and the UK during the period 2012-2015.

We also tried to get an insight into the whole metaphorical thinking centered on the teaching profession, teachers and students, expectations versus realities, pre-service teacher training versus in-service teacher training and continuous professional development. It was most revealing to see the teacher metaphors related to the ideal teacher and some of the sad situations narrated by pre-service teacher trainees who remembered traumatising experiences from their school days. Most of the answers to how they pictured the ideal teacher were actually related to what a good teacher should not be.

2 The Educational Landscape in Romania

We are currently witnessing a whole array of controversial aspects on the educational landscape in Romania, from distrust in the teaching profession, disparaging of the schooling system, an overloading with red-tape for teachers who have become mere scribblers, brain drain of the best young minds who prefer to study abroad, to sensational news about corruption, indecent exposure or student battering from the part of

teachers.

Debasement of the teacher's status, i.e. his symbolic and material condition, determined by heavy underfinancing at macro-economic level, which by necessity will affect his deontic and moral authority will have negative consequences on young people's decision to enter the profession in the first place. Quality education is realised not only through unselfish commitment and giftedness, which are necessary, but not sufficient, but also through lever that condition or determine teachers to produce high quality teaching acts and educational interrelations of a certain kind. On the other hand, at macro level, we are facing whimsical, ambiguous and disturbing legislation which stimulates bureaucracy, formalism, volunteering, and which can dismantle the concrete actions performed by the teacher. Let alone laws that are purposefully passed in order to facilitate teachers' involvement (willingly or sometimes unawares) in activities that undermine the very essence of the teaching mission (private tuition, assessment compromises, endorsing some questionable "so-called" academic works). There is also the risk of political enrolment of educators in order to climb the ladder (starting from appointing school masters, school inspectors or ministry policy-makers). Other times we witness explicit intrusions or persiflage of politicians who exceed their prerogatives or competences and consequently disparage teachers and the teaching profession.

Unfortunately, however, we are faced with blatant ethical deviations in the teaching act. Until now, there has been no culture of autonomy and immovability of the teacher's status, as many unknowledgeable outsiders recommend or dictate what should be done. We, as parents, sometimes witness ill-suited pieces of advice given to teachers, by people who have no clue about education or pedagogy in particular. Even worse, with the advent of new technologies, teachers live under the terror that they may be taped and YouTube-ed for the whole world to see what happens in their classes, which could be de-contextualised and used against the whole teaching body.

Partly due to these fears that they might lose face in front of the modern students, partly due to a strong imprint of their personal experience as pupils, respectively, as students, the future teachers value to an almost absolute extent, the merits of the power exercised by the teacher in relation to the learner. Most young teachers strongly believe that they need to impose respect, obedience and awe among their students. Marked by these deeply engrained preconceived ideas, little resistant to the 'allure of power', beginning teachers let themselves be carried away by the complex of superiority. This is one of the most interesting and subtle aspects of the

individual constructs of the ‘didactic personality’. Especially at the beginning of their careers, young teachers display a totally unexpected rigidity and lack of creative thinking, most often resorting to the power invested in them by the cathedra, and the ensuing power distance, which raises questions as to the effectiveness of our psycho-pedagogic training during the pre-service teacher education programmes (Iordăchescu 2013).

On the other hand, teachers’ authority is declining, being affected both from the outer world, through wilful or conjectural debasing, but also from the inside, by the very teachers who do not rise to the height of the calling. Unfortunately, there are no selection criteria for entry into the pre-service teacher training programmes, and even worse, entry into the profession is even more flawed, given the few tenurable positions in cities, the outrageously low salaries for beginning teachers, poor commuting facilities for teachers who have to cover several remote rural areas, etc. Consequently, the system is filled with people without a real calling for teaching, with a low moral profile, and poor teaching skills, and such deficiencies are projected onto the whole teaching body, through generalization and dangerous innuendos. There exist amazing young people, who are more than committed and who dedicate all their energy, efforts and knowledge to their self-assumed educational mission.

3 Literature Review

Deeply engrained beliefs and preconceptions about the role and place of teachers in a society will greatly influence the choices of future teachers and the students’ attitudes towards education in general, and school and teachers in particular. According to Richardson (1996: 102), such beliefs are nothing but “psychologically held understandings, premises, or propositions about the world that are felt to be true” and they are based on individual or collective experiences, expectations, socially and politically transmitted attitudes and perceptions towards learning and the educational ideals.

An insight into teachers’ beliefs and ensuing metaphors can help us better understand the microcosm of the classroom, or as Oxford et al. (1998: 5) put it, metaphor can “enhance the subject’s understanding of educational problems and thus increase perspective-consciousness. Diverse instructional styles and curriculum theories can be simplified by showing, through metaphor, the relationship between abstract concepts and something that is more familiar, concrete and visible”.

According to other specialists (Cortazi, & Jin 1999: 160-161), there

exist seven reasons why teachers resort to metaphors in their accounts of learning: metaphors may help teachers to *identify for themselves what they actually experience*; metaphors may have the performance function of *adding dramatic effect* to the narrative of children's learning told in the staffroom or in a research interview; metaphors may *express the meaning more concisely* than a prolix non-metaphorical equivalent; metaphors *invite interaction* by forcing listeners to work out the relevant resemblance between target and source domains; metaphors have a function of *organising systematic concepts* in teachers' cultural-cognitive models of learning; some metaphors may be core clichés through which tellers *transform images into models*, which are manipulated through performance to develop critical themes; and seventh, it is possible that both the context, interpretation or narrative account organise the metaphor, as a key element of the teller's evaluation of an event, as well as the metaphor, as a central image of learning, *organises the teacher's interpretation of learning* and the ensuing account/narrative.

If we want to better grasp the relationship between teachers and students, it would be useful to first get a glimpse into the way in which both teachers and students picture themselves and the others. According to Munby (1986: 201, as cited in Thornbury 1991: 194) "one fruitful way to begin to understand the substantive content of teachers' thinking is to attend carefully to the metaphors that appear when teachers express themselves". In a study by Oxford et al. (1998), teachers' metaphors in English language teaching were classified into four categories, each reflecting different philosophical perspectives of teaching. The table below summarises the four categories and the ensuing metaphors (p.14):

Table 1. Typology of metaphors in the educational discourse (from Oxford 1998: 14)

Social order	Cultural transmission	Learner-centred growth	Social reform
Teacher as manufacturer	Teacher as conduit	Teacher as nurturer	Teacher as acceptor
Teacher as competitor	Teacher as repeater	Teacher as lover or spouse	Teacher as learning partner
Teacher as hanging judge		Teacher as scaffolder	
Teacher as doctor		Teacher as entertainer	
Teacher as mind-and-behaviour		Teacher as delegator	

The philosophical tenets underlying this categorisation echo important

currents in the history of education. That is to say, metaphors in the *social order* perspective embrace the philosophy according to which, the teacher, considered as a technician, is an active actor in the process of social engineering, moulding learners for the needs of society. Second, metaphors in the *cultural transmission* perspective consider the teacher as the utmost guardian of the wisdom that the society considers as valuable, and gradually guide the learners into this knowledge, having complete control over students' entry into the tower of knowledge. Third, metaphors in the *learner-centred growth* perspective start from the assumption that the teacher facilitates an all-round and harmonious development of the learner's inner abilities. Fourth, metaphors in the *social reform* perspective reflect the belief that the teacher can contribute to the full actualization of learners' powers, to the promotion of culture, the communication of rich and varied experiences, the importance of individual creativity and the use of science as non-authoritarian instrument of joint social problem-solving (Oxford 1998: 7-10).

4 Pre-service Teacher Trainees' Perceptions of the Ideal Teacher

It was most rewarding for us to identify the Romanian pre-service teacher trainees' perceptions of the teaching profession and teachers in general. 120 students of Primary and Pre-School Teacher Education (70 in the 3rd year and 50 in the 1st year) were questioned as to the metaphors they associate with a "good teacher"¹. Out of the 583 metaphors provided, the majority were centered on the TEACHER as CONDUIT metaphor: the TEACHER is a GUIDING LIGHT ("the moon amongst the stars", "the sun amongst the planets", "a prophet", "the light at the end of the tunnel", "a light in the dark", "a candle giving light to others / lighting the darkness of our ignorance", "the light of the world", "a flame that lights the sparks of children's minds and burns forever", "a bulb that never burns out", "the guide of our discoveries", "a torch in the dark"), the TEACHER is a PARENT/FAMILY MEMBER ("a good parent that nurtures you", "a parent that loves his child unconditionally", "a brother", "warm as mother's caress", "loving parent", "a patient and forgiving parent, who never wants anything in return", "tender as mother's eyes"), the TEACHER is a FRIEND ("a friend that gives you advice and helps you understand life better"), the TEACHER is a GARDNER/POTTER

¹ The answers were given in Romanian, the English translation is ours.

(“carefully cultivating his garden”), the TEACHER is a SHEPHERD (“who attends to his sheep, guiding them, educating them, keeping them away from the wolves, i.e. mass-media”); the TEACHER is a PAINTER (who gets a blank canvas which he will enrich with vivid colours); the TEACHER is an ACTOR (“the lead role in the performance of your future”, “a kind of star, who cannot go unnoticed”), the TEACHER is a REPOSITORY OF KNOWLEDGE (“an endless spring of water”, “an open book”, “a gateway to knowledge”, “a wise man who leads you to the threshold of your mind”, “a conductor to the knowledge tune”, “a window to knowledge and guidance”, “an ocean that hides the most beautiful treasures in its depths”). We also encountered the TEACHER is a SEEDER metaphor (someone who spreads the seed in different places and waits to see the results”), or the TEACHER is a TREE (“a tree that exhales oxygen, i.e. culture, without which we would be dead”, “under its shade pupils find an environment appropriate for their development”); the TEACHER is like the SUMMER RAIN (“just like the plants that need rain in order to grow, pupils need a teacher in order to grow on the social ladder”); the TEACHER is a RIVER (“that shapes and moulds the environment”); the TEACHER is a DIAMOND POLISHER (“who gets a raw gem which, carefully and patiently, he will make shine by the end”). The metaphor TEACHER as MIND and BEHAVIOUR was also encountered on quite frequent occasions (“teaches us how to manage life’s problems”, “a model”, “an example for life”, “our heart”, “an alchemist of the human mind”). The TEACHER as a DOCTOR metaphor was also present in students’ essays (“a doctor who knows what is to be done if the patient has medical problems”). Similarly important was the TEACHER as SCAFFOLDER metaphor (“a hand that catches you and lifts you up to the surface, to the truth, to the knowledge”, “a walking stick for the student”, “a field with multi-coloured flowers, each flower being a piece of learning, a piece of advice”).

5 Teaching metaphors across the curriculum

As I mentioned at the beginning of this contribution, one important objective of the UVaBuMet Project is the creation of pedagogic instruments for the learning of metaphors, which will be made available on the project website, i.e. www.business-metaphors.ro. The website will contain different exercises to train students’ linguistic and intercultural competence. The examples provided below were all produced based on articles published in *The Economist* and the links to the full texts are

available in the reference section of this paper.

One such example would be a matching + fill-in-the-gaps exercise:

1. Match the following collocations:

A. a) verb + noun

crack down on	pay
cap	remuneration
inject	billions
curb	salaries
rescue	bank
get around	cap

b) adjective + noun

failed	executives
golden	parachutes
fat-cat	salaries
bull	stockmarket
economic	downturn
outrageous	payment

2. Fill in the gaps with the combinations you found above and the following idioms:

- get off lightly

- live high on the hog

Paying the piper

Creating political theatre by 1) _____ executive _____ may prove to be the easy part for Barack Obama.

2) _____ the non-equity-based _____ of executives in companies receiving "exceptional assistance" at \$500,000 a year and banning 3) " _____ " for 4) _____ is likely to strike most Americans as fair, or even generous, given that Mr Obama himself earns a mere \$400,000 and the rules will apply only to new bail-outs. Indeed, after the _____ of billions of dollars in bonuses by Wall Street firms that had survived only because many more _____ into them by the government, the executives should probably be grateful for _____ so _____. Moreover, executives will be allowed grants of restricted stock (which they cannot sell until the taxpayer is repaid), so they may yet end up making a fortune.

Last time a president tried to _____ - _____ was in 1993, when Bill Clinton signed a law restricting the tax deductibility of executive pay to \$1m. This merely prompted a burst of creativity. Perks were devised that _____ the _____, and there was a boom in paying executives with shares and options that, thanks to the _____ of the 1990s, made everybody far wealthier than they would have been using the old pay formulae.

Mr. Obama has the dubious advantage of trying to cap pay amid a severe _____, rising unemployment and structural changes in finance that will reduce pay anyway.

As a result the new rules may weaken the management of _____ - _____ -just as low pay arguably weakened regulation and helped cause the financial crisis. Will Mr. Obama's message to bosses that they have "got responsibilities not to _____" lead to restraint in executive pay more broadly? Ira Kay of Watson Wyatt, a pay consultant, thinks it might, because rising pay on Wall Street in recent years led to higher pay elsewhere-a trend that may now operate in reverse. (*The Economist*, 2012)

3. Identify which of the collocations you found are metaphoric. Analyse the metaphors by stating the source domain and the target domain.
4. Explain the character of the idiom "*to pay the piper*" and identify the cultural elements involved in this metaphorical construction.
5. Think of an appropriate translation into Romanian for the metaphors you identified.

Another type of exercise would be that of focusing the metaphorical mappings for different categories.

6. Identify the mappings between the source domain and the target domain for the MONEY is a LIQUID metaphor and BANKS are CONTAINERS for MONEY metaphor in the following examples:

Deposits drained out of them [banks] on fears that the country would leave the euro and revert to the drachma. (EC, 2015)

To maintain a capital ratio of 8% of risk-weighted assets at the end of 2017 under the adverse scenario, the big banks will require an injection of €14.4 billion, ranging from €2.1 billion for Eurobank to €4.9 billion for Piraeus. (EC, 2015)

Almost €100 billion, about one-tenth of GDP, was pulled out of the country's banks and bond markets in the first quarter. (EC, 2012)

The threat of coercion might explain why big holders like banks and pension funds chose not to contest the terms of the swap. (EC, 2012)

7. Identify the mappings between the source domain and the target domain for the BUSINESS is WAR metaphor in the following examples:

A fast-growing business where technology will be crucial is fighting money-laundering. (EC, 2013)

That could force some banks, already struggling to comply with the stricter capital requirements imposed since the crisis, to raise even more money. (EC,

2014)

Banks and custodians will battle it out to provide a variety of collateral-related services in future, with third-party vendors and even CCPs themselves also vying for business. (EC, 2012)

The alliance should bring Barnes & Noble not only cash but also new readers of digital books and magazines, especially outside the United States. (EC, 2012)

On December 20th he invited an audience of his peers to hear his declaration of war against Herbalife, a seller of dietary supplements and vitamins. (EC, 2013)

The watchdogs sniffed the deal carefully because patents are powerful weapons and war is already being waged. (EC, 2012)

Google has hitherto been poorly armed, which helps explain why it is forking out \$12.5 billion for Motorola Mobility's arsenal. (EC, 2012)

No sign of a ceasefire in the mobile industry's intellectual-property war (EC, 2012)

6 Conclusions

Explicit teaching of metaphors involves besides specific linguistics training, an insight into cultural aspects pertaining to Romania and The UK. The language classes should be interspersed with communication theory elements, business anthropology, intercultural education, etc., in order for the students to acquire deeper knowledge of the interrelations between language and culture and to be better prepared for the international labour market. The project results will be useful for business and philology students alike, as well as for teachers of English, especially those who teach ESP. We dare to hope that our investigation could also be useful for teachers of other disciplines, especially through awareness raising to the “metaphors we teach by”.

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CHAPTER II:

**METAPHORICAL APPROACHES FROM OTHER
CULTURAL SPACES**

CONCEPTS OF HAPPINESS AND MONEY IN ENGLISH, SERBIAN AND ROMANIAN LANGUAGES: COMMON METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS AND PROVERBS

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1 Introduction

The current paper deals with the notions of happiness and money in English, Serbian and Romanian languages. It seems that money and happiness are ruling the scene. Apart from worrying about money and security, modern individuals also wonder if they have fulfilled the aim of their lives: are we happy? The concept of happiness in English, Serbian and Romanian language is viewed within the framework of *Natural Semantic Metalanguage* (NSM), a non-ethnocentric lingua franca for conceptual analysis (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014). Having outlined the main similarities and differences between the three languages in regard to the notion of *happiness* at formal and semantic level, the paper deals with common metaphorical expressions and proverbs associated with happiness and money. The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or experience in terms of another. The analysis has shown that the same metaphors could be identified for the notions of money and happiness in all three languages.

2 The notion of happiness

It seems that money and happiness are ruling the scene. Apart from worrying about money, modern individuals also wonder if they have fulfilled the aim of their lives: are we happy? What we can listen to or read

about these days in the media refers to interesting findings of an extended longitudinal study about happiness. Fifteen year research into personal wellbeing has been carried out in Australia by Deakin University, using more than 60,000 responses. The most recent report was offered by Professor Robert Cummins (Cummins, 2015) from the Deakin University, according to which, apart from genetics, there are three simple indicators of a happy life. To put it more picturesquely, a “golden triangle” of happiness has emerged as a key finding of the research. The triangle consists of good personal relationships, financial security and a sense of life purpose. Relations with other people, i.e. the fact that you are a part of a close relationship with another human being is the most important component of wellbeing, i.e. happiness. Pets cannot replace human beings. Another factor is financial control: while money does not make us happy, a lack of it makes us unhappy. In other words, certain level of financial security is necessary, but if earnings are excessive, healing power of money drops off dramatically. Finally, people are happiest when they are active, and when they have a sense of purpose. Volunteers are amongst the happiest people. According to the above-mentioned research findings, when these elements are present (personal relationships, financial security and sense of purpose in life), normal positive levels of sense of happiness will almost certainly be found, regardless of age, income or health status.

However, language researchers have been warning that the notion of happiness is culturally determined. Therefore, we are facing the following questions: do speakers of various languages have the same concept in mind when they use the word *happiness*. At the same time, the very fact that there is a need for the above mentioned research points to the fact that the concept of happiness represents an unstable category, changing over time and depending on the perspective of an individual (who belongs to a certain culture, social group, peer group, etc.).

Let's consider a song the whole planet is currently humming:

Because I'm happy
 Clap along if you feel like a room without a roof
 Because I'm happy
 Clap along if you feel like happiness is the truth
 Because I'm happy
 Clap along if you know what happiness is to you
 Because I'm happy
 Clap along if you feel like that's what you wanna do

We cannot hide the impression that the person singing the above lines is a young one, striving for freedom as a form of happiness (a room

without a roof), for truthfulness and justice (happiness is the truth), showing awareness of the necessity to know what happiness is in order to be happy... Unfortunately, as we get older, we tend to forget the importance of freedom, ready to make peace with the fact that we cannot be free in the sense we were hoping for when we were younger. At the same time, we start questioning what the truth is and usually forget what happiness is to us. In other words, regardless of the fact that both young and mature people use the same word, it is beyond dispute that our standpoints differ and that we construct the notion of happiness in different ways.

So, while speakers of a variety of languages sing *Because I'm happy*, we are wondering what does, for example, an average speaker of English, Romanian and Serbian language have in mind when he or she says:

I am happy.
Ja sam srećan.
Sunt fericit.

3 The view of Goddard and Wierzbicka

Answer to this and other similar questions are offered by Goddard and Wierzbicka (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014) in their recently published book *Words and Meanings*. They point out that different languages categorize emotions differently and that words for emotions do not match semantically across languages. In other words, among many others, the notion of happiness is a cultural script changing over time, depending on the perspective of an individual (who belongs to a certain culture, social position and role, age group...). Criticizing the tendency in contemporary linguistic circles for all the discussion around language to start from the English language, thus becoming Anglocentric, they emphasize the need for a common measure (*a tertium comparationis*) according to which it would be possible to compare meanings encoded in present-day English (or any other) language with those encoded in other languages. Aware that “global” English as the first ever global lingua franca can create conceptual confusion (Anglophone approach), the stated authors have developed Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), a non-ethnocentric lingua franca for conceptual analysis. In other words, instead of using English language as a starting point in linguistic studies, they advocate for NSM, an inventory of simple universal concepts that are embedded in the lexicons of all (or most) languages. According to Natural Semantic

Metalanguage, complex and language-specific meanings are broken down to simple and cross-translatable components such as ‘place’, ‘people’, ‘do’, ‘many’, ‘all’, ‘live’, ‘want’ and sixty or so others (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014: 3). Even though they admit that much further work is necessary, opening up possibility of future revisions to the current inventory, they claim that within the NSM methodology, a plausible, stable and well-evidenced set of “universal words” has been identified and this can provide the necessary solid foundation for the project of decoding meanings across languages. Strictly speaking these units are not words as such, but word-meanings (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014: 12).

Outlining what the word *happy* means in contemporary English, they propose an explication of the sentence *He was happy* according to NSM approach (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014: 103):

[A] *He was happy.*

- a. this someone thought like this for some time at that time:
- b. “many good things are happening to me now as I want
- c. I can do many things now as I want
- d. this is good”
- e. because of this, this someone felt something good at that time
- f. like people feel at many times when they think like this for
some time

Comparing the concept of happiness in English and Indian culture the authors (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014) conclude that one of the key differences between them is that the English concept refers to external circumstances and to the experiencer’s wants directed at external events and actions; at the same time it implies actual good feeling. On the other hand, Buddhist concept refers exclusively to what happens in the person’s mind and heart; it is entirely a question of training one’s mind: it is not pursued in the outside world and it can be achieved “through training the mind”, regardless of what happens to us, and regardless of what we can or cannot do. These are two fundamentally different views on happiness.

4 The notion of *happiness* in English, Romanian and Serbian languages

If we turn to the concept of happiness in Romanian and Serbian language, the authors of the present paper are inclined to agree that the notion of

happiness in these two languages and cultures are closer to the one in the English, rather than Indian, but they are not identical. It seems that the mental scenario of Serbian and Romanian language speakers mostly involves similar thoughts in encoding and decoding the concept of *happiness* (many good things are happening to me now as I want and I can do many things now as I want). Nevertheless, it also seems that there are also certain differences. Those most evident are at the formal level: the English language starts from the adjective *happy* to derive the noun *happiness*. In the case of the Romanian and Serbian language, it is the opposite: the basic morphemes are nouns *sreća* and *fericire* and their derivatives are adjectives *srećan* and *fericit/ă*. These differences are shown in the Table 1

Table 1 Differences at formal level

English	Serbian	Romanian
adjective <i>happy</i> → noun <i>happiness</i>	noun <i>sreća</i> → adjective <i>srećan/na</i>	noun <i>fericire</i> → adjective <i>fericit/ă</i>

At the same time, there are two parallel nouns in the English language (*happiness*, *luck*), i.e. two adjectives (*happy*, *lucky*) expressing two different meanings: the former refers to intrinsic feeling of an individual, while the latter refers to external circumstances which are in favour of an individual. On the other hand, the noun *sreća*, i.e. its derivative, adjective *srećan* involves both senses in the Serbian language. In other words, in the case of the English noun *happiness*, its semantic link with “luck” and “good fortune” totally evaporated, while Serbian noun *sreća* preserved its semantic link with “luck” and “good fortune”. In this sense, the Romanian language is closer to the English language, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

English	Serbian	Romanian
He is happy. to be + adj <i>happy</i>	On je srećan. to be + adj <i>srećan</i>	El este fericit. to be + adj <i>fericit</i>
He is lucky. to be + adj <i>lucky</i> .	On ima sreće. to have + n <i>sreća</i>	El are noroc. to have + n <i>noroc</i>

He is a lucky person. to be + adj <i>lucky</i> + n <i>person</i>	On je <i>srećković /srećnik</i> . to be + nouns derived from the adjective <i>srećan</i>	El este <i>norocos</i> . to be + noun derived from the noun <i>noroc</i>
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As can be seen in the table above, the collocation of verb *to have* (*imati*) and the noun *happiness* (*sreća*) is used in the Serbian language to express the sense of being lucky. Accordingly, the nouns expressing the meaning of a lucky person (*srećković /srećnik*) are derived, i.e. built upon the basic morpheme *sreć* (plus suffixes). Even though the noun *sreća* contains both the meaning of internal feeling and the meaning of fortunate external circumstances, it can be used to express the sense of luck only in collocation with the verb *imati* [have]. In other words, it is not possible to use the adjective *srećan* in collocation with the verb *to be* to express that somebody is lucky. In expressing the sense of being lucky, the Romanian language uses a bit of both English and Serbian language principles – like English, it has the parallel noun *noroc* which is, like in Serbian, in collocation with the verb *to have*.

Undoubtedly, there are differences between the three languages in case of formulaic language, i.e. in everyday expressions and phrases:

Table 3 Formulaic language

English	Serbian	Romanian
Good luck!	Srećno!	Noroc! Baftă!
Have a nice trip!	Srećan put!	Drum bun!
Happy birthday!	Srećan rodendan!	La mulți ani!
Happy holidays/ New Year!	Srećan praznik/Božić, Nova godina...	Crăciun fericit, Anul Nou fericit...
Merry Christmas!		
Many happy returns!	-	-
-	Kakva sreća!	Ce fericire! Ce noroc!
-	Sreća moja/njegova/naša...!	Norocul meu/al lor/ al nostru!
Lucky you!	Blago tebi! Sreća tvoja!	Ferice de tine!

5 Devaluation of the adjective *happy* in English language

After a long discussion on a semantic change of the adjective *happy* and

its derivatives, Goddard & Wierzbicka conclude that they have devaluated in the sense of the intensity of the meaning, shifting, through social and historical changes, from “very good feeling” to the level of “good feeling”. According to the stated authors, even though English language distinguishes the word *happiness* from words like *pleasure*, *contentment* and *comfort*, *happiness* is closer semantically to these other words than *Gluck* and *bonheur* are to their closest German and French counterparts. Happiness – like pleasure, comfort and contentment – implies something “good” rather than something “very good”, and does not imply something rare, unusual, and ephemeral (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014: 111).

Due to being part of certain phrases, the adjective *happy* has gone even further in the direction of “devaluation”, i.e. decrease in the strength of meaning, than the noun *happiness*.

Table 4: *happy* as a part of various phrases

English	Serbian	Romanian
be happy about	biti drago/ radovati se (be pleased, be glad)	a fi încântat/ a-i părea (cuiva) bine
be happy with (absence of bad feelings)	biti zadovoljan (be content, satisfied)	a fi mulțumit
be happy to	rado (gladly, be willing)	bucuros, cu plăcere

Even though they contain the adjective *happy*, the above English language phrases in Table 4 do not express “very good feeling”. The phrase *be happy about* refers to feeling pleased and happy about something good that has happened (e.g. The director was very happy about rehearsals so far.). In the Serbian and Romanian language phrases close to the sense of “be pleased” are used to express the meaning of *be happy about*. The phrase *happy with* does not have to imply “happiness” at all. Like the phrase *happy about*, it can mean that you are satisfied because something has been done or made well or because you have achieved what you wanted to achieve. In other contexts, it actually emphasizes the absence of “bad feelings” and dissatisfaction, i.e. being satisfied with what you have, so that you do not want to change it for anything else (e.g. I

would be happy with a part time job.). The phrase *be happy to* is used to express that you are very willing to do something (that will help someone else). As can be seen in the table above, no words containing the basic morpheme *sreća* (in Serbian language) or *fericire* (in Romanian language) are used to express meanings commonly expressed by the adjective *happy* in English language. Other more neutral adjectives are used, which could be translated into English as *be content, satisfied, glad, pleased, willing*.

In dealing with language and culture Kramsch goes even further in illustrating the weakening of the sense of being happy in English. According to Kramsch, cultural encodings can also change over time in the same language. For example, German that used to encode a state of happiness as *glücklich*, now encodes deep happiness as *glücklich*, superficial happiness as *happy*, pronounced /hepi/ (Kramsch 1998: 17). Generally speaking, borrowing of an anglicism is a result of the need to name new objects, notions or phenomena Serbian, Romanian or any other language speakers get familiar with through the English language. As a consequence, it seems unjustifiable to borrow an anglicism and use it as an alternative of a native word already existing in a language. However, just like the above mentioned case of the German language, both Romanian and Serbian language speakers use the anglicism *happy*, pronounced /hepi/ in both languages, written *hepi* in Serbian and *happy* in Romanian language. Apart from being fashionable to use words of English origin in both Serbian and Romanian language, it seems that the motivation of using the anglicism “happy” is similar to the one in the German language. In the case of modern Serbian, *hepi* is used as an anglicism which has undergone secondary adaptation, frequently with the adverb *sav/sva (all)*:

Bila je/bio je sva/sav hepi.

As for the modern Romanian, *happy* is used as an anglicism in its original form, frequently in collocation with the adverb *foarte (all)*, just like in the Serbian language.

A fost / era foarte happy.

Like any other culturally dependant concept, it seems that the above mentioned anglicism is used differently by people belonging to different generations. While it is a neutral word for younger generation, it seems to be a bit sarcastically used by older generation in order to express a superficial feeling, not a true, genuine feeling, but the one which is associated with some trivial reasons for being happy, reasons which will

not last for long and which are not considered reasons for true happiness. It might be said that the native speakers of Serbian and Romanian are reluctant to frequently attribute someone the feeling of being happy, considering happiness a complex and deep feeling and having in mind that there is a demand for many preconditions to be fulfilled for a person to be truly happy.

6 Money and happiness – figurative language

In spite of the fact that it was traditionally regarded as a mere figure of speech, a device of poetic imagination, belonging to the world of literature, above all poetry, metaphor is nowadays acknowledged to be a widespread feature of everyday thought and language. It seems that it would be impossible for a person to express him/herself verbally without using a metaphor at some point, no matter whether s/he does it knowingly or not.

The idea of metaphor pervading all language and communication came to life with the appearance of the book *Metaphors we live by*, written by George Lakoff, a linguist and Mark Johnson, a philosopher (Lakoff & Johnson: 1980). Not only that a metaphor is pervasive in everyday life and language, helping us comprehend and express an abstract concept via another specific one, but also in thought and action, shaping our view of life. In the stated work the authors developed a new theory that has become known as the “cognitive view of metaphor”. Arising from the complexity of the relationship between thought and language, the difficulty of defining metaphor lies in the dilemma whether it should be considered a cognitive or a linguistic phenomenon. Thus, metaphor can be viewed both as a cognitive phenomenon related to how we understand things, and as a linguistic phenomenon related to how we express them (Cameron, & Low 1999). Metaphor is usually defined as a cognitive mechanism whereby one conceptual domain (*source*) is partially mapped onto a different conceptual domain (*target*), the second domain being partially understood in terms of the first one, with the linguistic metaphor deriving from those domains. It is worth noting here that even the definition of metaphor is given via metaphoric extensions of the words *source* and *target*. In other words, “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one type of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980: 5). Figurative language usages appear to be pervasive in all languages – and the reason is apparently that they reflect patterns of human cognition (Dancygier, & Sweetser 2014: 8).

Again, extrinsic circumstances (some good things are happening to me right now) open up possibilities for a person to do what he/she wants, leading to feeling good for some time, which is good for this person. The above reconstruction of the meaning of the adjective *happy* captures the idea of the feeling being time limited, i.e. temporary. Serbian and English proverbs reflect the uncertainty, i.e. fragility of both happiness and money (power).

Table 5 Uncertainty of happiness

English	Serbian	Romanian
Great fortune brings with it great misfortune.	Gde je sreća, tu je i nesreća.	Norocul cel mare aduce cu el nenorocul.
Joy and sorry are next door neighbours.	Sreća u nesreći.	Bucuria și necazul sunt nedespărțite.
Every flow have its ebb.		Nu-i flux fără reflux.

Table 6 Uncertainty of money (power)

English	Serbian	Romanian
The further you go, the bigger you fall.	Ko visoko leti, nisko pada.	Cine sare cam sus, îndată cade jos.
Put aside something for a rainy day.	Čuvaj bele pare za crne dane.	Bani albi pentru zile negre.
Save when you are young and spend when you are old.		Cine adună la tinerețe, are la bătrânețe.

The tables above and the examples they contain show that speakers of English, Serbian and Romanian language perceive both happiness and money as instable, uncertain, relative and easy to lose.

In the following we will try to reveal the link between effort, money (power) and happiness.

According to happiness-related idioms and idiomatic expressions, it seems that in English, Serbian and Romanian cultures there is an association between effort leading to gain (money, power) and finally, happiness. There is a Serbian proverb including the noun *sreća*, illustrating this link to be found in English and Romanian languages as well.

Table 7 The link between effort (money, power) and happiness

English	Serbian	Romanian
The early bird catches the warm.	Ko rano rani, dve <i>sreće</i> grabi.	Cine se trezește de dimineață, departe ajunge.
The cow that's first up gets the first of the dew.		
Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.		Trezește-te de dimineață, dacă vrei să-ți lungești viața.
No pain, no gain.	U <i>sreću</i> se uzda lud, a pamentan u svoj trud.	Fără trudă nu există câștig.

Literal translation of the above stated Serbian proverb would be: *he who gets up early, grabs double luck*, and it is easily associated with the proverbs existing in the English and Romanian languages communicating similar notion of the link between being hardworking and happy, i.e. hard work, effort and happiness.

The link between happiness and money could also be established via the metaphorical concept TIME IS MONEY, according to which money is a limited resource and a valuable commodity. At the same time, what makes us happy is the way we spend our time. Thus, time is related to both money and happiness.

6.1 Orientational Metaphor of Happiness and Money (Power)

Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation, for example, HAPPY IS UP. The fact that the concept *happy* is oriented UP leads to English expressions like "I'm feeling up today." Such metaphorical orientations are not arbitrary. They have a basis in our physical and cultural experience (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980: 462). In English the metaphors expressing "happiness" are mostly related to space and orientation: the erect posture of body is used to express happiness, thus the metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP. By comparison, we found that there are the same metaphorical expressions in Serbian and Romanian language. At the same time, money is related to control and high status. Both control and high status are built in our concept of UP. According to Lakoff and Johnson, having control or force is up and high status is also up (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980: 462).

Table 8 Happy is up

English	Serbian	Romanian
on cloud nine	-	în al noulea cer
jump for joy	skakati od sreće	a sălta de bucurie
over the moon,	-	-
in seventh heaven	na sedmom nebu	în al şaptelea cer
on <i>top</i> of the world,	na vrhu sveta	culmea culmilor
walking on air	hodati po oblacima	a pluti pe nori
to feel up	osećati se dobro	a se simţi bine
to cheer up	oraspoložiti	a înveseli, a binedispune
high spirits	dobro raspoloženje	bună dispoziţie
to boost up	podici raspoloženje	a creşte bunadispoziţie
raise/lift somebody's	podici nekome	a-i spori cuiva
spirits	raspoloženje	bunadispoziţie

Table 9 High status is up

English	Serbian	Romanian
He has a high position.	On ima visoku poziciju.	El este la o poziţie suspusă
She'll rise to the top.	Ona će se popeti do vrha.	Ea va ajunge până în vârful
He's at the peak of his career.	On je na vrhuncu svoje karijere.	El va ajunge la apogeul carierei

According to Lakoff and Johnson, there is an overall external systematicity among the various spatialization metaphors, which defines coherence among them. Thus, GOOD IS UP gives an UP orientation to general well-being, which is coherent with special uses like HAPPY is UP, HEALTHY is UP, ALIVE is UP, CONTROL is UP, HIGH STATUS is UP (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980: 464). In other words, these very schematic structures correlate with other aspects of human experience in ways that result in pervasive metaphoric mappings (Dancygier, & Sweetser 2014: 24). Such correlations in experience also produce metaphoric mappings which have been identified as *Primary Metaphors* (Dancygier, & Sweetser 2014: 25).

6.2 Ontological Metaphor of Happiness and Money

A conceptual metaphors is a unidirectional mapping projecting conceptual material from one structured domain, called the source domain, to another one, called the target domain (Dancygier, & Sweetser 2014:

14). One variant of conceptual metaphors is ontological metaphor. Very generally in English the IDEAS ARE OBJECTS metaphor gives object status to an abstraction and has therefore been called an ontological metaphor because it so radically reframes the ontological status of the abstraction (Dancygier & Sweetser 2014: 15).

It seems that English, Romanian and Serbian language share the following ontological metaphors: HAPPINESS is a LIQUID in a CONTAINER and MONEY is a LIQUID in a CONTAINER, as will be illustrated in the Tables 10 and 11. It seems that our body or heart is usually viewed as a container, while the emotion of happiness is regarded as fluid in a container. There are idiomatic expressions motivated by this metaphor in all three languages. Furthermore, one common conceptualization of money takes the form of “money is a liquid”.

Table 10 Happiness is liquid in a container

English	Serbian	Romanian
Joy <i>welled up</i> inside him. The good news <i>filled</i> him with joy. We were <i>full of</i> joy. He <i>brimmed over with</i> happiness. His heart is <i>overflowing with</i> joy. Seeing his funny look, all of the students <i>burst into</i> laughter.	Zadovoljstvo je raslo u njemu. Dobre vesti su ga ispunile srećom. Bili smo puni sreće. Pucao je od sreće. Srce mu je bilo preplavljeno srećom. Videvši njen smešan pogled, svi učenici su prasnuli u smeh. Pucati od smeha/sreće.	A crescut inima în el de bucurie. Vestile bune i-au umplut inima de bucurie. Eram pe deplin fericiti Exploda de fericire. Sufletul îi era inundat de fericire. Văzându-i privirea comică, toți elevii au bufnit în râs. A pocni de râs/ de fericire.

Table 11 Money is a liquid in a container

English	Serbian	Romanian
cash flow money will pour in funds are drying up profits are evaporating lack of money as draught money leaks injection of cash/funds	protok novca novac će navaliti sredstva se isušuju zarada isparava nedostatak novca kao suša novac curi finansijska injekcija	scurgere de bani banii vor năvăli mijloacele au secăt câștigul s-a evaporat banii lipsesc cu desăvârșire banul curge injecție financiară

7 Conclusion

The present paper dealt with the notions of happiness and money in English, Serbian and Romanian languages. The study was motivated by the fact that apart from worrying about money and security, modern individuals also wonder if they have fulfilled the aim of their lives, i.e. to be happy. Different languages categorize emotions differently and words for emotions do not match semantically across languages.

In other words, among many others, the notion of happiness is a cultural script changing over time, depending on the perspective of an individual (who belongs to a certain culture, social position and role, age group...). Criticizing the tendency in contemporary linguistic circles for all the discussion around language to start from the English language, thus becoming Anglocentric, certain authors advocate for more universal approach. Thus, the concept of happiness in English, Serbian and Romanian language was viewed within the framework of *Natural Semantic Metalanguage* (NSM), a non-ethnocentric lingua franca for conceptual analysis (Goddard, & Wierzbicka 2014).

Having outlined the main similarities and differences between the three languages in regard to the notion of *happiness* at formal and semantic level, the paper was dealing with common metaphorical expressions and proverbs associated with happiness and money. The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or experience in terms of another. Thus, certain metaphors existing for the concepts of happiness and money in all three investigated languages were identified. According to the analysis of figurative language, it seems that there are certain common views on happiness and money in English, Romanian and Serbian language.

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BUSINESS COMMUNICATION AND TEACHING BUSINESS ENGLISH: THE IMPROVEMENT OF COMMUNICATIVE SKILLS VIA THE APPLICATION OF METAPHORS

MARLENA IWONA BIELAK

1 Introduction

The space of the present world provides scope for a plethora of phenomena influencing human life, globalisation and the rise of English as a global language being one of them. This article will focus on one aspect associated with the phenomenon of globalisation, i.e. the impact of the English language on business communication and the consequences of the above for the process of teaching and learning business English in Poland. Accordingly, the paper will demonstrate the impact of the hegemony of the English language on multicultural business communication and the concept of the transcommunicator which is supposed to provide a remedy to certain negative phenomena inflicted on the communication under analysis. Since the concept of metaphor is of central importance in this article, the paper will also provide a brief presentation of the notion of metaphor and its use in business training. In the final part of the article emphasis will be placed on the application of metaphors to business English teaching and learning in Poland in reference to the idea of the transcommunicator.

2 Business communication and the hegemony of the English language

The language that predominates in multinational business communication is definitely the English language (Michaud 2012,

Lauring, & Selmer 2012; Louhiala-Salminen, & Kankaaranta 2012; Neeley 2012; Alshibly 2015). The hegemony of English in the field of world business is strengthened not only by the omnipresence of the language in question in business but also by a number of other aspects that contribute to the general high vitality of English in the world arena (Crystal 2004: 10-13; Puppel 2007b; Bielak 2014: 116; Phillipson 1992), inclusive of the awareness status of the English language which expresses its role in world history, politics and economy. The attitude towards the English language in the world of business is exceedingly positive, i.e. it is viewed as a language of high value, which places it in the superstratum awareness position. To exemplify, the results of the survey conducted by an ETS and Ipsos Public Affairs among 749 HR leaders employed in multinational firms in 13 different countries show that 94 % of corporations whose employees possess a good level of English proficiency are convinced that they are more competitive thanks to their workers' English language skills. It is also believed that the English language opens doors to success. Additionally, 78% of corporations participating in the research emphasise that their demand for English language proficiency has grown larger over the period of the last three years, whereas 81% of companies highlight that the demand for workers with advanced English language skills will tend to increase (Why English matters 2015).

As a result of the general strength of the English language (which is clearly noticeable in the global arena) and the high frequency of business contacts in the English language with people from non-native countries, communication in multinational corporations constitutes a field affected by Anglo-Saxon influences. To exemplify, the results of the research conducted by Bielak (2013: 214-220) show that the native languages of the employees working for various branches of a multinational corporation have already assimilated words from the English language and adopted certain elements characteristic of Anglo-Saxon culture. Additionally, the research by Bielak (2013: 214-220) indicates that the awareness status of the native language as opposed to the English one, among Polish, Dutch and Hungarian employees, is non-high, which signifies the weakening of the Polish, Dutch and Hungarian languages.

The aforementioned negative tendencies seem alarming. In consequence, it is postulated that the problem in question may be approached in the field of English language teaching and learning which should be underlain by the concept of the transcommunicator by Puppel (2007a).

3 The Transcommunicator

The transcommunicator is shaped within the framework of communicative processes underlying the TRANS-perspective of language contact, i.e. the type of linguistic contact based on the equality of the non-native and native language and their cultures (Puppel 2007a: 85-90). When involved in language contacts, the transcommunicator strives to maintain their linguistic-cultural identity by viewing both their native and non-native language and culture as constructs of equal status. The aforementioned equality relations result from the properly shaped awareness of native communicators in relation to the position of their native language and its culture as opposed to the rank of the non-native language and culture. The equal awareness position of the native and non-native language and culture prevailing in a linguistic-cultural-communicative community restrains the native language (of typically weaker vitality) from acquiring the lower (i.e. inferior) awareness status. In other words, the idea of the transcommunicator rests firmly on the concept of strong identification with one's own language and culture and its protective function in the process of native language maintenance presented by such authors as Labov (1963), Gumperz and Blom (1971) and Trudgill (2002) *inter alios*. Accordingly, the transcommunicator, oriented towards parity of languages and cultures, develops the bilingual competence based on the native culture of their linguistic-cultural-communicative community and shaped by the process of widening in which the cultural competence of the native language is regarded as a fundamental part to which the cultural competence of the non-native language is affixed (Puppel 2007a: 89).

The concept of the transcommunicator offers a wide range of ideas that can be applied to the field of glottodidactics. Generally speaking, it enables educators to endow learners with the communicative skills of the global communicator who is capable of preserving their language and cultural identity in a variety of language contacts (Puppel 2007: 90). With regard to the Polish language-cultural-communicative community, it is the process of English language teaching and learning in which one should make use of the framework under analysis as the English language classroom in Poland is not transcommunication-oriented (cf. Bielak 2014). In other words, English language teaching and learning held in the Polish classroom is not based on the parity of the English and Polish language and culture. In the process in question Polish culture tends to occupy a marginal position. Additionally, the results of the research into the awareness of Polish students and teachers of the English language with

reference to the status of their native language, as opposed to English, demonstrate that the English-Polish language relationship represents the type of the winner-loser relation, i.e. the English language is the language of superior awareness status, whereas the Polish language has been placed in a lower awareness position, which implies that the awareness of Polish students and teachers, respectively learning and teaching the English language, is to be raised.

The process of the aforementioned awareness elevation ought to be realised via cultural competence widening, which in turn is to form an element of general communication skills improvement as multifarious aspects of communication are subject to heavy cultural conditioning. Significantly, it should be highlighted that work on Polish students' communicative skills development seems to be a must as the level of communicative skills represented by Polish teenagers is not satisfying (i.e. it is not high), which has been described in *The Report on the State of Protection of the Polish language for the years 2003-2004*. Broadly speaking, the formation of the transcommunicator underlying the process of English language teaching and learning in Poland should be directed at communicative style evolvment based on the elaborated code, i.e. high communicative resources. In consequence, the framework in question, while concentrating on elaborating general communication skills, facilitates the process of expanding the communicative resources of both the Polish and English language. Since communication is subject to strong cultural determination, the introduction of Polish communicative style constituents and their demonstration on an equal footing with English communicative style elements will contribute to increasing the Polish language awareness status, general communicative skills being expanded (cf. Bielak 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2014).

Notably, the concept of the transcommunicator may be used as an approach applied to teaching business English in Poland to raise the awareness status of the Polish language among Poles planning to work in a multicultural setting or actually working in such an environment. The framework under analysis can be implemented in the process of business English teaching and learning in Poland via the use of such elements of the elaborated code as rhetorical figures, for instance metaphors. As rhetorical figures representing language aesthetics, metaphors can be used in teaching and learning business English to raise general communicative skills of Polish communicators as businesspeople in general are expected to be in possession of high language resources. Being strongly culturally determined, metaphors can be also incorporated in the process of cultural competence widening (Bielak 2014: 67). Since it is the concept of the

metaphor that is of vital consideration in this paper, it is this idea that will be outlined in the next part of the paper in more detail.

4 Metaphors

A metaphor may be defined in a variety of ways. According to Chandler (2002: 125), the concept in question may be viewed as a newly created sign which originates from substitution, where the signified of a sign is replaced with the signified of a divergent sign. To exemplify, numerous metaphors may be found in the field of advertising, where they are used to represent a product, e.g. the Wild West mustangs signify Malboro cigarettes, whereas green landscapes and waterfalls constitute the metaphor of menthol cigarettes (Fiske 2003: 121). The metaphor may be also interpreted as “(...) a figure of speech that identifies something as being the same as some unrelated thing for rhetorical effect, thus highlighting the similarities between the two” (Metaphor. Wikipedia). Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak (2008: 66) defines metaphors as stylistic devices based on the intended change of meaning of the words comprising a given expression under the influence of context which excludes the literal understanding of the sense of individual words and necessitates the search for a new interpretation of the whole phrase.

Metaphors are rhetorical devices responsible for aesthetic values of language. Accordingly, they are frequently encountered in literature, primarily poetry, e.g. “(...) a ship ploughed through the waves (...) [translation mine, MB]” (Fiske 2003:120). In the aforementioned example an unfamiliar notion is interpreted via pertaining to a familiar concept, i.e. the activity done by the ploughshare (something familiar) signifies the bow of the ship (something not familiar), the forceful heaviness of the ploughshare is forwarded to the ship, whereas the attributes of the earth are transmitted to the water. One of the most popular metaphors of English literature is “All the world’s a stage” from the *As You Like It* monologue by William Shakespeare (Kauchak 2012).

As stated by Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak (2008: 66), the metaphor is not only a stylistic device equipped with language aesthetic functions. It frequently performs other, more elementary roles. Metaphors may be often encountered in a wide variety of non-literary texts such as science or popular science writing, journalistic texts, speeches or everyday conversations. In popular science texts the metaphor is mainly used with a cognitive function. Being based on categories which are well-known to the reader, it is applied to facilitate the process of describing phenomena

which are abstract or difficult for the receiver to comprehend. Simultaneously, metaphors inspire the receiver's imagination (Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak 2008: 66).

Metaphors are subject to cultural and social conditioning. As highlighted by Kövecses (2010), they vary both cross-culturally and within cultures. By analogy with the above division, Kövecses (2010) differentiates between two types of dimensions of metaphor variation, i.e. the cross-cultural and within-culture dimension. The description of metaphor variation with reference to the cross-cultural dimension is quoted below.

Variation in this dimension can be found in several distinct forms. One of them is what I call "congruence." This is obtained between a generic-level metaphor and several specific-level ones. Another is the case where a culture uses a set of different source domains for a particular target domain, or conversely, where a culture uses a particular source domain for conceptualising a set of different target domains. Yet another situation involves cases where the set of conceptual metaphors for a particular target domain is roughly the same between two languages/cultures, but one language/culture shows a clear preference for some of the conceptual metaphors that are employed. Finally, there may be some conceptual metaphors that appear to be unique to a given language/culture (Kövecses 2010: 207).

In terms of the within-culture dimension, metaphors vary with reference to the fact that language is not a uniform structure and one can differentiate between different language types which originate from a wide variety of contexts. To exemplify, language diversification may be categorised in relation to social classes, regional characteristics or individual linguistic preferences *inter alia*. By analogy with the above, metaphor variation reflects social, ethnic, regional, subcultural, style, diachronic, and individual dimensions (Kövecses 2010: 209-210).

Notably, the metaphor, as a literary or non-literary device and a concept which is culturally conditioned, seems to carry far-reaching implications for the idea of the transcommunicator (cf. Bielak 2014: 67). First and foremost, stylistic devices such as metaphors provide communicative style with sophisticated forms, i.e. being regarded as the elements of the elaborated code, metaphors considerably increase the aesthetics of communication. As a non-literary device, the metaphor stimulates the receivers' imagination and comprehension, which may considerably contribute to enriching one's communicative skills.

Simultaneously, metaphors, being heavily culturally determined, can constitute the core of cultural competence widening and, accordingly, may be applied to business English teaching and learning to strengthen the vitality of students' native languages which are affected by the dominance of the English language.

It must be also highlighted that metaphorisation constitutes a popular pedagogical tool as metaphors facilitate memorisation (Strefa szefa: metafora w języku biznesu. Marzena Mazur pyta Beatę Borucką). Metaphors therefore may be used in training businessmen to explain selected aspects of management. The problem of metaphors in business and business training will be briefly sketched in the subsequent section.

5 Metaphors in business training

Metaphors are frequently used in business training to explain selected aspects of management. One can identify numerous fields which constitute a rich source of metaphors, usually expressed by constructs generally not related to business phenomena that could be applied while referring to managing. The areas which enjoy great popularity are those where success is easily noticeable. To exemplify, the field of sport which highlights competition and ways of reaching success frequently contributes to the metaphorical background of business meetings and training sessions. Other examples of metaphorical language useful in business training are military or war metaphors which signify winning and ways of fighting, animal metaphors (an alpha male may refer to a business leader), nature metaphors (e.g. the organisational tree of a company), metaphors of individual famous people who possess spectacular skills and are well-known for how they developed them or metaphors pertaining to technological solutions (e.g. stairs, ladders or pyramids) (Strefa szefa: metafora w języku biznesu. Marzena Mazur pyta Beatę Borucką).

6 The application of metaphors to business English teaching and learning in Poland

As already mentioned, the process of forming the transcommunicator among Polish students should rest on the appropriate way and order of implementing cultural aspects of Polish and Anglo-Saxon origin in the process of teaching. In other words, Polish cultural elements underlying

the communicative style ought to antecede the introduction of English cultural components of the communicative style, the equal status of both Polish and English culture being accented. To exemplify, while introducing vocabulary connected with leadership in teaching business English, one may first refer to Polish culture and present the picture of Lech Wałęsa who is a Polish figure well known for his fight for freedom in the times of communism. Having introduced the required terminology in reference to what Lech Wałęsa has achieved, one can proceed to relate to British culture showing e.g. a picture of 'Braveheart', i.e. Mel Gibson playing William Wallace who is well known as the leader of the Scottish uprising that died fighting for freedom. At this point the description of certain aspects of leadership should be described in relation to William Wallace and his brave acts. Notably, one must remember to emphasise the equal importance of both Polish and British cultures.

Analogically, while teaching business English, one can present the concept of success first showing the picture of Justyna Kowalczyk, a famous Polish ski runner, and then proceed to introduce success terminology and descriptions of the ways of reaching success in reference to what Justyna Kowalczyk has achieved and how hard she has worked. Having discussed the notion of success in relation to Justyna Kowalczyk, one can demonstrate the photograph of, for instance, Douglas Coombs (1957-2006) who was an American skier famous for achieving success in extreme skiing or Sebastian Coe, a former British track and field athlete, who set several world records and is the winner of four Olympic medals. Then the concept of success is to be elaborated but this time in relation to the techniques applied either by Douglas Coombs or Sebastian Coe. Again, one needs to stress the parity of both cultures.

Military metaphors, usually present in the business description of various methods of introducing a product to the market, finding new customers and exceeding competitors, may be applied to business English teaching and learning via references to famous battles. Therefore, metaphorical language including such words as, for example, *launch*, *battleground* or *weapon* may be introduced first in reference to some victorious Polish battles (e.g. The Battle of Grunwald or The Battle of Vienna). Then the activity may be continued in relation to British culture and such decisive British victories as The Battle of Britain. Finally, the equality of both cultures must be highlighted.

Significantly, the aforementioned battles, being metaphors designating victory, may be also treated as a reference point for the description of different methods of winning new individual clients or whole markets. Again, exercises with reference to the Polish battle should be covered first.

Then some references ought to be made to the Battle of Britain. The activity is to be completed by emphasising the equal position of Polish and British cultural elements.

7 Conclusions

The paper has demonstrated a number of ideas which show that the concept of the transcommunicator may be introduced not only to the field of general English teaching and learning but also to the area focused on teaching and learning English for specific purposes. The point that must be highlighted is that the article may be treated as a proposal that can contribute to modifying the communicative identity of the type of the Polish high school in which students (typically of science oriented classes with the extended programme of English language teaching) learn and are taught business English. The ideas presented in the paper seem to be of vital importance in view of some negative phenomena characterising the Polish high school classroom such as classroom communicative inertia which is the effect of a complex number of factors (Bielak in print a, b, c). Since the introduction of the concept of the transcommunicator to the field of business English pedagogy via the application of metaphors is aimed (inter alia) at improving students' communicative skills, the idea under analysis may contribute to the process of altering the present communicative identity of the Polish high school classroom by reducing the classroom communicative inertia mentioned above.

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CHAPTER III:

**METAPHORS FROM AN INTERDISCIPLINARY
STANDPOINT**

ON ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE AND ITS CONNECTION WITH INTERCULTURALITY AND INTERDISCIPLINARITY THROUGH BENJAMIN PELLETIER¹

RODICA CHIRA

1 Introduction

The correct knowledge of the world is conferred by the exercise of complementarity between the exact sciences with their analytical dominant and humanities with their synthetic dominant. The value of this assertion is fully underlined by Benjamin Pelletier. His studies in philosophy were followed by a Master's degree in economic intelligence which allowed him to become a consultant in cultural management and author of two novels. Benjamin Pelletier supports the idea that the interculturality cannot "operate" outside interdisciplinarity.

These preliminary remarks allow us to propose a discussion on the intercultural and the interdisciplinary based on the novel *À travers sables - Throughout sands* (Editions L'Olivier, 2009) and the blog GRI (Gestion des Risques Interculturels - Management of Intercultural Risks) <http://gestion-des-risques-interculturels.com>, especially the articles that refer to Saudi Arabia, the country where Benjamin Pelletier places his fictional character.

2 An author and an approach

Benjamin Pelletier is the living proof of the assertion according to which the correct knowledge of the world is offered by the exercise of

¹ A French version of the current articles was published in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Philologica*, 16(2), Alba Iulia, 2015. The English translation, quotations included belong to the author of this article.

complementarity between exact sciences, with their analytical dominant, and humanities with their synthetic dominant. To his humanist formation - Benjamin Pelletier studied philosophy - he added a master's degree on economic intelligence. He thus became consultant in cultural management and author of two novels² as well as of contributions in two specialized publications³. For him, the intercultural and the interdisciplinary go hand on hand. He ranges among those who embrace a most important orientation in the contemporary world. The globalization, the internationalization, the multi- and the plurilingualism, the extremely rapid technological development are imposing it.

These preliminary remarks allow us to enhance a discussion on the modality chosen by Benjamin Pelletier in his goal to achieve a symbiosis between several disciplines and several cultures. Our corpus is constituted by a novel, *À travers sables - Throughout sands* (2009) and the blog GRI (Gestion des Risques Interculturels – Management of Intercultural Risks or MIR) <http://gestion-des-risques-interculturels.com>, especially the articles referring to Saudi Arabia, country in which Benjamin Pelletier situates the character of his novel.

The GRI (MIR) has been functioning since September 27, 2009 – the novel *À travers sables (Throughout sands)* was published the same year -, as an extension of the discussion group animated by the author on LinkedIn, discussion group arrived, at that moment, at 511 members, at 1874 in 2013 (Pelletier a; Pelletier b).

Le GRI (MIR) gathers an impressive number of articles with a periodic updating of the list. These articles are grouped under nine headings whose denominations are already testifying the diversity of the disciplines implied: 1. Intercultural management (Case studies & Reflections/Expatriations/Formation stakes; 2. France (Enterprises & Economic stakes/ /Language & Culture/Society); 3. Psychology & Human factor; 4. Influence & Public Diplomacy; 5. Country profiles & International stakes; 6. Historical considerations; 7. Actuality and multithematic issues; 8. Humor; 9. Religion & Beliefs (Pelletier).

There are seven articles with direct reference to Saudi Arabia. The one on Ikea appears under the first heading, Case studies & Reflections, while five others under the heading Expatriations. Finally, one article appears

² *La mère des batailles – The mother of battles*, Éditions de L'Olivier, Coll. Littérature française, published in 2004, respectively *À travers sables – Throughout sands*, Éditions de L'Olivier, Coll. Littérature française, published in 2009.

³ *Manuel d'intelligence économique*, 1st edition in 2012, 2nd edition updated and published by PUF in September 2015, *Cross-cultural management textbook: Lessons from the world leading experts in cross-cultural management*, Kindle edition, Paperback edition, 2012.

under the heading Enterprises & Intercultural Management. They were all published between 2009 and 2015. Several disciplines are intersecting in order to create a coherent, pertinent impression of the whole.

3 The stake of several notions

When he comes to motivate his choice to follow the courses of the master on economic intelligence, Benjamin Pelletier affirms that the economic intelligence has “as an inseparable complement the cultural intelligence. The interculturality is first of all the interdisciplinarity. And then, if we have the flexibility of mind to understand the Kantian distinction between the transcendent and the transcendental, the economic intelligence and its obsessions (standby/anticipation, influence, security) should not be out of reach”⁴.

Several notions are already present in this assertion: *economic intelligence*, *cultural intelligence*, *intercultural* and *interdisciplinary*. A minimal explanation of this specialized terminology is important for our approach.

Thus, the *economic intelligence* (EI) “is a mode of governance founded on the mastering and exploitation of strategic information in order to create sustainable value in an organization. It operates with standby/anticipation, management of risks (economic security) and practical action on the environment (influence)”⁵.

This specialized definition becomes clearer through an explanation with a general character. Through its activity of research for information and exploitation with an economic objective, the economic intelligence has long existed. In history, it has been linked not only to trade and traders, but also to the exploration and the information brought back by explorers. For governments and various companies, travel stories have constituted important information sources (geographical, botanical, cultural, etc.). It took relatively little time for the emergence of the internet (web, electronic mail) and of extended corporate computer networks

⁴ Cf. Benjamin Pelletier, Profil. Retrieved March, 20, 2015 from <http://gestion-des-risques-interculturels.com/profil-2/>.

⁵ Cf. D2IE SIG, République Française 2014, blog Délégation Interministérielle à L'intelligence Économique (mise à jour le 06 février 2015). Retrieved March, 24, 2015 from <http://www.intelligence-economique.gouv.fr/qui-sommes-nous/quest-ce-que-lintelligence-economique>.

(intranet, extranet) to have marked an important evolutionary vision in terms of economic intelligence.

It can thus be inferred that the information is capital. Information can be searched either as simple information or collected “in the context of the organization from the standby process (the strategic information collected allows the anticipation of developments and innovations in the context of sustainable development in order to prevent risks and also to prevent environmental and social constraints)”⁶.

In the perception of the environment, the economic intelligence makes use of open sources (in the specialized terminology, *open source intelligence* – OSINT), resulting from the human relations or the written sources. “Open-source intelligence (OSINT) is the intelligence collected from publicly available sources. In the intelligence community (IC), the term ‘open’ refers to overt, publicly available sources (as opposed to covert or clandestine sources)”⁷: media (newspapers, magazines, radio, television and computer-based information), web-based communities and computer-generated content, public data, observation and reporting, professional and academic, books, etc. In our case, Benjamin Pelletier’s novel may become a pertinent source.

The cultural intelligence “develops in the conscience of its strategic dimension. It can be defined as an exercise of intercultural competences and as production of the cultural information necessary in the activity of a private or public organization. Through its capacity to decipher the complexity of cultures and the singularity of situations, cultural intelligence can be placed at the root of economic intelligence”. One cannot be conceived in the absence of the other. (Pelletier a).

The *intercultural* becomes in this context something very complex, it implies a deep knowledge of a culture and its relationships with another culture, the theoretical thus going together with the practical one, with direct experience. A long stay in the country we are talking about, with serious day by day observation, the implication in every day’s life constitute a necessity. The two stays of our author in Saudi Arabia allowed him to feel its pulse and situate his own culture in a new space. If the blog also contains illustrative images addressing the view and testifying about the culture of one region or the other, the novel, especially this type of journal-novel, allows a deep reflection on the way of perceiving and

⁶ Cf. Intelligence économique. Retrieved March, 24, 2015 from http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Intelligence_économique as well as Veille en entreprise. http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Veille_en_entreprise.

⁷ Cf. Open-source intelligence. Retrieved March, 24, 2015 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open-source_intelligence.

reacting to the impulses coming from the exterior. It completes the specialized information transmitted by the blog.

Finally, the *interdisciplinary*, defined by Basarab Nicolescu (2007: 51-53) as “*the transfer of methods from one discipline to the other*”. From its three levels – *the application level, the epistemological level* and the one *generating new disciplines* – it is the second that plies on our approach, especially through the transfer of methods from philosophy to economic intelligence. The transfer of the argumentation implying the notions of transcendence and transcendental from the Kantian logic in the management of an enterprise may serve at the localization, the comprehension and the management of intercultural risks.

Through his study, “The Transcendental and the Transcendent” (Pilhström n.d.: 1), Sami Pilhström explains that, in his transcendental philosophy, Kant separates the concepts of transcendent and transcendental. Thus, the first “refers to something that lies beyond human experience and knowledge (such as things in themselves, or the unknowable objects of the ‘ideas of pure reason’ [...] the soul, freedom and God)”. The second “denotes the limits and/or conditions of experience and knowledge, particularly the necessary conditions for the possibility of cognitive experience” – space and time - and “the pure concepts of understanding, or the categories” (Pilhström n.d.).

Furthermore, “a transcendent principle more radically transgresses the boundaries of human experience than a transcendental one [...]; it not only (tries to) step outside the limits set from the empirical employment of the principles of understanding (or categories) but removes the very limitation itself, or at least seeks to do so” (Pilhström n.d.: 2). These categories change from one epoch to the other.

The existential semiotics is interested in the transcendence in as far as the “conditions and limits of human representational capacities” are concerned. We are effectively dealing with the limits of language. There are “language-games” in every language system, these games determining the perception of the world in its essence. We can thus perceive from the inside the sense limitations from one language to the other and, through extension, from one culture to the other. We are thus supposed to acknowledge the acceptable limits from an ethical point of view when using the language from one culture to the other. Moreover, the fact that a “pragmatically oriented transcendental philosophy admits that human ways of setting limits are never permanent but remain fallible and can always be contested”, opens the door to relativism (Pilhström n.d.: 1-15).

These succinct explanations cannot and do not want to lead towards thorough demonstrations, they only highlight the importance of this type

of interferences meant to underline the implications of humanities in a technologically dominant society.

4 The emergence of an institutional frame through the encounter of two forms of expression

The GRI (MIR) meets the novel in several situations; we have chosen two of them: *the confrontation of two types of government* and *the gender problem*.

The relationship between monarchy and democracy is illustrated by the third article talking about the case of Saudi Arabia on the level of intercultural risks. (Pelletier c). The comparison is made between this country of the Middle East and France. The Saudi monarchy supposes a hierarchy and specific behavior framing in a local normality. Temporarily living in Jeddah, the Western citizen will regard with a hint of mistrust the extremely rapid passage in the street of king Abdallah, arrived from Riyadh in order to spend “the warm months of summer” in this city:

Coming from the airport of King Khaled, his half-brother, the sovereign lands at the airport of King Abdul Aziz, his father, founder of the kingdom. To get to his palace, he takes the avenue of King Abdul Aziz, the same, unless he takes the streets of Prince Sultan, his half-brother, or that of King Fahd, his half-brother also. If he feels unwell, he can get to the King Faisal’s hospital, another half-brother, situated on the avenue of Prince Abdullah himself before becoming king. (Pelletier 2009: 30)

However, in the article posted on the blog as well as in the novel, a very pertinent remark as: “*You know, [...] our monarchy lasted only seventy-five years, yours lasted more than a thousand years.*” can lead to extensive reflections. This comment comes from the lawyer Al-D. Faisal during a business meeting - the idea of converting an impressive second home into a hotel. This lawyer, good connoisseur of the Western culture, speaking French and English apart from his own language, who also studied philosophy and who, after a stroke, remained stammering, had been part of a Marxist-Leninist group who wanted to overthrow the Al-Saud, the local Saudi dynasty in the 70s. Those latter alerted by the Americans, he had to retire for twenty years in France, to have this stroke twenty years after, on the way back to his native country (Pelletier 2009: 31-34).

The article combines the details by adding that, during his Saudi visit, Benjamin Pelletier had looked on TV5 with a Saudi friend who accepted him as a guest, a report “on the inauguration of Philippe Séguin as first President of the Court of accounts. Drum bearings, pomp, pump, all of which were part of a staging of French institutional power that made the Saudi say: “But is this France?””. This is an opportunity for the author of the article to show that, even in France, ten centuries of monarchy left “certain elements in everyday life, in social and political organization, in the collective unconscious, which sometimes enter in contradiction with the democratic ideal” (2009: Jeudi 29 octobre).

By this “confrontation”, with persuasive arguments, introducing also in his article an excerpt of the interview given by the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia in France, in 2005, for the magazine of economic intelligence, Benjamin Pelletier, wants to explain the seventh position of France in Arabia “with 4% of market shares”. He adds to this “confrontation” advices of which we extracted the following:

- always focus on the oral rather than on the written expression, do not go straight to the point, take the time to “lose time”, which is never a waste of time in Arabia ...
- have an “informal” follow-up of your contact, call him or meet him from time to time for other reasons than the strictly professional ones
- take care to respect the hierarchical levels during the meetings and ages if possible: a 60 years old Saudi GD [General Director] should have for interlocutor a French GD of the same generation. (Pelletier c)

Another article referring to the hierarchy and to the attention to be given to the implications of the monarchy is entitled “L’Arabie saoudite pour les nuls (ou petite leçon de saoudologie à l’usage du sénateur Philippe Marini)” – “Saudi Arabia for dummies (or short lesson of saoudology for the use of Senator Philippe Marini)” (Pelletier c). Philippe Marini chairs, since 2007, the France - Saudi Arabia – The Arab States of the Gulf group whose mission is to meet periodically authorities and local businessmen, but also to organize seminars and conferences on the Middle East. The group’s mission is to “favor the economic and cultural exchanges with France”. It must focus on a wide range of activities without committing the so-called cultural indiscretions. In this context, on June 5, 2013, an article in the “Canard enchaîné” reports a clumsiness of the senator who had accepted a proposal coming from a “*Prince Al Saud*”, namely the co-hosting of a dinner at the Palais du Luxembourg with

hundreds of guests for June 27, 2013, at the expense of the Saudi side, in a period of shortage. The question aroused gives Benjamin Pelletier the opportunity to review the questions to be asked when it comes to talk about the interaction with “collectivist communities, where the group membership determines one’s individual identity, one’s rank in society and one’s destiny” in order to avoid the risk of the cultural indiscretions or the approach of a member of a group in disgrace. Interesting for the non-expert proves to be the knowledge of the complete genealogy; in order to avoid homonyms and for the recognition of the rank. To make us understand, he gives the famous example of the “Prince Al Walid bin Talal bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud (owner of George-V in Paris), whose name extension means ‘I’m Walid, son of Talal, himself the son of Abdul Aziz Al Saud, founder of Saudi Arabia” (Pelletier c).

The second situation, which refers to gender, appears repeatedly in the novel and only once on the blog. Under the sign of paradox, women in this country are treated in special ways. “Men and women live here in two hermetic worlds, a wall separates in restaurants the families from single men, the women are veiled in black from head to toe, they are forbidden to drive, one risks prison if discovered with a woman who is not his, would they only drink tea, or would he walk her home” (Pelletier 2009: chapter “Le Royaume” – “The Kingdom” 17).

In the following chapter, entitled “Hors les murs” (Outside the walls), we have a description of the result of an attempt the author makes in order to discover the Red Sea; he arrives to a place with private beaches:

These grotesque places are forbidden to the Saudis, here the wearing of the veil for the women is also proscribed, so that, eighty kilometers from Mecca, in a country where the aircrafts of foreign companies put under seal all magazines as soon as they land, where the covers of records are felted by black, where the pages of newspapers and books in which appears the outline of a woman’s shoulder are torn apart, where some Saudi women not only wear a full veil but also black gloves, you can suddenly find yourself surrounded by Lebanese, Syrian, Egyptian women, sunbathing, bathing or playing *beach volleyball* in bikini while different radio sets are screaming the latest hits of Madonna and Britney Spears. (Pelletier 2009: 50)

At the beginning of the chapter “Ève”, we read:

On one side, the women from here, inaccessible, walking their cage of black veil, being careful, not to look, not to talk to them, not to touch them, a touch and the world collapses; on the other side, the

battalions of forced, bargained women, from Morocco, the Philippines and elsewhere, immediately recognized by their look of empty provocation or sad resignation; and, sometimes stunted right in the middle, sometimes touching extremes, women of expatriates, whining or duchesses, bursting with boredom or stupidity, those who followed their husbands reluctantly or those who pushed them to come here, those who dry out as old dates and those who fatten watching television [...] Then there are the untouchable and ransacked, women in height and women in hollow, and in between, nothing, the abyssal emptiness, no love, no adventure. (Pelletier 2009: 65-66)

Some situations, appearing as absurd in the vision of a Western, are also listed. Situations of “return to reason” performed by the “Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice”. The traveler must carefully prepare his luggage so that no nudity sign appears because “any printed item entering the kingdom is carefully inspected” (Pelletier 2009: 67). This is actually about images, not about Sade’s texts, for example. So that our character-narrator declares: “As for me, I had taken the initiative at the time of leaving, I had ripped the covers of my books, liquidated the record sleeves, cut with some sadness all that could look like a piece of woman” (Pelletier 2009: 68). The concrete example he gives is that of Botticelli’s *Birth of Venus* whose reproduction appeared in an English newspaper as advertising of a record company. The body of Venus is helmed with “big black marker traits like those of an angry child and the only survivor of this massacre is the perfect oval of her face and a few strands protruding here and there, doodling. The Birth of Venus in her veil” (Pelletier 2009: 67-68).

The novel meets the idea of intercultural management through the article “Ikea en Arabie Saoudite: quand adaptation rime avec contradiction” (“Ikea in Saudi Arabia: when adaptation rhymes with contradiction”) focused on the “necessary adaptations”:

During my second stay of expatriation in Saudi Arabia, I had taken a picture of a Figaro page with an advertisement for a book on the history of art whose coverage reproduced Botticelli’s Venus, and an article (of *International Herald Tribune*, it seems) showing south Korean swimmers. The Saudi censor had clumsily pasted some papers to hide these various nudities. (2012: Jeudi 11 octobre)⁸:

⁸ The audacity to copy this picture without asking the author’s permission is due to the fact that the GRI (MIR) is very accessible to the public and we have provided the source. We



Fig. 1 Necessary adaptations

These associations passing from the novel to intercultural management illustrate the conflict Ikea created by totally eliminating the woman from an advertising image on one of the Swedish editions of the free daily “Metro” (of October 1st 2012): it was about two versions of the same image of a bathroom with a mother and her child in pajamas in front of the mirror for the Swedish version, with a child in pajamas in front of the mirror for the Saudi version under the headline “Ikea erases women”.

Briefly, Benjamin Pelletier explains that Ikea interprets the imperative of decency as prohibition and shocks the Swedish society by entering in contradiction with the values cementing it, those of equality between men and women, as well as with the principles of this brand considered as representative for the Swedish nation. It is therefore a mistake “that has actually no effect on how the Saudis perceive Ikea, but which deeply contradicts the Ikea identity as ambassador of Sweden in the world” (Pelletier b).

How could we perceive this interdiction met in some regions of the Arab world (especially in Saudi Arabia and in the countries of the Persian Gulf) concerning women obliged to wear the veil in public? Marwa, the “decorator and painter”, the single woman in Jeddah, the only Saudi woman without a veil our character-narrator meets, one of the few women who live by themselves in this city, can be visited only in the evening, after 22:00, when the streets are empty, even if with official interests. She

address our thanks to Benjamin Pelletier for this extremely useful and rewarding blog. This article comes in its turn as a tribute to his beneficial activity.

firmly believes that “the Islam gave women rights, an identity, but these gains were lost over the centuries” (Pelletier 2009: 71). She also believes that “*this will change*”.

Through his vocational training as well as by his innate talent, Benjamin Pelletier can create very subtle parallelisms, the fusion with the exterior and the interior is encountered everywhere in his novel, be it within the interior of a house in consonance with the street or the city, or of the human inside with the house or the landscape with life in itself: everything is fitted and engulfed or “liberated” along with an awareness of the idea “that purity could occur only within the impurity” (Pelletier 2009: 72). This observation justifies the assertion according to which the mediation of a novel-diary can supply the economic and cultural intelligence.

Similarly, the reflection in the novel allows very subtle parallelisms. With this “discussion” on women switching from one religion to another, from Christianity to Islam or to Judaism, from Virgin Mary manifesting her miraculous gifts in Lourdes, to Eve, the sinful, because, according to a legend, the tomb of Eve is in Arabia, in Jeddah, the city’s denomination meaning “grandmother”. In the same order of ideas, the Eve of the Dürer’s painting is perceived as a symbol of knowledge in itself, the total knowledge, good and bad confused, while Adam symbolizes the ignorance (Pelletier 2009: 75-76). Eve makes peace between three spaces, three great cultures, it shows that everything is, ultimately, a matter of interpretation. But the tomb, located in the Al-Balad, the oldest district of Jeddah, “formerly unavoidable passage of pilgrims, today maze of narrow streets and crumbling houses” (Pelletier 2009: 77) bringing together poor people of different nationalities, is hidden today behind a wall just like women behind their veils. We learn that in 1975, the Saudi government which did not want to “develop a Christian pilgrimage in the land of Muhammad” had ordered that the tomb of Eve, become a point of attraction for the three religions, be covered with concrete screed and hidden behind a thick wall: “*Everything is temptation to the one fearing it, said la Bruyère*” (Pelletier 2009: 77).

5 Conclusions

In the second chapter of his novel, the character-narrator notes:

My villa, a box, my office, a box, and between the two, twice a day, go and return, I file in a four-wheeled box. For weeks since leaving

the aircraft box, my crossing of the box from the airport and my mad drive to Jeddah in the rickety box of the Pakistani taxi, I ceaselessly go from box to box, without transition. My room, a box in a box; my bed, a box in my room; my sleeping body, a box in the bed and my skull, a box still. Nothing has taken me out of the general nesting yet. (Pelletier 2009: 42)

This description of everyday life, valid throughout the contemporary world, can go further and apply to our attempt of showing the necessary complementarity between sciences and its constructive role. The blog of Benjamin Pelletier increases this idea by including an article entitled “Risques interculturels: le cas de l’Arabie Saoudite 5” (“Intercultural risks: the case of Saudi Arabia 5”) where he simply gives excerpts of the first chapter of his novel, entitled “The Kingdom” (2009: Mardi 8 décembre). An indirect invitation to reading addressed to specialists in economic intelligence.

Similarly, the last article posted on the blog, “Deux illustrations du lien d’appartenance au groupe dans les cultures collectivistes” – “Two illustrations of a belonging to a group connection in the collectivist cultures” (2015: Lundi 28 septembre) is also connected to our subject. It presents a book belonging to Riad Satouff, *L’Arabe du futur. Une journée au Moyen Orient 1984-1985* (*The Arab of the future. A day in Middle East 1984-1985*), a graphic novel (Allary Éditions, 2015), in which the author, now a French citizen, tells the story of his childhood in the 1970s Syria.

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CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AND ITS USAGE IN PAVEL DAN'S WRITINGS

METAFORA CONCEPTUALĂ. CONSIDERAȚII PRIVIND UTILIZAREA EI ÎN SCRIERILE LUI PAVEL DAN

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1 Introduction

The individual's capacity to create metaphors at speech level is considered by Eugeniu Coșeriu as being situated on a universal layer, one of the three at which the cultural activity of speech is situated. Starting from Ernst Cassirer's works, the Romanian linguist classifies metaphor and the capacity to create metaphors among human creative-imaginative activities, which enables us to link integral semantics with cognitive semantics. Metaphorical creation is a cognitive activity realised with the help of symbols.

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson operate a re-interpretation of metaphor, shifting the focus from its understanding as a figure of speech towards a conceptual figure. Therefore, nowadays, in a preponderantly consumerist society we are no longer interested in metaphor's embellishing function, but in its conceptual category function, being redefined as a cognitive process, as an important instrument in organising the human conceptual system.

These researchers have found that metaphors play a very important role in everyday speech and identified several types of conceptual metaphors or metaphoric concepts, such as structural metaphors (based on the phenomenon of metaphoric structuring of one concept through the terms of a different concept), orientational metaphors (based on orienting in space), ontological metaphors (in connection with the objects surrounding humans, emotions and ideas or different events are conceived

as entities and substances, see Lakoff and Johnson, as cited by Tomoioagă 2013: 159).

In the conceptual metaphoric system, an important role is played by the imagistic schemata, models seen by Immanuel Kant as non-propositional structures-models produced by the imaginary. These structures are pre-conceptual models that represent a first step in shaping the conceptual system and that will organise human mental representations at a general and abstract level (see Tomoioagă 2013: 159).

In the current paper we chose as corpus a set of novellas written by Pavel Dan and we did not resort to journalistic texts because in our opinion, literature is the instrument through which we can best acquire insights into old times' lore.

Introducere

Capacitatea individului de a crea metafore este situată de către Eugeniu Coșeriu, la nivelul vorbirii, în plan universal, unul din cele trei planuri pe care se manifestă activitatea culturală a vorbirii. Plecând de la scrierile lui Ernst Cassirer (vezi Coșeriu 2009), lingvistul român încadrează metafora, competența de a forma metafore, între activitățile creativ-imaginative umane, lucru ce permite apropierea dintre semantica integrală și cea cognitivă. Creația metaforică este o activitate cognitivă ce se realizează cu ajutorul simbolurilor.

George Lakoff și Mark Johnson operează o reinterpretare a metaforei mutînd accentul de pe situarea ei ca figură de stil pe situarea ca figură conceptuală. Iată că, în contemporaneitate¹, într-o societate preponderent consumistă, nu mai interesează funcția de înfrumusețare a metaforei, ci funcția ei de categorie conceptuală, redefinindu-se metafora ca proces cognitiv, ca un instrument important în organizarea sistemului conceptual uman. Acești cercetători au constatat că metaforele joacă un rol foarte important în vorbirea cotidiană și au identificat mai multe tipuri de metafore conceptuale sau concepte metaforice, și anume: metaforele structurale (fenomenul de structurare metaforică a unui concept prin termenii altui concept); metafore orientazionale (legate de orientarea în spațiu); metafore ontologice [cele legate de obiectele din jurul omului, „emoțiile și ideile sau diferite evenimente sunt concepute ca entități și

¹ De reînțelegerea sensului metaforic s-au ocupat în contemporaneitate, pe lângă George Lakoff și Mark Johnson, Stephen Levinson, Ronald Langacker, Diane Larsen-Freeman, Jean Jacques Weber, Zoltán Kövecses și alții.

substanțe” (Lakoff și Johnson, citat în Tomoioagă, mai-iunie 2013: 159)].

În sistemul conceptual metaforic, un rol important îl joacă schemele imagistice, modele văzute de Immanuel Kant ca structuri-model nepropoziționale produse de imaginar. Aceste structuri sînt modele pre-conceptuale care constituie un prim pas în formarea sistemului conceptual și care au rolul de a organiza

„reprezentările mentale umane la un nivel general și abstract. Schema conține trăsături comune, esențiale pentru majoritatea obiectelor sau a evenimentelor, a activităților, iar aceasta ne permite să realizăm o conexiune între un element particular și ceea ce le este comun tuturor elementelor de același tip” (Tomoioagă 2013: 159).

Dintre cele trei straturi semantice ale vorbirii, semnificațional, reprezentational și perceptual-skeuologic, semantica cognitivă operează cu ultimele două, căci conceptele schematic-imagistice sînt localizate la nivel pre-representational și se structurează, la nivel reprezentational, ca metafore conceptuale. Și, totuși, nu trebuie escamotată importanța primului nivel, pe care se formează tocmai schemele imagistice despre care am vorbit mai sus. La primul nivel, cel semnificațional, se inițiază denominația, determinarea și metasemia, fenomen prin care două semnificate cu însemnătate diferită duc prin asociere la un semnificat metaforic nou. Lingvistul român Eugeniu Coșeriu s-a arătat interesat în studiile sale tocmai de această metasemie pe care a numit-o

„metaforă, adică o «expresie unitară, spontană și imediată a unei viziuni, a unei intuiții poetice, care poate implica o identificare momentană a unor obiecte diferite sau o hiperbolizare a unui aspect particular al obiectului și chiar o identificare între contrarii»” (Tomoioagă 2013: 160).

În lucrarea noastră am ales ca texte de bază un corp de nuvele și nu am apelat la texte din sfera publicisticii, deoarece, în opinia noastră, literatura este instrumentul prin intermediul căruia putem cunoaște, cel mai bine, „sensibilități” din alte timpuri. Textul literar este un teren privilegiat al imaginarului, care funcționează ca

„...un «laborator» de situații sociale, de exprimare a unor structuri și tipuri sociale fundamentale, de expresie a spaimelor, a angoaselor, dar și a speranțelor, a idealurilor comunitare” (Nicoară and Nicoară 1996: 122).

Literatura este o oglindă care redă societatea, în realitatea ei sau deformată, în funcție de dorințele mai mult sau mai puțin conștiente ale sufletului colectiv care se oglindește în ea, dar și în funcție de interesele, prejudecățile sau sensibilitățile celor care făuresc această oglindă.

Pavel Dan vine în literatura noastră cu o creație profund marcată de universul unei zone geografice specifice, evocând atât de răscolitor peisajul geografic dar și sufletul ei zbuciumat. Acesta a fost cel de-al patrulea copil al lui Simion și al Nastasiei Dan și s-a născut în data de 3 septembrie 1907, în satul Tritenii de Sus, situat lângă Turda, în Cîmpia Ardealului. Școala primară o face în satul natal, iar în toamna anului 1919 se înscrie la liceul de băieți, cu predare în limba română, „Regele Ferdinand”, din Turda. În 1927, după multe peripeții, tânărul Pavel Dan se înscrie la Facultatea de Litere a Universității clujene, la specializarea româna-latină. În această perioadă se declanșează marile ambiții literare ale lui Pavel Dan, care frecventează săptămînal cenaclul condus de Victor Papilian și leagă trainice prietenii cu reprezentanți ai literaturii ardelenesti. În același an debutează literar în revista „Darul vremii” cu *Ursita*. După terminarea facultății, Pavel Dan va fi numit profesor la Blaj.

Pavel Dan intenționa să scrie o vastă operă, de aproape douăzeci de volume, ce avea să se intituleze *Copiii zilelor noastre*, însă, din acest proiect ajung să vadă lumina tiparului doar cîteva fragmente, aparent disparate. Astfel, începînd cu anul 1933, Pavel Dan își publică nuvelele în reviste ca „abecedar”, „Gînd românesc”, „Pagini literare”, „Blajul”, „Gîndirea”. O boală cumplită, cuibărită în trupul creatorului, ce își va face simțită prezența din ce în ce mai mult, marcîndu-i scrierile, nu îl va împiedica pe autorul *Ursitei* să se implice activ în viața literară românească.

Pavel Dan se căsătorește în 1934 și va avea un fiu, pe care, din păcate, îl va părăsi la o vîrstă foarte fragedă. Înainte cu o lună de a împlini vîrsta de treizeci de ani (2 august 1937), scriitorul ardelean se stinge din viață fără a-și fi împlinit visul de a scrie un roman al cîmpiei și fără bucuria de a-și vedea tipărit unicul volum de nuvele, *Urcan bătrînul*, ce a va apărea abia în anul 1938, la Editura Fundațiilor Regale.

Opera lui Pavel Dan a putut fi adunată în doar trei volume – e vorba de nuvelele pregătite de scriitorul însuși în vederea publicării, de *Jurnalul* editat de Sergiu Pavel Dan și de schițele rămase în manuscris și restituite de Nicolae Florescu, în *Ultimul capitol*.

Novelistica lui Pavel Dan privită în ansamblul ei, are o structură a sa și un mod de funcționare, conține o idee conducătoare și un principiu de organizare. La o analiză mai atentă putem descoperi o dezvoltare organică a operei, o rețea construită în jurul unui nucleu, mai exact în jurul

individului care aparține unei familii, unui sat și unui anumit mediu geografic. Sistemul interior de interdependențe al operei poate fi urmărit, relativ ușor, în straturi fie din exterior spre interior, fie dinspre interior spre exterior – dinspre individ spre mulțime, de la relațiile acestuia cu sine însuși și cu propria familie, spre legăturile sale cu societatea rurală de care aparține sau cu alte societăți învecinate și, nu în ultimul rând, reacțiile aceluiasi individ strămutat în mediul orașului. Din aceste motive, considerăm că opera sa poate fi considerată document istorico-social reprezentativ pentru perioada istorică și zona geografică în care s-a născut, s-a format și a scris Pavel Dan.

Universul satului prezentat în opera lui Pavel Dan, reprezentativ pentru toată zona Cîmpia Ardealului, cuprinde mozaicat familii sărace sau bogate, țărani sau intelectuali, tineri sau bătrîni, toți aflați într-o continuă luptă pentru supraviețuire. Ardealul lui Pavel Dan este unul imaginat, un tărîm al lui și pentru a-l regăsi a fost nevoit să se reconstituie din locul și timpul în care s-a născut. Este, poate, o întoarcere la primitivitate, la sălbăticie, prin care se leagă de strămoșii săi, de cei care asemenea lui au păscut vacile și au secerat grîul Cîmpiei Ardealului. Scriind despre aceste locuri, fiul risipitor speră să aducă în fiecare casă cîte o fărîmă din acel spațiu minunat, amănunte, particularități, în fond niște simplități, dar adînc înrudite cu autorul, simboluri ale pămîntului său și ale tradiției sale, într-un grai aproape lipsit de podoabe artistice, folosind deliberat regionalisme, într-un scris greoi, „bolovănos”, fără nici o dantelărie inutilă.

2 Metodologie și instrumentar

După o parcurgere a scrierilor teoretice despre metaforă în general și metafora conceptuală în particular, am selectat două categorii metaforice, reprezentative din punctul nostru de vedere pentru opera lui Pavel Dan, din Indexul oferit de George Lakoff – “Fear is cold” și “Affection is warm” –, după care am trecut la extragerea manuală a exemplurilor din volumele mai sus amintite ale lui Pavel Dan, respectiv ediția de *Scrieri îngrijită* de Cornel Regman, și volumul *Ultimul capitol. Schițe, povestiri, nuvele, fragmente*, îngrijit de Nicolae Florescu, care cuprinde și paginile de jurnal ale autorului.

În următoarea etapă ne propunem să încercăm o analiză în ceea ce privește realizarea acestor metafore, căutînd gradul lor de simbolizare și modul lor de formare din punct de vedere semantic, pentru a observa ce predomină din punct de vedere statistic, respectiv verbe, substantive,

adjective, adverbe sau expresii idiomatice. În funcție de aceasta și de alte considerente gramaticale vom putea concluziona care este puterea metaforică în funcție de încărcătura lor simbolică.

3 Studiu de caz. “Fear is cold”; “Affection is warm”

Înainte de a trece la analiza propriu-zisă pe care ne-am propus-o, dorim să mai operăm câteva distincții cu privire la frig, cum ar fi faptul că în psihologie senzația de rece, de frig a fost adeseori asociată cu singurătatea sau cu sentimentul de excludere. Un grup de cercetători de la Universitatea din Toronto au descoperit că legătura dintre sentimentul însingurării și senzația de frig are un fundament științific (Zhong, & Leonardelli 2008: 838-842) și în urma experimentelor efectuate de psihologii canadieni se pare că sentimentul de excludere socială are o mare legătură cu senzația de frig. Astfel, sentimentelor de acceptare sau excluziune socială, le pot fi asociate metafore cu trimeri la temperatură, iar în cazul excluziunii, caz care ne interesează pe noi, cele mai frecvente sentimente întâlnite sînt cele de înfrigurare, de tristețe și singurătate.

Cum în literatură întâlnim, în nenumărate opere, acest sentiment al frigului, ni s-a părut interesant să căutăm factorul ce a determinat această predilecție a autorului și am ales spre exemplificare, cum anunțam, opera controversată a lui Pavel Dan, creație în care, într-un spațiu și o atmosferă adecvate firii creatorului, toamna, ploaia, frigul și singurătatea umplu fondul sufletesc al personajelor. Manifestîndu-se în spațiul interior al eroilor, frigul, fie el material sau sufletesc, devine el însuși spațiu, un spațiu intim al personajelor, dar și al chiar autorului.

Privită în ansamblul ei, opera scriitorului transilvănean pare a fi alcătuită din multiple secvențe, un puzzle uriaș, toate cuprinse într-un glob de cristal, care, învîrtit, oferă alte și alte imagini, secvențe ale timpului trăit de autor care devine spațiu al textului. Spațiul este îmbrăcat într-o atmosferă adecvată firii creatorului, iar natura, de multe ori personificată, este o veritabilă cortină care cade ori de câte ori e nevoie de o schimbare a decorului sau la intrarea și ieșirea personajelor din scenă și, tot cu ajutorul ei, Pavel Dan creează diferite efecte în spectacol.

Satul întreg, oamenii care trăiesc acolo, par actorii unui imens spectacol cu o ingenioasă punere în scenă, iar cîmpia este un teatru al lumii care se conduce după legi morale, de multe ori încălcate, averea generînd cele mai grave abateri care destramă raporturile dintre membrii familiei ce începe să se devalorizeze.

Individualitățile se pot desfășura doar într-un spațiu corespunzător

disponibilităților lor interioare, în alte spații se pierd, nu se pot adapta. Iar Pavel Dan nu e interesat în mod necesar de tragedia satului aflat în descompunere ci urmărește sorocul omului, sensul tragic al existenței, e atras de acei bătrâni naivi și neputincioși, rămași în afara rosturilor societății tradiționale, de copiii flămânzi și tinerii bolnavi care s-au rupt de sat și nu își găsesc locul în altă parte.

După stabilirea locului în care să își plaseze eroii, un spațiu imaginar propriu plecând de la cadrul concret al Cîmpiei Ardealului, o lume a creatorului pe care a îngrădit-o, a izolat-o și a devenit a lui, trecîndu-o prin prisma imaginației sale, o primă observație care vine în ajutorul studiului nostru referitor la imaginile determinate de prezența frigului, este că în opera scriitorului transilvănean, anotimpurile joacă un rol anume.

Fiecare dintre imaginile ce surprind frigul, în scrierile lui Pavel Dan, semnifică o stare sufletească întipărită adînc în ființa individului și nu par a fi alese la întîmplare. Astfel se poate observa o preferință a scriitorului pentru verile toride și pentru toamnă. Nu se poate vorbi de o predilecție a autorului pentru anotimpul rece, însă personajele operei lui Pavel Dan poartă cuibărită în suflet o boală grea, peste tot se simte fiorul iernii, toate rolurile în care se travestește autorul purtînd în destinul lor pecetea înghețată a înșururării și a morții. Primăvara, deși este anotimpul regenerării, eroii lui Pavel Dan nu se pot bucura de renașterea naturii, căci ei trăiesc agonice, de multe ori pregătindu-se să plece pe ultimul lor drum.

Mai departe, dorim să căutăm în textele lui Pavel Dan construcțiile lingvistice ce se apropie de înțelesul oferit de cele două constructe metaforice, legate de frig, teamă, căldură și încredere, respectiv "Fear is cold" și "Affection is warm".

Acțiunea primei povestiri cu care se deschide volumul *Scrieri* se petrece într-o noapte friguroasă de iarnă. Vasile, fratele bolnavului, intră în casă grăbit, parcă temîndu-se de ceva, spunînd: „E un frig de să nu scoți cîinele din casă, și ninge... ninge de îngroapă” (Dan 1965: 3). Iacob, într-o atmosferă de „îmbicseală, întunec și tăcere” (Dan 1965: 4), peste care plutește teama de moarte, cînd se gîndește la copiii lui ce vor rămîne orfani, deși în odaie era cald, „începu să tremure ca scuturat de friguri” (Dan 1965: 7).

În *Uliana* e vară fierbinte, este vremea seceratului, dar deznădejdea și frigul sufletească învăluie personajele schiței. Acum nu teama de moarte este cea care stîrnește frigul ci teama unor țărani săraci de-a nu fi jefuiți. Gîndul că soțul ei ar putea fi așteptat de Costan pe drum, într-un loc dosnic, și jefuit de banii cîștigați din vînzarea vacii i „se înfipse deodată în sufletul Nastasiei” (Dan 1965: 17). Reacția ei la această închipuire este rostirea unui „Doamne nu ne lăsa!” (Dan 1965).

Teama de-a nu i se întâmpla ceva rău soțului o percepe și Anica, femeia lui Cîrjă. Aceasta „înghețase pe jumătate ajutînd omului să înjuge junincile” (Dan 1965: 28) și se înveli cu țolul pentru a se mai încălzi. În momentul în care își aude soțul strigîndu-o, „sări ca arsă și dete fuga afară” (Dan 1965). Cînd află că soțul s-a întors pentru a-și lua straița uitată, „femeii îi veni inima la loc” (Dan 1965).

Teama de a rămîne fără bani, de a fi deposeđați de avere o trăiesc și cei bogați. Frica, teama că va fi deconspirat, știind că face un lucru nepermis, îl face pe Urcan bătrînul, cînd se întîlnește în drum cu nora lui, să tresară. Acesta „făcu o mișcare ca și cum ar fi vrut să se oprească, apoi porni iar la drum, parcă mai grăbit, înciudat oarecum” (Dan 1965: 36). Ludovica, gîndindu-se la cele întîmplate peste zi și urmărind comportamentul schimbat al celor din jur, deși „nu i se ridicase negura de pe suflet” și „Veselia Anei o ardea la inimă”, se lasă îmbunătă și, pe moment, gîndul primejdios i „se retrase undeva în adîncul sufletului ei și rămase pitit acolo” (Dan 1965: 38). Doar că a doua zi, cînd văzu că și Valer se gătește și pleacă de acasă, „Gîndul pămîntului o chinuia din nou” (Dan 1965). Cînd Simion, soțul ei, încă nu își face nici o grijă, Ludovica îi spune: „apoi tu fă cum îți place. Dar pe mine mă paște un gînd”. Acesta își alungă frica, „gîndul cutremurător că Ludovica are dreptate” (Dan 1965: 40) și își vede de treburile lui zilnice. Doar că Ludovicăi „i se înfipse în creier un gînd, ca o săgeată venită din senin” (Dan 1965), și nu se liniștește până ce nu rezolvă problema pămîntului. Și cînd totul intră în normal, Ludovica își contemplă familia „înduioșată”, căci „În casa Urcăneștilor era acum pace deplină” (Dan 1965: 60).

În aceeași perioadă a anului, preotul, nevoit să își lase rosturile casei în care trăiește, se poate apăra de frigul nopții cu bunda, însă nu și de gerul iscat în toată ființa lui de reaua orînduire și de „...cumplita ură de rasă, de care nu își dăduse seama pînă acum, dar care îi clocotise în suflet...” (Dan 1965: 65). Și cînd pune cap la cap întîmplările prin care a trecut în ultima perioadă, aceeași ură „se aprinse deodată, arzînd cu vîlvătai dogorătoare; simțea nevoia de a se bate, de a omoră, de a striga să se audă până la marginile pămîntului” (Dan 1965) despre nația lui oropsită. Sluga lui, Ion, care se simțea ocrotit în gospodăria popii, cînd a auzit că „îl duc pe popa”, n-a mai rostit nici un cuvînt, „parcă i s-ar fi pus pe inimă o greutate mare” (Dan 1965: 392). Tot el îl îndeamnă ne părinte, la plecare, să își ia „căputul cel mare. Poate va fi frig, și mai bine să-l aveți la îndemînă” (Dan 1965: 393). Preotul, cu gîndurile în toate părțile, copleșit de imaginea închisorii, a urei de rasă, dar mai ales de imaginea preotesei și a copiilor ce au rămas singuri, „nu simțea răceala din ce în ce mai pătrunzătoare a nopții, nu simțea nimic” (Dan 1965).

În drum spre târg, lui Jufa îi îngheață picioarele și mâna cu care ținea desaga și, din cauza zăpezii mari și a nopții, „drumul” era destul de greu de găsit. De Precub, bătrînul mereu înșelat, se poate spune că trăiește într-o iarnă veșnică, deoarece cu tot efortul depus el nu poate trece în nici un fel de pragul sărăciei în care se zbate. Tot un păcălit rămîne și mocanul care după ce a avut acces la o altfel de lume nu se poate desemna și vară de vară, martorul păgubit bate drumurile țării pentru a-și găsi liniștea ce i-ar putea încălzi sufletul.

Copilul orfan (Dan 1976), ajuns slugă la Sașă Ilă, nu știe ce îl înfioară mai mult: frigul nopților, răcoarea dimineților de început de toamnă, iarba brumată, udă și rece în care umblă încă desculț, înțepîndu-și picioarele în cotorii uscați ai buruienilor sau răcoarea strecurată în suflet de răutatea și „cîinioșia” stăpînului. El doarme în poiată unde e frig, este dezbrăcat, desculț și trebuie să plece cu oile pe cîmp cu noaptea în cap. Mîncare nu-i aduce nimeni, stăpînul îi vorbește urît, este bătut și certat tot timpul, dar băiatul „...n-are vreme de plîns trebuie să bage oile în obor și să le mulgă. Se mulg greu, amorțesc mîinile, dar n-are ce face. Un nepot de-al stăpînului, mai mare ca el, dă în strungă și îl batjocorește” (Dan 1976: 212). Cînd oamenii casei mînîncă, el e trimis prin sat; cînd se întoarce ceilalți dorm la umbră, „Zama e rece, carne n-a mai rămas, unsoarea pe ea sleită” (Dan 1976). Dar nici acum nu e lăsat să mînînce în liniște căci e trimis în altă parte și „Cînd se întoarce ud learcă, îl sudue că a stat prea mult...” (Dan 1976).

Omul din *Necazuri*, nemulțumit de felul în care este tratat de ginerele său, se înfiora ori de cîte ori își aduce aminte cîte un „necaz”. Deși are pretenția că a venit să se răcorească la fîntîna naratorului, el are sufletul „înghețat” de durere². Dumitru, cu glasul „răgușit, scîrțîitor”, vorbea tare, amenința, „tropotea din picioare, se scula și se așeza iar pe scaun, de parcă toată ființa lui” (Dan 1964: 24) își spunea necazul. Apoi iar sărea de pe scaun, iar se așeza, apoi tace și „își pleacă fruntea ca sub povara unei mari greutate” (Dan 1964: 24-25), și iar începe.

Acest personaj seamănă foarte bine cu badea Goanță, socrul lui Trăian, a cărui simțire „tremură” la gîndul că el, om bătrîn, „...destul de nenorocit de necazurile de acasă...” (Dan 1964: 206), mai trebuie să suporte și amuzamentul popii și supărările pricinuite de fiul lui Urcan.

Din aceeași categorie a eroilor însemnați cu pecetea frigului face parte

² După studiile efectuate de Chen-Bo Zhong, Geoffrey J. Leonardelli (*Cold and Lonely: Does Social Exclusion Literally Feel Cold*, (2008), In Press at *Psychological Science*, 19:838-842), cei ce se simt ignorați de comunitate, nedreptățiți de cei din jur, preferă mîncăruri și băuturi calde. Astfel, eroul amintit, în plină vară, nu dorește, de fapt, apa rece a fîntînii ci caută doar motiv să își povestească amarul, să se „încălzească” în preajma unor oameni buni.

profesorul plecat demult de acasă, un țăran strămutat în mediul sufocant al orașului. Venit la înmormântarea tatălui, își dă seama „...că e o creangă ruptă din trunchiul puternic al satului, aruncată undeva în lume” (Dan 1964: 82), o pasăre pribeagă ce nu își mai poate găsi un loc al său. În momentul în care a primit vestea morții tatălui, sufletul lui părea înghețat, împietrit de greutatea vieții. Se simte „străin de acest fapt ca de un anunț mortuar din gazetă”. Dar, în momentul în care „puterile, încordate pînă mai adineaori, se destinseseră, ca tăiate de o mînă nevăzută” (Dan 1964: 73), fără a știi ce va face mai departe, profesorul simte nevoia de a pleca, de a ieși „din casa care începea să-l apese” (Dan 1964). Naratorul din *Zborul de la cuib* nu reușește să-și ajute părinții, deși și-a împlinit visul de a deveni profesor. Cu timpul vine tot mai rar acasă, banii nu-i ajung nici lui, nu se interesează de sănătatea sau de neputințele bătrînilor, iar cînd ajunge la căpățiul tatălui, răpus de boală, își amintește că în timp ce „el a umblat, pasăre pribeagă, risipindu-le banii în cele patru vînturi, în casa bătrînilor n-a străfulgerat nici o bucurie, nici un rîs necernit de cărbunele grijii” (Dan 1964: 82).

Un alt profesor, suplinitorul din *Corigențe*, cu toată căldura verii de afară, este săgetat direct în inimă de răceala și disprețul cu care este tratat. În mediul degradat al orașului, în pofida tinereții ce o duc pe umeri, tinerii obosesc, timpul și viața grea, nevoile și necazurile săpîndu-le în suflete „...atîtea răni” (Dan 1964: 218).

Pedagogul, ca de altfel și profesorul din *Note din Blaj*, este nevoit să locuiască pe timp de iarnă într-o odaie neîncălzită, riscînd să se îmbolnăvească grav.

Pedagogul și-a abandonat studiile, „... nu mai cere nimic de la viață, rabdă frig, cutreieră dormitoarele și bate cu nuiua elevii” (Dan 1964: 111), îl ustură gîtul și „... nasul parcă i-e înfundat cu plută” (Dan 1964: 108). Elevii stau în bănci, zgribulind de frig, în vreme ce pedagogul „...se plimbă pe dinaintea lor, și scîrîiturile podelelor se înfig în inimile înghețate ale copiilor” (Dan 1964: 111). Se simte atît de înghețat, încît s-ar mulțumi și cu iluzia unui foc, „... chiar dacă nu l-ar încălzi, numai să știe că e foc, să aibă iluzia asta” (Dan 1964). Și în această atmosferă în care chiar și protagoniștii par sculptați în gheață, pedagogul se gîndește la timpurile fericite în care era student și iubea o fată.

Se pare că senzația de frig blochează pentru moment gîndurile eroului. Din cauza dîrdîitului dinților profesorul nu are puterea nici măcar să-și închipuie cum ar fi fost dacă a fi avut foc în cameră. De data aceasta, pedagogul care percepe cu durere trecerea timpului, renunță la vise.

„A fost și el student bun, dar n-a avut bani. Acum s-a lăsat de

studii, nu mai cere nimic de la viață, rabdă frig, cutreieră dormitoarele și bate cu nuiua elevii. /.../ Nu se mai gîndește la studii, nu mai lucrează nimic și nu mai vrea nimic” (Dan 1964).

Totul e încetoșat, șters, ca și cum „Parcă n-a fost niciodată student, parcă n-a cunoscut nici o fată. Proptește capul în palme, închide ochii... Vremea trece...” (Dan 1964: 113).

Profesorul sărac, ce îndură frigul iernii, „N-a trăit, n-a simțit nimic” (Dan 1964: 112). Și în timp ce „...își fără a avea vreo speranță de ajutor din partea cuiva, primește vești îngrijorătoare de la părinții care, la rîndul lor, așteaptă să fie ajutați. Retras înlăuntrul său, imaginea casei părintești, micuță „...cu acoperișul de șindrilă înnegrită și spartă” (Dan 1964: 340), cu mobilă veche, în care domnește sărăcia, îl ajută să depășească momentul, căci acolo „E cald, și lumina lămpii, trasă în jos, picură un aer alb, neguros” (Dan 1964).

Viața celor plecați să învețe în marile orașe nu e deloc ușoară, banii trimiși de acasă nu le ajung și sînt nevoiți să muncească pentru a supraviețui. Studentul din *Noaptea* își amintește că el era mereu istovit de „munca pentru trai” (Dan 1964:12), în vreme ce „cei cu bani” duceau o „viață zgomotoasă”. Studentul din *Drumul spre casă* se angajează „funcționar la percepție” (Dan 1964: 310), iar cînd se îmbolnăvește nu găsește pe nimeni să îl ajute cu bani și e nevoit să se întoarcă acasă la părinți. „Munca l-a obosit, viața l-a înfrînt înainte de vreme. În clasa a opta, cînd de mult trebuia să-și cîștige pîinea cea de toate zilele, era înalt, ofilit și cugeta ca un bătrîn” (Dan 1964).

Un alt student bolnav își petrece iarna la țară, în casa încălzită, dar e bîntuit de neîmplinirea sufletească. Singura lui bucurie este evadarea din cotidianul apăsător prin intermediul închipuirilor. În general, visul tuturor celor plecați la oraș să învețe este de a deveni profesori și de a-i ajuta pe cei rămași acasă, pe frații mai mici și pe părinți. Unii se îmbolnăvesc și se întorc acasă și cînd devin conștienți că nu se vor mai putea întoarce vreodată la studiile abandonate, nu le mai rămîne decît visul, ca metodă de evaziune. Studentul din *Noaptea*

„se «odihnește». Lapte nu-i la casă și unsoarea se folosește ca de leac. Nu-s bani de medicamente, nu-i medic /.../. Gîndurile astea nu-i plac și se apără de ele. Cum s-ar apăra de niște insecte supărătoare. Își perindă pe dinaintea ochilor planuri de viitor, gînduri aurite. O să se întremeze și o să isprăvească facultatea, apoi se va face profesor și-i va sălta și pe cei de-acasă. Mai întîi va îngredi curtea, apoi le va da bani să-și cumpere vite. Și studentul îl vede pe bătrîn venind de la tîrg cu un ciopor de vite.

Zimbește de bucuria bătrânului” (Dan 1964: 12).

Alt student, își amintește că atunci cînd se întorcea acasă în vacanțe nu era deranjat de atmosfera de pustiu și părăsire ce îl întâmpina în gară, chiar îi plăcea, deoarece contrasta cu bucuria de care îi era cuprinsă ființa lui de student cu perspective. Dar în momentul în care nu știe cîtă vreme va trebui să rămînă în sat, sufletul său pare inundat de ploaia de toamnă, asemenea pomilor și celor cîtorva case ce aveau curțile pline de apă de „...parcă erau o lume înecată de o apă mare, care abia s-a retras...” (Dan 1964: 308).

Primăvara devreme, cînd căldura soarelui este înșelătoare, studenții, care ar trebui să debordeze de viață, să se îndrăgostească și să fie fericiți, se îmbolnăvesc. Livadă e ținuit la pat și e debusolat mai mult de lipsa de înțelegere cu care se confruntă decît de neputința lui de a lupta împotriva maladiei. Nici studentul din *Bani, bani!* nu găsește bunăvoință, sfîrșind singur într-o cameră de spital.

Iată că, de nenumărate ori, același sentiment al frigului, care se comportă ca un liant al operei, este cel ce declanșează amintiri legate de spații securizate, locuri în care eroii s-au simțit protejați sau le stîrnește imaginația, îi provoacă la visare, la închipuirea unui viitor mai bun. Cu toată penuria existentă, locuințele la care visează personajele scriitorului ardelean sînt calde și luminoase.

În *Păpușa de marmură* anotimpurile sînt subliniate în mod simbolic. Cît timp e îndrăgostit, în luna de miere, judecătorul are impresia că afară „...e veșnic primăvară” (Dan 1964: 68), dar, nu după mult timp, după divorț, „...cerul se înnorează, încheieturile scîrțîie și omul, obosit, merge greu, singur, pe drumul mlăștinios” (Dan 1964: 79). Asistăm în această schiță la o interesantă radiografiere a vieții în funcție de anotimpuri. În anii tinereții, cerul e senin, „...în văzduh cîntă ciocîrliile, cîmpul e verde...” (Dan 1964: 60) și în inima omului e primăvară. E vremea în care judecătorul se hotărăște să se însoare cu cea mai mică dintre surori, cu cea mai veselă și neastîmpărată, pentru ca vara, în anotimpul maturității, în casa lui să fie soare. Dacă s-ar căsători cu cea mai mare, crede el, cu fata mai rece și mai calculată, în casa lor s-ar rîde rar. Alegerea unui tovarăș de viață e un lucru însemnat, deoarece, de la o vreme „...încep vremuri grele, s-apropie toamna cu insomnii și reumatisme” (Dan 1964: 61). Personajul nostru, devine la rîndul său un înfrigorat, unul din acei dezmoșteniți ai sorții, învinși înainte de vreme.

Pavel Dan a simțit procesul de desacralizare ce începea să cuprindă tărîmul îndrăgit al copilăriei sale și a sesizat și o oarecare neputință, o imposibilitate a regenerării, astfel putîndu-se explica opțiunea sa pentru

anotimpuri ca vara și toamna, precum și lipsa primăverii sau sentimentul acut al frigului, al însingurării și al deznădejdii care adâncesc tăcerea țărânului.

Indiferent de anotimpul în care evoluează sau involvează eroii scriitorului ardelean, cuprinsul imaginat de Pavel Dan e un adevărat „țarc” al lumii care nu mai are scăpare și în care domină frigul sufletească și singurătatea.

Frigul, și cel „material” și cel „sufletească”, este copleșitor și duce la un sentiment de epuizare fizică și psihică. Pe lângă frig, cum observăm în paragraful anterior, întunericul e la fel de pregnant. Deși nu sînt numeroase, atrag atenția imaginile satului înghețat, cînd afară „...ninge de îngroapă” (Dan 1964: 3), cînd e întuneric „...de nu-ți vezi mîna...” (Dan 1964: 5), sau imaginea lumii care pare înecată de ploaie - sufletul eroilor pare inundat de ploaia de toamnă, asemenea pomilor și a celor cîtorva case ce aveau curțile pline de apă de „...parcă erau o lume înecată de o apă mare, care abia s-a retras...” (Dan 1964: 308). Toate acestea vin să sporească atmosfera grea de taină, lupta dintre somn și veghe, dintre viață și moarte. Este un spectacol în care vîzutul este străbătut de nevăzut, căci Pavel Dan imaginează o lume a lucrurilor și a făpturilor, apelînd la clar-obscur și creînd o atmosferă „...întunecat-apăsătoare...” (Balotă 1974: 294).

Dar, cu tot decorul sumbru creat de autor, eroii visează. Fără iluzie și speranță nu se poate trăi, iar visul este o cale spre o lume mai frumoasă, mai călduroasă. Eroii lui Pavel Dan visează mult, visează mai ales cînd sînt abătuți și triști. Visul eroilor este uneori greoi, așa cum și experiența drumului străbătut prin timp este una labirintică, dar ar trebui să permită eliberări, ieșiri la liman. Doar că visul eroilor lui Pavel Dan este curmat cu brutalitate de frig și sărăcie.

Interesantul mecanism al timpului paveldanian realizează trecerile spre trecut printr-o dilatare, printr-o încetinire sau chiar o oprire a timpului, revenirea în actualitate fiind destul de bruscă. Bucuriile, confortul afectiv, lumina și căldura, starea de jubilație intelectuală contractă timpul, iar frigul, tristețea, singurătatea, așteptarea neliniștită dilată timpul la nesfîrșit. Povestirile simbulative, cu analepse – în cazul ordinii – și accelerări și elipse – în cazul vitezei narative – se desfășoară parcă după bunul plac al unui ceasornic stricat, ale cărui ace se plimbă în toate direcțiile, la împlinire, ca în nuvela *Pedagogul*, unde

„...minutarul urcă dealul cadranului, coboară și iar urcă. Parcă e o insectă prinsă după sticlă, care, încercînd să iasă afară, s-a învîrtit pînă a murit, și acum, moartă, se învîrte mereu...” (Dan 1964: 106).

4 Concluzie

Plecînd de la două metafore conceptuale din indexul oferit de G. Lakoff, "Fear is cold" și "Affection is warm", am încercat să identificăm în corpusul de texte supus analizei noastre formele în care apar aceste construcții. Fie că e vorba de metafore conceptuale propriu-zise, fie că e vorba de forme simple nemetaforice dar care oferă o imagine metaforică, se poate observa că, în general, că acestea se condiționează una de alta, de cele mai multe ori urmîndu-se firesc, prin intermediul actului imaginativ.

Expresiile legate de frig și de frică, de teama de a se întîmpla ceva rău, predomină în textele studiate, expresiile calde, luminoase, fiind mult mai puține și, cum spuneam sînt generate, în principal, de nevoia de evaziune a eroilor.

Cuvintele ce alcătuiesc cîmpul semantic al conceptelor legate de frig, teamă, căldură și afecțiune sînt în marea majoritate verbe urmate de substantive, la singular, și mai puțin adjective și adverbe. Chiar dacă principalele structuri sintactice în care se integrează expresiile metaforice din textul lui Pavel Dan sînt exprimate la singular, nu înseamnă că sînt structuri cu încărcătură mai slabă, credem că fenomenul ține de faptul că eroii lui Pavel Dan sînt niște însingurați și fiecare în parte este reprezentantul unei clase de eroi.

Desemnările metasemice din cadrul gramaticii vorbirii vizează, în textele abordate, în special omul și viața lui fie în general fie cea intelectuală, fie sentimentală, fie socială, acestea fiind, de fapt, și domeniile țintă ale metaforelor conceptuale atestate de limba română contemporană. De asemenea, am constatat că sursele provin din fenomenele ale naturii, majoritatea imaginilor fiind formate prin imprimarea asupra trăirilor sufletești ale personajelor a diferitelor manifestări ale naturii, de exemplu vîntul, gerul, focul, înghețul, ceața, negura, întunericul, împietrirea etc., cu alte cuvinte are loc transferul unor fenomene din natura înconjurătoare asupra sentimentelor umane.

Putînd fi considerate document social, scrierile lui Pavel Dan, reprezentative pentru perioada de început de secol XX pentru zona de cîmpie a Ardealului, respectiv pentru spațiul Tritenilor din apropierea Cîmpiei Turzii, ne oferă numeroase imagini ale evenimentelor ce formează lumea satului, o societate arhaică în care țăranul are un comportament specific în funcție de modul de păstrare a tradițiilor moștenite, de felul în care sînt încălcate acestea, sau în funcție de mediul geografic în care se mișcă același țăran, fie el rămas în lumea satului aflată și ea în schimbare, fie strămutat în mediul urban degradator.

Urmărind imaginile generate de frigul care se comportă ca un liant al operei „rapsodului Cîmpiei Ardealului” și corelînd biografia autorului cu ultimele cercetări privind frigul și factorii sociali ce determină acest sentiment – respectiv experiența excluderii sociale, sărăcia, boala, munca grea și neputința afirmării –, iată că frigul, fie material sau sufletec, manifestîndu-se în spațiul interior al eroilor, devine el însuși spațiu, un spațiu intim al autorului însuși și al personajelor sale.

Chiar dacă lipsește primăvara din imaginarul lui Pavel Dan, la fel ca și sărbătoarea sau nașterea, deși copilăria este tristă, accentul vieții fiind pus pe maturitate și pe moarte, deși eroilor le lipsește religiozitatea și nu au încredere în viața de după moarte, care ar fi o lume a somnului în care te plictisești teribil, totuși, se poate spune că există bucurie de a trăi în opera scriitorului transilvănean, în aceeași măsura în care există durerea.

Nu putem crede că personajele zonei de cîmpie nu erau niciodată fericite, că în pofida penuriei, a bolilor și a tuturor neîmplinirilor eroii nu aveau și momente de bucurie, că în satele Cîmpiei Ardealului nu a existat zîmbet și speranță, că soarele nu a răsărit și pentru oamenii acelor locuri. Doar că, autorul a imprimat spațiului respectiv un tragism personal. În opera lui Pavel Dan nu abundă imaginile îmbibate de vitalismul ce caracterizează, de exemplu, opera lui Vlasie sau poezia lui Ion Horea, scrierile lui fiind străbătute de tristețe, nemulțumire, tăcere, singurătate, însingurare voită putem spune, și frig, mult frig, mai ales sufletec. Asemenea lui I.L. Caragiale, Pavel Dan surprinde doar o anumită latură a trăirilor sufletești ale eroilor, cea lipsită de speranță, partea cu aripa frîntă a trupului. Pesimismul scriitorului transilvănean nu este unul iremediabil, el poate fi și este remediat prin muncă, prin fabricarea de „lucruri”, prin refugiarea în imagini luminoase, în cuvinte, în artă.

Opera lui Pavel Dan, indiferent de tehnica pe care o aplicăm în analizarea ei, fie ea pe suportul științei imaginarului, fie ea pe suportul științelor limbajului, ea rămîne una controversată deoarece, plasată în umbra unor precursori iluștri ca Liviu Rebreanu, Ioan Slavici și Ion Agârbiceanu, și analizată pînă acum prin prisma a două direcții – tradiționalismul și modernismul – care, paradoxal, conturează un tablou convingător dar se exclud reciproc, totuși, valoarea scrierilor autorului transilvănean se află în chiar textele sale, este individualizată de stilul propriu al creatorului. Dacă s-ar ține cont de realitatea textelor și nu de cea a intențiilor prozatorului, se poate constata că Pavel Dan nu e nici un clasic în adevăratul sens al cuvîntului, nici absolut modern. S-ar situa undeva la mijloc, ar fi un moment de cotitură al prozei românești care își descoperă propria identitate și găsește o formă originală cu care se abate de la orice teorie preconcepută, de la orice formulă consacrată. Pavel Dan

rămîne undeva pe o cale de mijloc – fascinat de tehnicile teatrului modern, atras de operele clasicilor, dar cantonat în același timp în povestirea cu subiect țărănesc –, el nu este înregimentat nici unui curent și nu e revendicat de nici o grupare.

Abordată cu metodele hermeneuticii imaginarului, elaborată în ultima jumătate de secol de savanți precum Gaston Bachelard, Gilbert Durand, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, dar și A. Moles, B. Backzo, G. Peylet, M. Maffesoli și alții, am putut constata că opera lui Pavel Dan se deschide spre o analiză spectrală, pluriperspectivică (vezi Chiciudean 2007), a mai multor dimensiuni ale imaginarului, acest tip de analiză aducînd un aer proaspăt în cercetarea unui autor care a fost în general distribuit unei linii mai degrabă tradiționaliste și a fost, în consecință, analizat cu instrumentarul criticii clasice. Iar acum, putem constata că analizată prin prisma metaforelor conceptuale, scrierile lui Pavel Dan încă oferă interesante perspective de lectură.

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METAPHORS, ANALOGICAL REASONING AND CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF SCIENCE CONCEPTS

UTILIZAREA METAFORELOR ȘI A RAȚIONAMENTULUI ANALOGIC PENTRU A FACILITA FORMAREA CONCEPTELOR DESPRE MEDIU ÎN COPILĂRIA MICĂ

IOANA TODOR

Introduction

From a cognitive linguistic perspective, conceptual metaphors are cognitive tools that allow knowledge transfer from a source domain - familiar and concrete, to a target domain - new and abstract. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the founding fathers of the cognitive metaphor theory, 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of things in terms of another' (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980: 5). The metaphorical transfer is based on implicit associations detected between the target and the source domains. Analogical reasoning plays a central role during this process. A large number of researchers in cognitive science agree that the most part of conceptual metaphors people use are perceptually based, deeply rooted in their sensorial experiences. Once constituted, these cognitive constructs will generate thinking schemata, guiding behaviour and perception of the world.

The main aim of this paper is to identify the roles of conceptual metaphors in understanding the physical environment at preschool age. The starting point of the whole argumentative approach is a statement of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who claimed that "the whole human conceptual system has in essence a metaphorical structure". Qualitative investigations and a large amount of empirically driven data have shown

that, when confronted with concepts that they do not fully understand, adults and children rely on familiar concepts, searching for systematic similarities (Midgley, Trimmer, & Davies, 2013; Fleeer, & Pramling, 2014). Conceptual metaphors are attractive as didactic tools at least for two reasons: 1) conceptual metaphors allow the mental construction of abstract knowledge from individual experiences; 2) conceptual metaphors as teaching instruments allow critical reflection, learning by discovery, mental visualisation of the source domain and in-depth exploration of the target domain.

Preschool children seem to have a “natural” ability to detect similarities between conceptual domains and they frequently use in their speech metaphorical inferences. Some of them are unexpected (for example when durations are associated with object sizes) and others reflect typical thinking patterns like personification and anthropomorphism (when objects or plants are invested with sentiments and rationality). Despite the fact that scientific investigation on this topic is still scarce, the didactic value of conceptual metaphors in early childhood has been proved by everyday teaching practice. The socio-cultural dimension of conceptual metaphors and the correct/adequate uses of metaphorical structures in early education are topics for future investigation.

1 Introducere

Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române (DEX 2009) definește metafora ca “figură de stil rezultată dintr-o comparație subînțeleasă prin substituirea cuvântului obiect de comparație cu cuvântul imagine”. Într-o analiză succintă, pot fi identificate trei elemente constitutive ale metaforei: 1) un domeniu de origine (sursă, tenor sau imagine), reprezentat de fondul de cunoștințe pe care persoana deja le are în minte, cu care poate opera în plan cognitiv, cunoștințe derivate din experiența concretă sau socio-culturală; 2) un domeniu țintă (vehicul sau idee), de obicei nou sau abstract, domeniu care va fi cunoscut, structurat sau organizat prin intermediul domeniului sursă; 3) proiecția metaforică, proces cognitiv care constă în intuirea unor asemănări relevante între cele două domenii și transferul unor proprietăți cunoscute ale domeniului sursă spre domeniul țintă. Astfel, *psihicul*, obiectul abstract de studiu al psihologiei, subiect a numeroase controverse conceptuale, a fost descris prin intermediul unor metafore de genul: *cutia neagră* (în cadrul behaviorismului radical, metaforă menită să deplaseze sfera de interes a cercetătorilor de la

aspectele fenomenologice/stările mentale spre funcțiile emergente ale psihicului, mai exact, asupra comportamentului manifest) sau *metafora computerului* (în psihologia cognitivă, evidențiind astfel, prelucrarea informației, ca funcție definitorie a minții umane). *Drumul, călătoria*, sau *râul* sunt reprezentări metaforice comune mai multor culturi pentru *viața* privită *în evoluție*, situație în care aceste concepte concrete, accesibile experienței directe, senzoriale, devin domenii de origine structurând reprezentarea conceptuală a domeniului țintă, *viața*, care împrumută atribute sugestive precum *traseul* vieții, *parcursul* vieții, *cursul* vieții, *tumultul* vieții etc. Proiecția metaforică sau transferul proprietăților între domeniul sursă și domeniul țintă se realizează implicit, parțial, pe baza unei scheme mentale idealizate, care devine categorie de cunoaștere, fiind împărțită socio-cultural (Cornell Way 1991; Lakoff, & Johnson 1980/2003).

Lingvistica cognitivă și analiza discursului din perspectivă pragmatică sau socio-culturală relevă faptul că metafora este mai mult decât o figură de stil. Metaforele generează efecte estetice în context discursiv și în același timp deconspiră emoții, nuanțe ale ideilor, experiențe personale, concretizează conținuturi abstracte, generează semnificații. Lucian Blaga (1937/1994) a identificat în cadrul discursului narativ două tipuri de metafore, evidențiind astfel două funcții distincte ale acestora: metafore plasticizante respectiv metafore revelatoare. Metaforele plasticizante¹ concretizează experiențe comune unui anumit spațiu socio-cultural, facilitând înțelegerea mesajului și sporindu-i valoarea sugestivă: de exemplu, *bătrânețea* este descrisă ca apus al zilei, *moartea* ca somn, *frica* ca un bulgăre de gheață sau ca un cuțit înfipt în inimă. Metaforele revelatoare dezvăluie noi semnificații ale conceptelor: de pildă, dincolo de oprirea proceselor biologice, *moartea* poate fi înțeleasă ca o mare trecere spre cunoaștere, nuntă, zbor spre lumină etc.

În opinia lui Blaga metafora nu este un produs excepțional sau îndelung căutat al minții noastre, "metafora ține definitiv de ordinea structurală a spiritului uman" (1937: 289). Metafora revelatorie este - conform aceluiași autor - un element constitutiv al actului de creație, fie ea creație mitică, filosofică, artistică sau științifică. "Substanța, obiectiv întruchipată a creației de cultură de orice natură, este în ultimă analiză, și într-un fel oarecare, totdeauna metafora revelatorie², sau [...] un țesut, o împletire de metafore revelatorii" (Blaga 1937: 323). În psihologia creativității, rolul metaforei a devenit evident în contextul recunoașterii contribuției decisive în actul de creație a *travaliului inconștient* (în tradiția

¹ "plasticizing metaphors".

² "revealing metaphor".

psihanalică), a unei *configurații mentale integratoare* intuite pe baza câtorva date particulare (din perspectivă gestaltistă) sau a *recombinării mentale implicite* a reprezentărilor sau a structurilor de cunoștințe (din perspectivă cognitivă). Deși anecdotic după unii autori, celebrul “vis a lui Kekulé” (Verderese, & Roth 2011) ilustrează tocmai rolul metaforei, prezentă sub forma unei imagini mentale în acest caz, în descoperirea unei soluții îndelung căutate. Mai exact, se spue că, celebrul chimist german, în urma cercetărilor asidue de laborator părea să fi descifrat structura moleculară și atomică a benzenului, însă, cu toate acestea, nu reușea să o descrie printr-o formulă chimică satisfăcătoare. Așipind câteva minute în fața șemineului, visează într-o zi, un șarpe încolăcit care își înghițea coada. Această configurație salvatoare, rezultată în urma unor operații mentale desfășurate implicit, în afară conștienței, implicând însă cunoștințe și reprezentări mentale deja formate, va constitui punctul de plecare pentru elaboarea primei formule ciclice din chimia organică. Istoria științei consemnează de altfel și alte mărturii ale unor cercetători din domenii diverse, atestând prezența metaforelor revelatoare și a diverselor forme de imagerie mentală în momentele de creativitate intensă sau ca preambul al unor descoperiri științifice importante (Roberts 1989).

Într-un alt cadru de analiză, metaforele pot schimba cursul propriei istorii de viață sau, cel puțin, ne pot conduce spre interpretări alternative ale unor situații sau fapte, au forța de a actualiza amintiri sau de a genera stări afective, ne pot ajuta să ne eliberăm de trăiri nedorite sau să ajungem la soluții dezirabile. În viața cotidiană, efectul terapeutic al metaforelor este ușor de intuit: metaforele transmise cultural din generație în generație, cele exprimate în conversațiile de zi cu zi, metaforele din literatură, film sau alte forme de artă, ne ajută adesea să ne restabilim starea de confort interior. În psihoterapie, metaforele se utilizează pentru a schimba perspectiva asupra unei probleme, situație sau eveniment de viață, reformularea acestora, încadrarea într-o altă categorie mentală, redenumirea emoțiilor asociate. Metafora terapeutică acționează într-o manieră indirectă și discretă și are rolul de a facilita comunicarea și de a întări alianța terapeutică, de a modifica scheme de gândire, concepții despre sine, credințe despre lume, de a ne elibera de emoții negative, de a ne ajuta să ne exploatăm experiențele personale, să ne dezvoltăm și să ne valorificăm potențialul (Holdevici 1998).

Din punct de vedere cognitiv, metaforele sunt instrumente ale gândirii, contribuind la cunoașterea și înțelegerea lumii, modelând percepția realității și permițând construcția creativă, generarea unor noi cunoștințe sau modele mentale, exprimarea unor semnificații vag intuite. Astfel, utilizarea “metaforei computerului” pentru a descrie funcționarea psihică

în ansamblul ei, are utilitate didactică în condițiile în care psihicul ca și concept abstract este dificil de înțeles. Inima ca o “pompă”, atomii ca niște “planete gravitând în jurul Soarelui-nucleu”, “codul” genetic, Pământul ca “ființă” sau oceanul ca “matrice a vieții” sunt metafore frecvent utilizate în știință, cu scopul de a facilita cunoașterea (Beger, & Jäkel 2015). Metaforele la care recurgem pentru a ne explica fenomene, funcționarea Universului sau a lumii sociale ne modelează totodată reprezentările despre realitate, influențându-ne în cele din urmă atitudinile și comportamentul. De exemplu, complianța față de sfaturile terapeutice diferă în funcție de reprezentarea metaforică pe care oamenii o au despre medic: “părinte”, “prieten”, “colaborator”, “partener”, “expert”, “prestator de servicii” etc. Sau, stilul de predare al unui profesor care consideră copilul un “adult în miniatură” diferă de stilul de predare al altuia care consideră mintea copilului “un rezervor de idei nebănuite”. În măsura în care sunt împărtășite socio-cultural, metaforele permit depășirea unor bariere de comunicare datorate diferențelor educaționale, lingvistice, de dezvoltare cognitivă etc.

Analiza funcțiilor retorice, artistice, socio-culturale sau terapeutice ale metaforei depășește însă cadrul acestui articol, al cărui *obiectiv general* constă în *identificarea valențelor didactice ale metaforei, ca auxiliar în înțelegerea lumii înconjurătoare, la vârsta preșcolară*. Întregul demers argumentativ are ca punct de plecare teza promovată de Lakoff și Johnson (1980) conform căreia *întregul sistem conceptual uman are, în esență, o structură metaforică*.

2 Rolul metaforelor în construcția conceptuală

Utilitatea metaforei în învățare este evidentă în condițiile în care: 1) considerăm învățarea un proces de construcție activă a unor reprezentări cu sens/ modele mentale cu diverse grade de abstractizare și complexitate, pornind de la datele simple ale experienței (constructivism); 2) considerăm metafora un mijloc de cunoaștere și reprezentare a lumii, acceptând teza conform căreia conceptele sunt în esență metafore (teoria cognitivă/conceptuală a metaforei).

Teoriile constructiviste ale învățării, având printre pionieri pe J. Piaget, L. Vîgotski, J. Dewey, propun o schimbare de perspectivă în educație, deplasând accentul de la procese precum “transmiterea” de cunoștințe (în decursul predării) sau “achiziția” acestora (în învățare), în favoarea “construcției” cognitive. Mai exact, pedagogii constructiviști subliniază faptul că, învățarea eficientă în context școlar sau învățarea spontană în

mediul natural, sunt procese active de căutare a sensurilor pentru experiențele trăite, iar cunoștințele dobândite sunt rezultatul unor ample procese de construcție mentală. A învăța înseamnă a da sens informațiilor din mediu și a le integra în baza de cunoștințe deja existentă, creând astfel reprezentări mentale complexe și cu valoare adaptativă.

Von Glaserfeld formulează două principii fundamentale ale constructivismului, astfel: (1). Cunoștințele de care dispunem nu au fost însușite pasiv din mediu, acestea sunt rezultatul unui proces activ de construcție cognitivă; (2) Mintea umană are o funcție adaptativă, constând în organizarea experienței trăite, nu în simpla descoperire a acesteia ca realitate ontologică (Von Glaserfeld 1989). Dintr-o astfel de perspectivă, formarea conceptului de "număr" pornește de la operațiile simple pe care copilul le efectuează inițial asupra obiectelor (adăugarea unui cub alături de alte două, dăruirea unei bomboane dintr-o cutie plină, numărul degetelor de la mâini etc.), prin exersare și abstractizare progresivă persoana în cauză ajungând la un moment oarecare la competența de a efectua operații numerice fără referent direct (operații cu numere complexe, calcul integral etc). Pentru multe dintre persoanele cu o educație filosofică solidă, definirea conceptului "fericire" rămâne un demers dificil. Chiar în cazul în care nu am citit prea multă filosofie, vom sta probabil puțin pe gânduri înainte de a descrie o astfel de emoție complexă. Un preșcolar, întrebat ce înseamnă să fii fericit, va face imediat apel la experiențele personale: "am fost foarte fericit atunci când am primit un trenuleț"; "sunt fericit atunci când mă joc cu prietenul meu". Astfel de experiențe concrete, la care se adaugă experiențe similare comunicate cultural, vor conduce însă la conturarea unei categorii mentale complexe reprezentată conceptual-abstract.

Teoria metaforei conceptuale a devenit influentă în lingvistica cognitivă în anii 80 odată cu publicarea de către Lakoff și Johnson a lucrării lor de referință *Metaphors we live by*. Aceasta a schimbat perspectiva asupra metaforei ca "expresie poetică" sau "figură de stil", metafora devenind cu precădere un instrument al gândirii.

În lingvistica cognitivă, limbajul este considerat a fi o expresie a gândirii. Prin urmare, cadrul primar de analiză al metaforei nu va mai fi limbajul, ci gândirea. În opinia lui Lakoff și Johnson (1980) metafora ilustrează modul în care conceptualizăm un domeniu prin intermediul altuia. În această accepțiune, utilizarea metaforei implică stabilirea unor relații de corespondență, între un domeniu conceptual - de regulă cunoscut, familiar - și un altul, abstract.

Oamenii utilizează în mod cotidian concepte abstracte, cum sunt timpul, schimbarea sau cauzalitatea, pe care le exprimă metaforic,

recurgând la experiența concretă (Lakoff 1992). Prin urmare, metaforele se regăsesc în gândirea de zi cu zi (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1992).

Astfel, *timpul* este adesea conceptualizat metaforic ca *spațiu* , domeniu mult mai accesibil experienței directe, senzorio-perceptive, iar trecerea timpului este conceptualizată ca *mișcare, curgere, trecere, călătorie* . Diversele momente semnificative aflate în succesiune temporală sunt asociate locurilor, puncte de reper în *curgerea timpului* , viitorul este plasat în fața observatorului iar trecutul este plasat în spate (adaptare după Lakoff 1992).

În structura metaforei conceptuale, regăsim: 1) un domeniu-țintă, pe care încercăm să îl înțelegem (*timpul* , în exemplul anterior) și 2). un domeniu-sursă, care funcționează ca termen de referință pentru construcția metaforică (*spațiul* , în cadrul aceluiași exemplu). Construcția metaforică se realizează pe baza unor relații de corespondență pe care persoana le sesizează sau le stabilește, în mare măsură implicit, între domeniul țintă și domeniul sursă. Raționamentul analogic și generarea de inferențe joacă un rol decisiv pe parcursul acestui proces (Kövecses 2010).

O mare parte a metaforelor conceptuale pe care oamenii le utilizează în mod cotidian derivă din experiențele lor senzorio-perceptive primare. Odată constituite, acestea generează scheme de gândire persistente, cu o influență marcantă asupra perspectivei asupra lumii, comportamentului, atitudinilor interpersonale. Motiv pentru care, tiparele de comportament pe care indivizii le adoptă sunt diferite într-o cultură în care *timpul înseamnă bani* ³ comparativ cu o cultură în care acesta este considerat în primul rând un *ceasornic al vieții* .⁴

Metaforele conceptuale funcționează ca instrumente de cunoaștere sau, uneori, ca adevărate teorii explicative ale realității înconjurătoare. Natura metaforică a conceptelor matematice a fost demonstrată în ultimii ani într-o serie de studii, lucrarea lui Lakoff și Núñez (2000) fiind ilustrativă în acest sens. Conform autorilor amintiți, conceptele matematice abstracte au la bază scheme imagistice reprezentate în mintea noastră sub formă metaforică (Lakoff, & Núñez 2000). *Axa numerelor reale, sfera Riemann, împărțirea feliilor de pizza sau aruncarea în sus a monedelor* pentru a explica teoria probabilităților, sunt doar câteva exemple clasice de reprezentare metaforică a conceptelor matematice complexe (după <http://math.stackexchange.com/questions/2601/best-intuitive-metaphors-for-math-concepts-of-any-level>).

³ TIME is MONEY.

⁴ TIME is LIFE'S ALARM CLOCK.

3 Aplicații didactice ale metaforei în formarea conceptelor despre mediu în copilăria mică

Utilitatea metaforelor în înțelegerea - predarea - învățarea conceptelor științifice a fost demonstrată în ultimele decenii în cadrul a numeroase studii (ex. Aubusson, Harrison, & Ritchie). Majoritatea acestor studii au inclus grupuri de elevi de gimnaziu sau liceu. Probabil datorită unei asumptii implicite care asociază formarea conceptelor științifice cu gândirea abstractă, rolul metaforelor în copilăria mică rămâne încă insuficient explorat în literatura de specialitate (Fleer, & Pramling 2014).

Observațiile efectuate asupra copiilor cu vârste cuprinse între 3 și 8-10 ani demonstrează că, atunci când se confruntă cu concepte pe care nu le înțeleg, aceștia, la fel ca adulții, fac apel la conceptele familiare, căutând relații de similaritate (Midgley, Trimmer, & Davies 2013; Fleer, & Pramling 2014). Metafora permite transferul cunoștințelor de la un domeniu cunoscut, spre unul nou sau abstract, pe baza raționamentului analogic. Analogiile implicite constituie un important instrument de învățare în copilărie.

Atractivitatea metaforei ca metodă didactică rezidă din faptul că:

1) permite vizualizarea, concretizarea conceptelor abstracte, valorificând experiența personală. "Metafora [ca mijloc de învățare] permite stabilirea unor conexiuni relevante, semnificative, între experiența de viață și cunoștințe abstracte, concepte științifice" (Fleer, & Pramling 2014).

2) metafora permite reflecția critică, descoperirea pe parcursul procesului de învățare, iar ulterior permite explorarea și analiza reprezentărilor mentale nou formate (Midgley, Trimmer, & Davies 2013; Fleer, & Pramling 2014).

Utilizarea metaforelor poate conduce uneori la însușirea eronată a unor concepte științifice, datorită transferului, alături de proprietățile relevante, a unor proprietăți ale domeniului sursă care nu se aplică în cazul domeniului țintă. Un număr de astfel de concepte eronate sunt larg distribuite socio-cultural. (De pildă: datorită confuziei dintre accelerație și viteză, un număr semnificativ de adulți tind să răspundă că accelerația unei mingi care cade spre Pământ, crește... sau, că aceasta scade în cazul în care mingea urcă).

Prin utilizarea metaforei, copiii de grădiniță sau școală primară dau sens lumii și conceptelor pe care nu le înțeleg, compară analitic domenii diverse, categorii mentale care nu se suprapun în totalitate. Prin

intermediul metaforei, limbajul devine un mijloc de învățare adecvat unui mediu în care datele observate și experiențele sunt într-o permanentă schimbare (Fleer, & Pramling 2014).

Tema articolului a fost sugerată de o serie de observații privind utilizarea inedită a metaforelor în copilăria mică. De pildă, metafora mecanică privind funcționarea corpului uman, devenită clasică în istoria științei, transpare frecvent în explicațiile pe care copiii cu vârste de 3-5 ani le oferă pentru funcționarea unor organe ale corpului (“inima, face tic-tac, ca și un ceas”; “inima pompează sânge care merge prin tot corpul”; “mâncarea înghițită este amestecată/zdrobită/măcinată/mixată în stomac, apoi partea bună ne ajută să creștem, se face mușchi, iar partea rea, nefolositoare este eliminată”).

În copilăria mică, *timpul* este un concept în deplină formare, motiv pentru care preșcolarii au frecvent dificultăți în ceea ce privește redarea succesiunii temporale sau aprecierea duratei. Analogiile dintre intervalele temporale și obiecte sunt tipuri particulare de metaforă întâlnite în jurul vârstei de 3-4-5 ani. Pentru a înțelege durata unui interval de timp, copiii o compară cu dimensiuni fizice ale obiectelor, multe dintre acestea familiare lor. “Cât timp lipsește mama, cât o furnicuță?” “Cât timp mai este până vine Moș Crăciun, cât o planetă?” “Cât timp pot să stau la prietenul meu să mă joc, cât grădina noastră?”.

Pramling și colaboratorii ilustrează remarcabil prezența metaforelor în cadrul interacțiunilor didactice cotidiene din grădiniță și contribuția acestora la formarea conceptelor despre mediu (Thulin, & Pramling 2009; Pramling 2010; Fleer, & Pramling 2014). Două dintre multele exemple/studii de caz oferite de autorii amintiți, implică personificarea și antropomorfismul (atribuirea unor proprietăți specific umane - emoții, gânduri - unor obiecte, lucruri, plante sau animale). Gândirea antropomorfică - caracteristică a gândirii preșcolarului, amplu documentată de J. Piaget - constituie în ambele situații eșafodajul transferului metaforic și punctul de plecare pentru formarea unor noțiuni primare de ecologie, respect și grijă față de plante și animale.

Exemplul 1 (adaptare după Fler și Pramling, 2014): fragment dintr-o conversație între educatoare și copil: E: “vezi ce cochilie tare are melcul? cochilia îi oferă adăpost și îl protejează”. C: “Da... e tare”. E: “Dacă îl lași deoparte și îi cânti un cântecel, poate îi place și iese puțin afară”. C: “Da, cred că s-a liniștit și i-a plăcut cântecelul, se vede ieșind puțin din căsuța lui”.

Exemplul 2 (adaptare după Fler și Pramling 2014): fragment dintr-o conversație între educatoare și copil: E: “Uite, vezi, bucata de lemn care rămâne în Pământ va fi hrană pentru viermi, se va descompune ... cutia de

plastic rămâne acolo”. C: “Da... oare ce spune un vierme care se apropie de ea?”. E: “Dacă aruncăm cutii de plastic ele supără Pământul...”. C: “Da, îl strică pentru totdeauna”.

Revenind în spațiul nostru cultural, *Legenda* populară a *Soarelui și a Lunii* - cu diversele sale variante adaptate vârstelor - poate fi utilizată pentru a forma la copii noțiuni primare despre Univers, despre corpurile cerești sau despre alternanța zi-noapte. Cu mențiunea că, această povestire întărește concepția geocentrică despre Univers (de altfel, mult mai intuitivă în copilărie comparativ cu perspectiva heliocentrică).

Diversele materiale didactice - cărți ilustrate sau soft-uri educaționale, care descriu funcționarea *corpului uman* cu variatele sale aparate și sisteme, ca pe o *fabrică* cu compartimente care îndeplinesc funcții diverse în cadrul organismului (Green, & Davis 2014), constituie un alt exemplu de utilizare didactică a analogiilor și a metaforei pentru formarea noțiunilor științifice încă din preșcolaritate.

Conversația cu ursulețul de pluș, jocurile de rol, poveștile, desenele, ilustrațiile, filmulețele de desene animate, dramatizările, excursiile în natură, pot constitui domenii-sursă pentru transferul metaforic și oportunități excelente pentru formarea de către copil a conceptelor despre lume. Valoarea didactică a acestor materiale este dată de familiaritatea lor în raport cu cunoștințele anterioare ale copilului, similaritatea evidentă cu domeniu-țintă și de o bună organizare conceptuală (în sensul de a fi clare, intuitive, ușor de vizualizat).

4 Concluzii

Practica educațională ilustrează utilitatea metaforelor în construcția conceptuală, inclusiv în perioada copilăriei mici. Copiii sunt capabili să identifice similaritățile dintre concepte în mod implicit și pot transfera cunoștințele de la un domeniu familiar spre unul nou, necunoscut. Metaforele dețin funcții importante în cunoașterea lumii și - totodată - modelează percepția realității, interpretarea informației disponibile în mediu, iar în cele din urmă, comportamentul.

Dimensiunea socio-culturală a metaforelor constituie un interesant subiect de investigație, în măsura în care acestea influențează modul în care oamenii privesc lumea. Studiul de față și-a propus doar să argumenteze impactul metaforelor asupra modului în care copiii își reprezintă mediul înconjurător. Aplicațiile didactice, sumar prezentate aici, merită să devină obiectul unor analize ulterioare, completate eventual cu exemple de bune practici.

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WHY SOME METAPHORS DON'T CROSS THE LANGUAGE BARRIER: A RELEVANCE-THEORETIC APPROACH⁴²

MONICA VASILEANU

1 Introduction

Translation has been the topic of ongoing debates for more than 2000 years (Munday 2008: 7; Windle, & Pym 2011), and the translation of figurative language has been discussed by both translation theorists and practitioners (Alvarez 1993: 479; Schäffner 2004: 1254-1258). The current article tackles the problem of metaphor translation from a relevance-theoretic perspective. Relevance theory (Sperber, & Wilson 1995) has allowed a unitary theoretical account of literal and figurative language, on the one hand, and of translation, on the other hand. Therefore, relevance theory should be helping us understand the ways in which metaphors are translated, thus solving one important issue in translation studies. The examples discussed are extracted from an 18th century Latin treatise, namely Dimitrie Cantemir's work, *Incrementorum et decrementorum Aulae Othmannicae sive Aliothmannicae historiae a prima gentis origine ad nostra usque tempora deductae libri tres* (hence IDAO), completed in 1716, and its English translation, *The History and Growth of the Othman Empire* (hence HGD), published in 1734-35. I have tried to explain why some metaphors are translated in an almost word-for-word manner, while others are equated with literal expressions. The key to

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understanding these phenomena lies in the principles put forth by relevance theory, therefore the criteria I am proposing for metaphor translation should ideally apply more generally.

In Section 2, I summarize the main tenets of relevance theory with respect to metaphor. In Section 3, I present the relevance-theoretic view on translation. Section 4 is the analysis proper, and tentative conclusions are presented in Section 5.

2 Metaphor and *ad hoc* concept creation

The classic view on metaphor as an ornamental figure of speech produced by means of a departure from the norm of literalness has been dismantled in the past decades. The theory of “conceptual metaphor” considers metaphor primarily a figure of thought, a part of our conceptual system, and thus emphasizes its pervasiveness in everyday life (Lakoff, & Johnson 1980: *passim*; Steen, & Gibbs Jr. 1999: 2). Psycholinguistics and relevance theorists focus on metaphor production and comprehension, rejecting the departure-from-a-norm view (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 231-237; 2008: 84; Glucksberg 2008: 80).

To be able to pinpoint the relevance-theoretic view on metaphor, a brief outline of the theory is necessary. Relevance theory relies on the assumption that human cognition has evolved towards an efficient use of brain resources (Sperber, & Wilson 2008: 88) and thus strives to obtain greater benefits with lower costs. Efficiency is achieved intuitively: without being aware of it, people can distinguish, out of the many stimuli surrounding them, the *relevant* ones (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 119), *i.e.* the stimuli that may yield greater positive cognitive effects. A positive cognitive effect is “a worthwhile difference in an individual’s representation of the world” (Sperber, & Wilson 2004: 608), such as a new assumption, a strengthening, a weakening or a correction of an older assumption (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 115; Sperber, & Wilson 2004: 608, 628). Those benefits have a cost, namely the processing effort necessary for the extraction of the cognitive effects from the stimuli (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 49). The relevance of a stimulus depends on both factors: all things being equal, the greater the cognitive effects, the greater the relevance of that stimulus; all things being equal, the

greater the processing effort, the lower the relevance of that stimulus (Sperber, & Wilson 2004: 609). These may be summarized in the Cognitive Principle of Relevance, which states that “human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance” (Sperber, & Wilson 2004: 610).

Intuitions about relevance are held by both speaker and hearer. The production of a stimulus involves a certain effort that is not worth investing unless the speaker wants it to be processed by the hearer. Therefore, the speaker must construct a stimulus that is relevant for the hearer. Efficiency is sought by both sides of communication. The Cognitive Principle of Relevance is thus complemented by the Communicative Principle of Relevance, which states that “every ostensive stimulus conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance” (Sperber, & Wilson 2004: 612). In other words, when a stimulus is issued, it carries the promise that it will yield positive cognitive effects, and that the stimulus chosen will not put the hearer to unnecessary processing effort (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 157-158).

Metaphors and figurative language in general is conceived as a more resource-consuming type of language, and at first sight this seems to contradict the principles of relevance. However, relevance theory has shown that even if a figurative expression seems to yield more cognitive effects than its literal equivalent, those effects fall under the category of weak communication (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 224). Moreover, metaphor production and comprehension require no special mechanism than the ordinary language processing one (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 237). In everyday conversations, language may be used loosely, for instance, when talking about time (*e.g.* *5 o'clock* may actually be 4.55 or 5.05), and a certain degree of looseness is usually expected in human communication (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 234), for economic reasons (*e.g.* “5” is more easily processed than “4.55” or “5.05”). Metaphor and hyperbole are cases of the same loose use of language, in different degrees, and there is no clear cut border between ordinary loose expressions and figurative language (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 235).

Human mind operates with more concepts than words available (Sperber, & Wilson 2012: 43). Thus, there is usually a gap between the concept expressed by the literal meaning of a word – the ‘basic’ concept – and the actual concept put forth by speakers in

conversation; the gap is bridged by a pragmatically constructed *ad hoc* concept (Carston 2002: 322-323). Typically, an *ad hoc* concept is the outcome of either broadening or narrowing of the 'basic' concepts, or even of both (Carston 2002: 334-343). Broadening and narrowing are in fact two sides of the same relevance guided process of "mutual adjustment with context and cognitive effects" (Wilson, & Carston 2006: 409). In relevance theory, word meaning is seen as a continuum: it may be broadened or narrowed in different degrees. 'Literal meaning' is just a label for a part of this continuum, perhaps the most commonly used. The rest of the continuum contains other instances of loose uses such as approximations, hyperboles and metaphors, with no clear cut boundaries (Carston 2002: 340; Wilson, & Carston 2007: 231; Sperber, & Wilson 2008: 93-95; Niculescu-Gorpin 2010). An *ad hoc* concept is created by selecting a property of the 'basic' concept. This 'emergent property' (Wilson, & Carston 2006) becomes the core of the new concept, while other properties are omitted.

The principles put forth by relevance theory allow coherent explanations for various translation phenomena.

3 Metaphors in translation

Since translation is a form of communication, it may be accounted for in relevance-theoretic terms (Gutt 1990; 2000). Utterances are usually used to describe a certain state of affairs, thus are used descriptively. But utterances may be used interpretively, when they stand for previous utterances, as in the case of direct quotation or indirect speech, "in virtue of a resemblance between the two propositional forms" (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 229). Resemblance means that the two utterances must share some logical properties and contextual implications, and it is rarely complete (Sperber, & Wilson 1995: 229). Translated utterances are not intended to describe a certain state of affairs, but to represent previous utterances that have described states of affairs. Thus, translation may be defined as "interpretive use across language boundaries" (Gutt 2000: 105).

Complete resemblance of two utterances is rarely achieved in translation. Complete resemblance between two utterances means

that the two propositional forms should entail the same explicatures (*i.e.* analytical implications, derived only from the propositional form through logical operations) and the same implicatures (*i.e.* synthetic implications, derived from the propositional form together with the context). Implicatures largely depend on the context in which an utterance is processed. In most cases, a translation is processed not in its original context, but in a different one; the implicatures will be different in such situations of secondary communication (Gutt 2000: 77). Complete identity of both explicatures and implicatures is a rare situation.

Since translation is a form of communication, resemblance of two utterances, original and translated, is constrained by the conditions of relevance. The translated text is bound to yield adequate cognitive effects without putting the audience to unnecessary processing effort (Gutt 2000: 107). But cognitive effects are context-dependent, and the gap between the primary context and the secondary one needs to be bridged in order to achieve the adequate cognitive effects. This bridging needs to be fulfilled without putting the readers to unnecessary processing effort. It follows that the resemblance between source-text and translated text is limited to those respects that make the translation relevant to the receptor language audience (Gutt 2000: 107).

Metaphor translation has been approached in a number of studies (Newmark 1981, Alvarez 1993; for a more complete bibliography, see Schäffner 2004: 1254-1258), mostly from a cognitive perspective, relying on the 'conceptual metaphor' theory. Several possibilities of translating metaphor have been identified in both descriptive and prescriptive translation studies. The classification below, although elaborated in a different theoretical framework, is simple and clear enough to serve our purpose:

- a. metaphor *into* 'same' metaphor;
- b. metaphor *into* 'different' metaphor;
- c. metaphor *into* non-metaphor;
- d. metaphor *into* 0 (omission of metaphor, leaving no trace in the target-text);
- e. non-metaphor *into* metaphor;
- f. 0 *into* metaphor (addition of a metaphor).

(Toury 1995: 82-83)

Categories a.-d. take the source-text as the standing point, while e. and f. change the perspective. My analysis, presented in Section 4, takes into account only the first four categories, since the aim of the paper is to explain why metaphors from the source-text are translated in different ways. The creation of metaphors by translators, although an interesting topic, falls outside the scope of the present paper.

4 Non-literal language from Latin to English

Before I proceed to the analysis proper, a few details need to be emphasized. First of all, the examples discussed contain words and phrases loosely used, in different degrees. Some may view those words and phrases as metaphors, while some may label them differently. Relevance theory shows that there is a continuum of cases between approximation, hyperbole, and metaphor, and clear cut borders cannot be drawn. Some of the examples discussed may be situated at the blurry overlaps between metaphor and other types of loose language.

Secondly, I do not take metaphor as having a strict syntactic structure, 'X is Y', but as a type of language use, regardless of the grammatical categories of the words and expressions. Verbs and verb phrases may also be used metaphorically. Thirdly, I am aware that a pragmatic analysis of Latin texts has its risks, since there are no more native speakers to inform us about the pragmatic properties of the utterances under examination. However, Latin is fairly well documented and some of the information may be supplied from dictionaries and corpora. Classical, medieval and neo-Latin texts are available free on the internet in searchable formats. From this point of view, Latin is documented better than many living languages.

The metaphors in the Latin text are translated in different ways, according to the classification in section 3. Some metaphors are rendered in an almost word-to-word structure:

(1a) [Muhammed IV.] tandemque *omnes vitales spiritus consumsisse*.

(IDAO III, I 384⁴³)

(1b) [Muhammed the IVth] finally *consumed* all his *vital breaths*.⁴⁴

(1c) *All his vital spirits were* at last *exhausted*. (HGD 349)

(2a) [Selim I.] *patrem martyrio coronat*. (IDAO II, II 118)

(2b) [Selim] *crowns* his father with *martyrdom*.

(2c) [Selim] *crowns* his father *with martyrdom*. (HGD 141)

Examples (1a)-(3a) contain expressions that are somehow innovative. I have not found similar examples in classical Latin, only in late and medieval Latin: *martyrio coronare* “to crown with martyrdom” (attested in *The Lives of the Saints* and in medieval historical writings), *omnes vitales spiritus consumere* “to consume all the vital breaths” (attested in different forms – *spirituum consumptio* “the consumption of breaths”, *spiritum consumere* “to consume the breath” – in other Latin writings from the 17th and 18th centuries, understood as symptoms that might lead to death). Their meaning is transparent, but the collocations are to a certain extent new, innovative. Such expressions are not recorded in the dictionaries consulted (TLL, Gaffiot, DuCange). They have little syntactic cohesion and may undergo normal grammatical changes such as nominalization or turning to passive voice.

In other cases, a string-metaphor requires a more word-for-word translation, for a better preservation of the whole:

(3a) [Dziem] *Princeps fuisset omni encomio maior, dignusque tam praeclara stirpe, nisi virtutum lucem foeda sua ad Christianos fuga obscurasset*. (IDAO II, II, 107)

(3b) [Dziem] would have been a prince greater than all praise and worthy of his most famous family, if he *had not obscured the light of his virtues* with his miserable flight to the Christians.

(3c) He would have been (according to the Turks) a most accomplish'd Prince, and worthy of so illustrious a birth, if he *had not eclips'd the light of his virtues* by his shameful flight to the Christians. (HGD 127)

The metaphors in (1)-(3) are preserved with a certain accuracy,

⁴³ References are made to the book, chapter and page of the Latin manuscript.

⁴⁴ Translation mine (MV). In each set of examples, (b) is a more word-for-word translation of the Latin example, more like a gloss. It may sound awkward, but it is meant to make accessible the linguistic form of the metaphoric expressions in the Latin sentences.

in an almost word-for-word form. Only grammatical shifts – from active to passive in (1) – are visible. However, in other cases, the whole metaphorical setting is changed:

(4a) [Rex Galliae] Sultanum monet „ne pacem cum Germanis iniret: se enim futuro anno summa vi in Germaniae *viscera* penetraturum”. (IDAO III, II, 27, 397)

(4b) [The king of France] advises the Sultan “not to begin peace with the Germans, for he is going to penetrate the *intestines* of Germany in the following year with the greatest force”.

(4c) He advises the Sultan ... not to make peace with the Germans, since the next year he would with a strong army penetrate into the *heart* of Germany. (HGD 360)

(5a) At Muradus ... indignum arbitratur *e mortalium numero auferre* [rebellem], et, licet *sexcenties* mortis reus esset, Imperium Othmannum tanto privare ornamento. (IDAO II, X, 7, 221)

(5b) But Murad ... thought it was disgraceful *to take* [the rebel] *out of the number of mortals*, and, though he was *six hundred times* death (-penalty) guilty, to deprive the Ottoman Empire of such an ornament.

(5c) But Murad ... thinks it unfit to *remove him out of this world* and, though he deserved *a thousand* deaths, deprive the Othman Empire of so great an ornament. (HGD 245)

In (4), two conventional metaphors are equated, *viscera*, “intestines” and *heart*. Both words literally designate internal body parts. The basic concepts VISCERA and HEART are broadened by the emergence of a common property, “inmost part”, into the *ad hoc* concepts VISCERA* and HEART*. The metaphors are well attested in both languages and have been noted as figurative meanings in dictionaries (e.g. Gaffiot for Latin, Merriam-Webster for English). This means that the loose use of the words was/is rather frequent and that the inferential path, from basic concept to *ad hoc* concept, has been trodden; the processing effort of such an expression is, thus, low. The translator managed to preserve both a low processing effort and the array of weak implicatures deriving from such a figure – for instance, “Germany will be destroyed after the French invasion”, derivable from both the Latin and the English metaphors. Similarly, the verb phrase *e mortalium numerum auferre* “to take out of the number of mortals” in (5a) is rendered by *remove him out of this world* in (5c), where the metaphoric setting is mostly preserved.

An interesting case of loose use of language is obvious in (5):

the Latin *sexcenties* “six hundred times” and the related numerals (*sescenti* “six hundred”) was used from classic times as an indefinite, referring to a great quantity (Gaffiot s.v. *sescenti*; Lewis, Short s.v. *sescenti*). This situation is usually labelled as metonymy, not metaphor – but, as it is obvious, metonymy falls under the same mechanisms of comprehension. The basic concept SEXCENTIES “six hundred times” is broadened to SEXCENTIES* “a great number of times”, and then the inferential path is well trodden, lowering the processing effort. The English numeral *a thousand* is, thus, a good translation, since it evokes two concepts, A THOUSAND – a definite number – and A THOUSAND* “a great number”.

Long-established metaphors may be lost in translation, as in the examples below:

(6a) [Muhammed I. Czelebi] dysenteria corripitur, *diemque obiit supremum*. (IDAO I, VIII 62)

(6b) [Muhammed the 1st Czelebi] is seized with a flux and he *came across his last day*.

(6c) He is seized with a flux, of which he *died*. (HGD 75)

(7a) Mohammed, anno Hegirae 825. ... *terris erepto*, successit dignus tanto Patre filius Murad II. (IDAO I, IX 63)

(7b) Mohammed *being taken from the earth* in the 825th year of the Hejira, Murad the IInd, a son worthy of such a great father, followed.

(7c) Mohammed ... *dying* in the year of the Hegira 825, was succeeded by a son worthy of so great a father. (HGD 93)

(8a) Ex ‘Synopsisi historiarum’, quam anno Christi 1696., Hegirae 1108., eruditissimus Larissensis Saadi Effendi ... *in lucem ediderat* constanter tenemus Suleimanum Szahum ... ex Nera urbe ... primum exivisse anno Hegirae 611. (IDAO *Praef.* 16)

(8b) From the ‘Synopsis historiarum’, that the most learned Saadi Effendi of Larissa brought to light in the 1696th year of Christ, the 1108th of the Hejira, we strongly hold that Suleiman Szah ... first went out from the city Nera in the 611th year of the Hejira.

(8c) But with the most learned Saadi effendi of Larissa, in his elaborate ‘Synopsis Historiarum’ (*publish’d* in 1696) ..., I firmly hold that Soliman Shah ... first departed from the City Nera ... in the year of the Hejira 611. (HGD VII)

The expression in (6a), *diem supremum obire* “to come across one’s last day”, was used from the classical period of Latin (Gaffiot

s.v. *obeo*), with small variations in word order. It was thus a common metaphor and required little processing effort. Rendering it in a word-for-word structure would have meant an innovative expression in English which, though transparent, would have required more processing effort, since frequency of use lowers this effort. That is one possible reason why the translator chose to translate it literally in (6c). The verbal structure in (7a), *terris eripi* “to be taken from the earth”, was not necessarily common in classical Latin, but the verb itself, *eripio*, was used in various expressions, mainly in the passive voice, to designate death (TLL s.v. *eripio*). The meaning of the *ad hoc* concept TERRIS ERIPI* is arrived at by narrowing the meaning of the basic concept TERRIS ERIPI: from all the situations in which a person or an object is taken/seized from the earth, only the situation in which the event is caused by death is selected. A similar situation may be identified in (8a). The noun *lux* “light” was polysemous in classical Latin and one of its secondary meanings was “public sight”. This metaphoric meaning is encapsulated in the expression *in lucem edere* “to bring to light”, where the word *lux* designates the concept LUX* “public sight”. The collocation was frequent, as shown in the dictionaries (Gaffiot s.v. *lux*, TLL s.v. *lux*), and thus processed with little effort; moreover, it was frequently associated with books, especially before the apparition of print. Although the English word *light* also has a similar meaning, the collocation is not so frequently associated with books and it would require more processing effort than its Latin counterpart.

Finally, a metaphor may disappear entirely, leaving no trace in the translated text. It may be considered a mistake of the translator; however, this choice must have an underlying reason, as may be observed from the following example:

(9a) Ahmed ... relicto curis pleno Imperio, in *habacula aeterna proficiscere* dignaretur, et aviculum puri spiritus ad Paradisiacas delicias dimitteret. (IDAO II, VIII 214)

(9b) Ahmed ... having left an Empire so full of troubles, is deemed worthy of *leaving to the eternal dwelling places* and releases the small bird of the spirit towards heavenly pleasures.

(9c) Ahmed ... leaves the toils of the Empire and flies to paradisiacal pleasures. (HGD 240)

In (9a) many metaphors are accumulated and one of them is completely omitted in translation, most likely due to the high processing effort needed to interpretate the utterance. Moreover, the two metaphoric expressions *in habitacula aeterna proficiscere dignaretur* “is deemed worthy of leaving to the eternal dwelling places” and *aviculam puri spiritus ad Paradisiacas delicias dimitteret* “releases the small bird of the spirit towards heavenly pleasures” share the same implications, some of them strongly communicated, some weakly: “Ahmed died”, “Ahmed’s soul went to heaven”, “Ahmed was a good Sultan”. A well known tendency of Latin prose is to use symmetrical constructions, and often the two members of the symmetry are synonyms (for instance, in Cicero’s speeches). Thus, Latin sentences tend to be somehow redundant. A translator may consider this redundancy as increasing processing effort unnecessarily and omit the redundant expression.

5 Conclusions

Metaphors and figurative language in general have been problematic issues in translation theory and practice. In the present article, I have tried to find some criteria for translating metaphors: when is it possible to render them close to their original linguistic form and when are they rendered literally? Relevance theory offers a possible answer: when a metaphoric translation does not increase processing effort of the translated text. If a metaphoric equivalent is available, with a similar degree of processing effort, it is usually chosen, although the metaphoric setting may be changed. If the source-text contains an idiomatic metaphor (i.e. very frequent, with a certain semantic and syntactic cohesion), than a demetaphorized translation may be more consistent with the principles of relevance – yielding adequate cognitive effects with low processing effort.

Of course, there may be other factors with a significant impact on metaphor translation. But cognitive effects and processing effort do play an important part in translation, just like in any other form of human communication.

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‘FINANCIAL RISK’ IN TRANSLATION¹

ANABELLA-GLORIA NICULESCU-GORPIN

1 Introduction

This contribution discusses possible risks of translation, with an emphasis on several aspects that have to be taken into account especially when translating financial texts. The main focus will be on Romanian translations of English texts or translation-based texts that are to be found in Romanian newspapers, since Romanian (business) journalese has been identified as the prototypical field where instances of bad translations and inappropriate language use, marked especially by an abundance of Anglicisms, are more manifest. (see for example Niculescu-Gorpin 2013, Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2005, 2006).

My investigation starts from the self-evident truth (for some people at least) that translation is more than looking up words in bilingual dictionaries and knowing the grammar of the two languages involved, as many people seem to assume. Translation is in fact a very ‘*risky business*’ that may determine tremendous losses, especially for the target audience. Translators have to pay close attention to the specificity of each subfield of the language, be it Medicine, Physics or slang, and be aware that what works for one language may not work for another.

The focus here is mainly on business and financial English – specialized language uses that have been described as highly metaphorical (see for example Kovács 2007, Pickett 1986, 1989 Popescu 2011, 2012 2015 in this volume, etc.) and whose translation into Romanian poses high risks that will be described below.

The first section will be dedicated to a brief presentation of the field of interest – i.e. financial and business English, followed by an analysis of what financial risks there could be in translation. Then, I will turn my attention to the metaphorical dimension, also providing a fine-grained

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analysis of several examples of translation from English into Romanian. Last, but not least, I will propose some possible solutions that may help minimize *financial risk* in translation.

2 Business and Financial English. A Brief Overview

A language, be it English, Romanian or any other, can be used in different contexts with different purposes, and as such it acquires specific traits that only connoisseurs master. Conceptually, *English for specific purposes* (ESP) is an umbrella term, labelling a wide variety of specialised language uses, from the English used in Medicine or IT, to Telephone English (there are even textbooks on the topic – see for example Hughes 2006). One would wonder what is so different about Telephone English that it needs to be explained in a dedicated textbook to both native and non-native speakers. The reality is that, though the language is intrinsically *the English* we all know and speak (or at least we think so), each ESP type needs to be properly explained in order to be acquired and mastered by more and more speakers, thus making it more accessible and comprehensible. In this context, little wonder that there is so much applied and theoretical research going on in the ESP field.

A specialism, Business English, is the language mainly used in trade circumstances, be they financial markets or private company contract negotiations. Obviously, terminology is of crucial importance in understanding (and thus translating) Business English texts. Apparently not very different from common language (Pickett: 1989), and without being extremely sophisticated and even seemingly difficult to understand and master, Business English is challenging in that its terminology and collocations are in fact highly fixed and metaphorical, thus posing problems both in immediate communication, but mostly in translation.

Depending on several factors, such as the predominant environment in which it is used, specific terminology, etc., Business English can be further subdivided, one important branch being Financial English. In the business world, a lot of financial terminology is and comes from English. Moreover, banking or accountancy, and financial standards and regulations in general are mostly in English, and experts should know what they mean (for example, International Accounting Standards and International Financial Reporting), but they should not be the only ones.

Translators should also become experts in the field since no correct translation can be made without a good, if not perfect, grip on terminology. This is why translators should try as much as possible to

dedicate their endeavours to topics they understand, and not invest their time in translation deals that manifest too much *financial risk*.

3 Financial Risk in Translation

As stated in the **Introduction**, this article focuses on analysing the main risks involved in translating Business or Financial English texts into Romanian. Since it has been established (throughout the present volume and in the references therein) that Financial English is metaphorical, without that being strikingly visible to laypeople, I will try to draw a parallel between financial risk and a potential similar risk in translation.

Financial risk is the chance that a financial investment will not earn a return. There are numerous procedures that could help minimize such a risk and experts in the field do tend to know them and use them. This is not to claim that even when all such procedures are observed losses will not be incurred. At the end of the day, besides strictly financial procedures, business involves people and their reactions are not always predictable.

What then would *financial risk* in translating Business English texts in general, or in our case, into Romanian, be? Financial risk in translation is the chance that no one will understand the translation of a financial article into Romanian unless they have a very good knowledge of English.

There are a lot of risks to take when it comes to investments. But there are as many risks involved in translating texts about investments. By its very own nature, translation of financial or economical texts from English into Romanian brings about elements of risk such as: (i) different morpho-syntactic patterns; (ii) the complex terminological field of Business or Financial English that most often does not have a Romanian counterpart; this is doubled by the fact that the Romanian language dedicated to business or finance is not so well-established, on the contrary: since Romania joined the modern financial realm only after the 1989 Communist fall, this language specialism has been rapidly developing, but it has been marked by a massive import of Anglicisms, sometimes not even correctly borrowed, thus creating a hybrid language that sometimes only Romanian specialists with a good level of English can comprehend (if at all). Nevertheless, Romanian journalese used in newspapers and magazines is not only directed to these readers, but to a wider public that sometimes would be puzzled by the article they read as they are almost incomprehensible to Romanians who have no knowledge of English.

And (iii) the complex background context on which these types of texts rely, i.e. very often such texts refer to previous texts, or define and

make reference to previous situations from the business or financial world; so, without knowing the whole wider context, the resulting translation can miss important elements that, apparently do not, but in fact do change the meaning of the target-text.

But the major risk is that in Business or Financial English there are many specialized terms that have the same spelling as ordinary words, but that are either cases of semantic broadening of an ordinary word's meaning (for example the En. *default*) by means of (metaphorical) extension or are just homographs. Both situations are risky especially if the Romanian translator is not aware of these facts or pays little attention to them, the resulting Romanian translation being thus either full of 'barbaric' lexical Anglicisms, or English-based calques that will merely hinder the comprehension of the target-text.

In what follows I will briefly discuss a few examples in order to show how the metaphorical dimension of Business or Financial English poses high risks that are either not taken into account or are minimized by the translator, thus yielding a low return, if at all.

4. The Analysis Proper

I have briefly defined what Business and Financial English are to be able to show that, being specialisms, they would pose greater risk for translation, especially when the Romanian translator – here, most often a Romanian journalist – does not know English and Romanian terminology or seems not to be bothered about the readability and comprehensibility level of its translation or translation-based text.

In this section, I will discuss a few cases of poor translations of Business English terminology (words, collocations, phrases) that are omnipresent in Romanian journalese and not only, and whose presence is triggered by not taking into account that English business and financial terminology is highly fixed, (conventionally) metaphorical and full of collocations.

An already 'classical' example is the translation of the collocation '*to save time*' which, although pretty common in ordinary English language, is a leitmotif of (general) Business English. The structure in itself is a dead metaphor since one cannot save time, that is to 'rescue, preserve or protect' (OED) time, as time is an abstract concept.

I will not discuss here the metaphorical dimension of time and its mental association with valuables such as money, business etc. (for a possible discussion see in this volume Popescu (pp. 22-50) as this has not

been the main objective of my paper, but just signal the fact that this English fixed collocation has been transferred to Romanian without translating it, but by means of a calque.

So, the supermarket Cora Romania has bags on which we find *Salvează timp cu Cora Drive* (En. *Save time with Cora Drive*) or you can find this phrase used in ads – *Salvează timp cu spălătoriile Petrom* (En. *Save time with Petrom car wash*) or in business articles *Salvează timp, salvează bani, salvează-ți afacerea până nu este prea târziu și continuă spre Succes*” (MINDCODE.RO).

The English verb *to save* can be translated with the Ro. *a salva*, as they both have a similar literal meaning, that of making safe, of keep something out of danger. But the metaphorical broadening of En. *to save* – first related to *money* (as in *to save money or property*, etc.) and then to *time* is not to be found in Romanian. Nevertheless, because the two verbs – En. *to save* and Ro. *a salva* are cognates, Romanian native speakers tend to replace one another indiscriminately. The Romanian counterpart of *to save* in *to save time*, is the verb ‘*a economisi*’, initially specific to the financial subgenre. The correct Romanian translation is *a economisi bani*, *a economisi timp*.

Although the focus here is on ‘financial risk’ in translation, I would like to make a short detour and to emphasize the fact that the English and Romanian expressions En. *to save time*/ Ro. *a economisi bani* are dead metaphors, with a ‘financial’ origin, possibly suggesting that the perception of time as a valuable is a common cultural and mental characteristic. I cannot claim that this is universal, but at least it seems to be specific for at least some European cultures.

So, by not being aware or not paying attention to each language specificity, and by assuming that what works in one language – that is the metaphorical extension of *to save* from concrete things to abstract ones – will certainly work for the other – that is extend the meaning of Ro. *a salva* in the same manner – the Romanian translator, journalist or both mistakenly translates the English collocation. The problem here is not so much one of readability or comprehensibility of the Romanian text as the readers would probably grasp the message, but rather it has to do with the fact that Romanian (financial) journalese abounds in this type of ungrammatical structures. Their high frequency makes them highly activated in the Romanian native speakers’ minds, thus facilitating their acceptance within the Romanian language.

Let’s take another example: En. *start-up* that can be used alone or in the fixed compound *start-up company*, i.e. “Designating a business or enterprise that is in the process of starting up, or that has just been

established.” (OED). The first quotation given by OED is: 1970 *N.Y. Times* 26 Apr. ix. 15/4 (adv.) If you know what start-up companies are all about and understand the long-term financial rewards, then [etc.].” (OED). So, a pretty modern business (initially American) English compound also based on a metaphorical broadening of the ordinary meaning of En. *start-up*. The Romanian translation is *companie start-up* or simply *start-up*. One possible translation would be Ro. *companie nou înființată*, but this phrase is not be found very frequently in Romanian (business) journales. The Anglicisms seems to be preferred. Here are some examples:

‘Ce este un start-up?’

Un start-up este o companie, un parteneriat sau o organizație temporară proiectată pentru a căuta modele de afaceri repetabile și scalabile. Aceste companii, în general, nou create, sunt într-o fază de dezvoltare și cercetare pentru piață.

Start-up-urile se caracterizează prin următoarele avantaje: flexibilitate în relațiile cu partenerii comerciali, decizii manageriale rapide, număr redus de angajați și gestionarea eficientă a relațiilor interumane.

Cum știi dacă un **start-up** e locul potrivit pentru tine?’ (CVACT.RO)

‘Un **start-up** pus pe picioare în urmă cu trei ani de Andreea și Camil Moldoveanu a ajuns să livreze zilnic aproape o tonă de mixuri de fructe pentru angajații din companii /.../ (ZF, 2016)

There are several possible reasons that may trigger this phenomenon. Ro. *companie nou înființată* can refer both to a start-up company and to any newly established company, therefore its ambiguity needs to be contextually resolved. It may thus be the case that Romanian business specialists, translators and journalist have felt the need to borrow the English word so as to preserve its mono-semanticity in Romanian, too. But yet again this does not entitle them to bring new words into the language without at least trying to paraphrase them or give an editorial definition or something.

The metaphorical extension is obvious for English (native) speakers, therefore they will not find it too difficult to grasp the new terminological meaning of *start-up*. This is not the case for Romanian native speakers, especially for those who do not know English. Thus, by introducing such new terms, Romanian translators and journalists should be aware that they are risking the readability and comprehensibility of their texts.

Moreover, by providing no kind of guidance on how the term should be understood, the Romanian reader is let to decide by himself what meaning he attaches to the new word: he may already know the English

word and thus get the correct message, he may have the common background knowledge to understand the concept without necessarily knowing the English word, or he may grasp the meaning from the context. Nevertheless, when writing or translating business or financial articles, the authors should not expose their texts to such high risks by putting all the burden on the readers' shoulders.

Similar examples to *start-up* are *default*, *futures*, *deadline* or *crash*, to name just a few:

Puerto Rico, un teritoriu neîncorporat al Statelor Unite cu statut de commonwealth, a intrat în default pentru prima dată în istoria sa, după ce a plătit doar 628.000 de dolari dintr-o datorie în valoare de 58 de milioane către Corporația Finanțelor Publice scadentă luni, relatează CNN Money. /.../

Este primul din ceea ce noi credem că vor fi defaulturi mai mari ale datoriei commonwealthului", a declarat Emily Raimes de la Moody's Investors Service.' (MEDIAFAX, 2015)

'Fitch: 'Grecia va intra în default, nu ar trebui să surprindă pe nimeni' '' (ȘTIRILE PROTV, 2012)

'Grecia și Argentina, două lecții recente despre default și consecințele acestuia' (WALL-STREET.RO, 2011)

'Bursa de Valori București a primit avizul Comisiei Naționale a Valorilor Mobiliare (CNVM) pentru două noi contracte futures pe indicele ROXT și acțiunile BVB, potrivit unui comunicat al instituției.' (WALL-STREET.RO, 2010)

'Bursa de Valori București urmează să anunțe lansarea contractelor futures ce au ca activ suport prețul petrolului și al argintului, în vreme ce brokerii de la Tradeville vor activa ca market maker pe cele două instrumente financiare.' (WALL-STREET.RO)

'Este recomandabil ca angajații să plănuiască mai bine lucrurile, să fie mai logici și să învețe să lucreze cu deadline-urile' (ZF, 2008)

'Cum am ajuns să îmi lipsească deadline-urile.' (RL, 2015)

'Statele Unite ale Ponzi, explicația crash-ului financiar' (Ziare.COM, 2015)

'Acesta este cel mai mare minus înregistrat într-o singură zi de bursă chineză. Acum, cei mai mulți investitori se tem că bursa chineză se îndreaptă rapid către un crash de proporții.' (EVZ, 2015)

The examples above are from either translations or translation-based texts that deal with different aspects of the business realm. They are not taken from specialised websites, but from newspapers that have a wider range of readers, therefore Romanian journalists should be more careful when risking everything for the sake of Anglicisms. The outcome may turn out to be a very bad investment.

5 Conclusions

The concise analysis above has suggested that there are some risks involved when translating or writing translation-based Romanian articles from Business English. As shown in **Section 3** and elsewhere in this volume, there are several reasons for this: Business and Financial English are in fact difficult to translate because there are so many fixed phrases and collocations, so many cases of metaphorical narrowing or broadening that hinder the work of Romanian translators or journalists. Sometimes, lexical borrowings seem to be a better solution than their Romanian counterparts, but yet again, Romanian translators/journalists should consider their audience and make some effort to put forward a comprehensive text for a wider audience. But they should not go for the Anglicisms just because it is the handiest solution as this shows lack of professionalism and may suggest that Romanian translators/journalists have little knowledge of both the source- and the target-language.

Therefore, if translating and writing translation-based financial texts is indeed a risky business, would there be any steps to be followed that could yield a better return and minimise risk? This could be the case if the translator or journalist is ready to:

- (i) Familiarise himself with the different types of risk, that is, to analyse the source-text before trying to translate it. He should first identify the main problems of the text (morpho-syntactic structures, fixed phrases and collocations, specific terminology etc.) and only then try a draft translation.
- (ii) Determine the level of risk he is willing to take on, that is to know exactly how his text is going to be affected by his not paying attention to all text problems and most importantly, how his readers are to be affected by this.
- (iii) Reduce the translation's risk level by allocating assets, here knowledge, wisely and widely. The translator/journalist should pay attention not only to particular aspects of the text, for example its

syntax or terminology, but try to use his knowledge of both languages to minimise all risk types identified in (i).

- (iv) Lower each translation's risk through diversification. In order to minimise risk, the translator/journalist should rely on a variety of information sources – good paper-based and on-line dictionaries, specialised textbooks and books, other articles on the same or on a related topic, his previous work and, if needed, ask for help from colleagues.

If followed, the above steps cannot warrant a risk-free translation, but they will definitely lower risk, and increase the readability and comprehensibility of the target-text, thus widening the audience.

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