

# METAPHOR IN SPECIALISED ECONOMICS TEXTS: THE CASE OF ROMANIAN CENTRAL BANK REPORTS

ANCA PECICAN\*

## Abstract

*The present study focuses on a less analyzed use of metaphor in specialized languages, namely, on the presence of free metaphors in professional specialized texts. The type of text accounting for the corpus of the analysis is represented by the central bank report. As regards the theoretical framework, we have considered best appropriate the contributions of cognitive theories on metaphor and, on the other hand, the terminological approach to metaphor. The research has revealed a limited use of metaphors directly related to a discourse genre relying on accuracy, denotation and factual data support. Free metaphors, meaning non lexicalized expressions, tend to repeat in more or less similar contexts. The dominant types of occurring in the corpus include change of state, orientational and measurement metaphors. The article describes the conceptual patterns and their influence at the level of linguistic expressions, the nature of the source domains and the relation between metaphor's function and the type of discourse analysed.*

**Keywords:** *free metaphor, conceptual metaphor, specialized languages, evaluation, discourse genre*

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Metaphor in specialized languages

The present study starts from a modern approach to metaphor, namely the cognitive one, according to which, the device is defined as „understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another“ [2:41]. Further on the definition has been developed as the *mapping* of a certain domain onto another. Each metaphor has a *source domain* and a different *target domain*, two distinct conceptual fields which have not been discovered by conceptual metaphor theories but have worn various names throughout the history of linguistics. What the cognitive approach brought new is the nature of the relationship between the two domains. Thus, it has been considered that the nature of mapping is entirely conceptual; the association is made by the human mind on account of physical or cultural

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\* Pecican Anca, Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest,  
email [ancapecican@yahoo.com](mailto:ancapecican@yahoo.com)

experience. However, the present study is not interested in the motivation of metaphor. Our analysis aims to combine cognitive theory on metaphor with the approach of specialized languages and terminology research. According to Lakoff, metaphorical mapping is universal and accounts for both fixed or conventionalized and free uses. This study aims to analyse the presence of free metaphor in specialized business texts, to determine the source domains, the types of metaphors and give an insight into the relation this trope has with specialized language.

The approach on the use of metaphor in specialized languages includes a relatively wide range of perspectives. In the introduction to the present study we intend to point out the most important ones. For example, as it often happens in general language, through the process of lexicalization, metaphor proves to be a very useful tool in the denomination of new concepts entering a language. The terminologies of specialized fields and particularly that of economics provide a wide range of conventionalized uses of metaphor: (Econ.) *coșul de consum, prețuri volatile, lichidități, motorul creșterii economice* etc. T. Cristea [4] explains the case of lexicalized metaphors as a consequence of polysemy which takes different shapes according to the origin and destination of the process. Following Rastier<sup>ii</sup>, the researcher speaks about a dimensional transgression, when a lexeme belonging to general language becomes the denomination source of a new specialized term, and a domain transgression, when specialized terms of certain fields are used in the creation of specialized terms of other fields [4:53].

On the other hand, metaphor has been considered by terminologists and researchers on specialized languages as a resource of scientific vulgarization. Its use has been pointed out and described as a constant technique of half specialized journalism in view to make scientific concepts more accessible to non initiated public. The presence of tropes, the preference for analogies and comparisons depend on the domain of the original terms, on the type of text in which they appear and on the target public [1:174].

More than often metaphors appear in headlines, which is also valid for articles on everyday life issues, in which case they may also include evaluative components. According to certain linguists, a full account on the use of metaphor in press would be incomplete if its consideration as a rhetorical device is not taken into account. Looking from this perspective,

metaphor is related to textual goals such as „sustaining reader’s interest, establishing authorial identity, evaluation and other stylistic considerations such as humour and the branding of a particular style” [3:158]. As opposed to lexicalized terms having their origins in metaphors, in the case of scientific vulgarization and rhetorical metaphors, there is a less probability of borrowings from other languages. In order to achieve full efficiency, these processes are directly conditioned by the limitations and at the same time endless possibilities of a certain language and culture at a certain time.

### 1.2. *Metaphor /vs./ specialized term*

The following considerations of terminologists regarding the status of the term can be revealing in establishing the degree of fixedness of metaphors used in specialized texts.

In its broadest interpretation, the term represents the linguistic or non-linguistic form designating a determinate concept, imposed through a definition at the level of a certain domain [2: 35]. Linguists consider the term as being a *cognitive unit* endowed with precision regardless of the context it belongs to, but respecting the limits of the given field. In order to be considered a specialized term, a lexeme need to owe a univocal, precise, mono- referential concept, included in a conceptual hierarchy of a certain domain [1:32]. In other words, a term always sends to one and the same referent and has only one meaning clearly defined in dictionaries of the respective field of activity. Its use is never ambiguous and lacks connotations.

On the other hand, with metaphor, it happens quite the contrary. Let us compare for example, the following metaphors (highlighted in bold characters) and their contexts of occurrence belonging to two texts of distinct degrees of specialization.

- (1) *Consiliul de administrație a decis continuarea gestionării adecvate a **lichidității** din sistemul bancar. [16]*
- (2) *Pe parcursul lunilor iulie-septembrie, un rol mai important în **drenarea** excedentului de lichiditate l-a deținut facilitatea de depozit oferită de BNR băncilor, prin care s-a absorbit un volum mediu zilnic de 1 031 miliarde lei [16]*
- (3) *Consumul populației a rezistat **asaltului** TVA și scăderii salariilor (headline in Ziarul Financiar, 02 December 2010).*

While (1) and (2) belong to central bank reports, (3) is a headline of a popular Romanian business journal, a less degree specialized discourse. In the case of example (1), the metaphor is lexicalized, has lost connotations and the relationship with the source domain. The repetitive use of the term in contexts and situations of communication similar to (1) enabled its' entering the economic terminology. We need not appeal to financial or general business dictionaries, as a clear definition of the term is to be found in Romanian Explicative Dictionary [11] together with the specification of the field: "2. (Fin.) Totalitatea banilor de care dispune o întreprindere, un patron etc. pentru a face plățile în termen."<sup>iii</sup> While the conceptual metaphor underlying the use of the term is evident – MONEY IS LIQUID FLOWING -, from a terminologist perspective we no longer deal with a metaphor once the word has become a term, has only one precise reference and occurs in contexts related to a certain specialized domain.

In the case of example (2), the deverbal noun *drenare* is used metaphorically in the respective context. Primarily, *drenare* is also a specialized term belonging to the field of environmental sciences used to refer to the action extracting overflowing water from soil<sup>iv</sup>. The context including the term *lichiditate* – part of the direct object noun phrase *excedent de lichiditate* – fosters the metaphorical use of the word and, at the same time, the original metaphorical side of the specialized term. This is an instance of context triggering. Language is pre-eminently relational, so that the use of any given term will tend to call up or trigger the use of related words [8:146]. This has long been dealt with in lexical and cohesion studies. The mapping in the case of *drenare* includes the relation EXCESS OF MONEY ON MARKET IS EXCESS OF WATER ON SOIL and NBR<sup>v</sup> IS A DRAINING MACHINE, as the domain of soil technologies is mapped onto that of financial operations on market. This is considered a free metaphor as the word *drenare* is not included in financial dictionaries with the meaning it has in this particular situation of communication. In fact, this particular use of the word is context related, and moreover, the mapping of the two domains is active in the meaning of the word in the respective context.

The example (3) is a clear case of free metaphor whose broad reference is culture related, more concretely the increase of VAT in Romania which together with the salary cut menaced consumption and implicitly the whole economy. The headline of a Romanian wide spread economic journal includes a metaphor related to war, *asalt*, whose

conceptual underlying structure would be (THE RECENTLY INCREASED) VAT IS AN ENEMY ATTACKING CONSUMPTION. Apart from the fact that it is not included in economics dictionaries, we cannot say about *asalt* to be mono referential as its meaning is strictly related to the context and includes reference to two domains at the same time, alongside with evaluative and rhetorical connotations.

In the light of what has been said up to now, the present study will focus on metaphors in professional specialized texts, namely the central bank reports, more concretely on metaphorical occurrences similar to that in example (2).

## 2. The central bank discourse genre

According to Swales [7: 46], a *discourse genre* comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the respective genre. Taken over from sociolinguistics, the notion of *discourse community* refers to a group of individuals having a broadly agreed set of common public goals, as well as a mechanism of interaction used primarily to provide information and feedback. It uses and hence possesses one or more discourse genres maintaining and carrying over its aims. Discourse communities develop and continue to develop discourse expectations, more concretely, appropriacy of topics, structure, the function and placing of discourse elements, etc. A fifth characteristic of the discourse community, which is of particular interest to our research, refers to the specificity of the lexis used, including technical terminology, abbreviations, acronyms, etc., at times very hard to be understood by the uninitiated public.

In the light of these considerations, we can characterize the central bank report discourse as a text issued periodically by the central bank of Romania with the purpose of informing bankers, companies' CEO's, businessmen, investors, statesmen etc. about the national economic situation, about economic forecast and the decisions taken with respect to monetary policy. The texts are conceived and written by professionals in the field of economics and addresses professionals in the same domain or at least people owing a fair degree of expertise in economics. The text contains a high number of economic, financial and statistical terms referring to specific technical concepts, while statements are always

supported by charts and numeric data. The present article aims to point out that there is a direct relationship between the use of metaphor and the nature of this particular discourse. More concretely, metaphor is mainly used as a tool of denomination with reference to specialized concepts (e.g. *drenare* for withdrawing cash from market) and non specialized ones (evaluation of economic phenomena variation, measurement).

### 3. Analysis of results. Types of metaphors and patterns

As we have stated earlier in this article, the focus of the analysis is on free, context bound and non lexicalized metaphors used in central bank reports. Before getting into details, several general remarks can be done on the use of metaphors in central bank reports. On the one hand, the discourse style is oriented towards accuracy, precision in expressing facts, from this point of view being more similar to scientific discourse. There is a very low number of free metaphors, which tend to be used repeatedly in more or less similar contexts. In certain cases novel expressions are explained in footnotes<sup>vi</sup>, in order to discard ambiguities and misunderstanding. Metaphor is used mainly with a denominating function: that is, to express concepts which do not possess an already coined specialized term. However, some of them respond to a need for innovation, as there are concepts such as variation of indicators which repeat constantly in the text and cannot be avoided. This is why there are large series of synonyms of *increase* and *decrease*, which include both non metaphorical and metaphorical items<sup>vii</sup>.

We shall exclude from this analysis the cases of metaphors created on the territory of general language and borrowed by the specialized language. It is particularly the case of evaluative modifiers (adjectives or adverbs) of the type (marked in bold characters): *creștere modestă / puternică / slabă; ajustare abruptă; recesiune severă*<sup>viii</sup> etc.

#### 3.1. Change of state metaphors

Apart from specific concepts related to concrete phenomena, economics discourse also includes concepts related to variation, for example, variation in the value of economic indicators. The expression of economic phenomena variation relies on such resources as general language items or terms belonging to other specialized domains, all of

them referring to change of state. Here are some examples of free metaphors of this type:

- (4) *Tendința descendentă a mediei cursului de schimb al leului față de euro s-a inversat în aprilie, în principal, ca urmare a **inflamării** îngrijorării investitorilor financiari legate de criza fi nanțelor publice din Grecia.* [15]
- (5) *Caracterul prociclic al politicii fiscale a contribuit în perioada premergătoare crizei la **supraîncălzirea** economiei, care deja creștea puternic.* [14]
- (6) *Politica fiscală s-a confruntat cu o reducere a veniturilor bugetare rezultată din **comprimarea** PIB.* [14]
- (7) *Participarea investițiilor directe ale nerezidenților la acoperirea deficitului de cont curent (5 168 milioane euro) **s-a consolidat semnificativ**, până la 88,2 la sută.* [14]

Morphologically speaking, in this category we included verbs and deverbal nouns derived from ergative verbs of change of state. The basic conceptual underlying pattern of the processes expressed by these verbs has the form «x becomes x'» or, in fewer cases, when used as transitive, «y makes x become x'». The analysis revealed a higher frequency of the names of processes, while verbs were used especially with the specification of both or only one of the initial and final limits, usually expressed by percentage quantifiers.

It is also worth mentioning the presence in the studied corpus of the same type of evaluation metaphors but having a higher degree of lexicalization: *relaxarea* fiscală nu a constituit o alternativă viabilă, *relaxare* anticiclică a politicii monetare și fiscale; *înghețare* a numărului de posturi și a salariilor personalului bugetar <sup>ix</sup>[14]. The phrase *relaxare* fiscală is included in DEC as “tax reduction”, the use has extended to other contexts where it does not suppose exemption from taxes:

- (8) *În cursul anului 2009 au fost implemetate următoarele măsuri: [...] **relaxarea** procesului de creditare a populației pe componenta creditului ipotecar – prin eliminarea obligativității de luare în considerare a riscului de rată a dobânzii și a riscului valutar.* [14]

In the case of examples (4) – (7), the source domains range from medicine, to physical properties of bodies (temperature, volume, structure), the latter representing cases of reification (6, 7). Either we talk about getting

inflamed or getting hotter, a volume's becoming reduced, or a building getting more solid, all these four metaphorical uses are based on similar patterns. The target domain reference also includes changes of state: in (4) investors' worries grow more intense, in (5) economy is considered to have reached a state an unsustainable growth, while (6) and (7) are cases of decrease in value, the former, and increase, the latter. The conceptual metaphor has the following form in each example:

- (4) WORRY IS AN INFLAMED ORGAN
- (5) UNSUSTAINABLE GROWTH IS OVERHEATING
- (6) DECREASE IS VOLUME REDUCTION (as a result of pressure)
- (7) INCREASE IS SOLIDITY

Other contexts in which these four metaphors appear, present similar patterns to the ones analyzed above. In the three documents studied, *inflamare* has only one more occurrence (*o eventuală reînflamare a tensiunilor pe piețele financiare internaționale*, [16]<sup>x</sup>); *(supra)încălzire*<sup>xi</sup> is used only about economy and its use is to a certain extent lexicalized, as it often occurs in other types of business discourse, as the press for example, with the same meaning.

The deverbal noun *comprimare* appears as such in various similar contexts: *comprimarea volumului exporturilor / volumului finanțării / dinamicii creditelor de consum / creditelor în lei*<sup>xii</sup> etc. In the first two cases, the object is introduced by the quantifier *volum de* ('volume of') which belongs to the source domain of the conceptual metaphor and together with the deverbal noun metaphorically categorize the reference of the economic term as a body. At the level of the linguistic expression, this fact is translated into the use of the specialized term (*exporturi, finanțare*) as a mass noun. Therefore, if we go back to example (6), the use of *PIB* ('GDP'), acronym of the phrase *produs intern brut*, as a mass noun may seem strange or at least opaque to uninitiated readership, as the head of the nominal phrase, *produs* ('product'), is a clear countable noun. In fact, the use is directly related to the concept of GDP: "value of a country's overall output of goods and services (typically during one fiscal year) at market prices, excluding net income from abroad"<sup>xiii</sup>. The bases of determining its value broadly rely on each national company's report on the value of its output throughout a certain period of time.

As regards the use of the verb *a se consolida* ('to consolidate') and the related deverbal noun *consolidare* ('consolidation'), the situation is different.



There are at least two uses of the deverbal noun and of the participle which lead to their lexicalization and inclusion into the economic terminology: the phrase particularly used in accounting *buget consolidat* ('consolidated accounts') and *consolidare fiscală* ('tax consolidation') used in financial economics. Both phrases occur several times in the studied NBR reports. This fact can be considered an argument supporting the idea of a possible extension of the use of the term in other contexts as well, especially since this type of discourse reflects a clear preference for technical terms having clear, specialized reference. The conceptual metaphor is similar in all contexts – INCREASE IS SOLIDITY – while the target domain includes both general and technical concepts: *consolidarea perspectivelor de reluare a dezinflației*; *consolidarea rolului inhibitor al cererii de consum asupra presiunilor inflaționiste*; *consolidarea credibilității băncii centrale*<sup>xiv</sup> [16]. Contexts of this type can also be met in general language as opposed to example (7), which contains a clear reference to numeric value increase for which reason can be considered as an instance of discourse specific extension of the metaphorical use.

Furthermore, a relevant issue which should be pointed out with respect to change of state metaphors is the evaluative or axiological component some of them may include in their meaning, more or less independently of the context. For instance, in the case of *inflamare* ('inflammation') it is clear that, due to its original meaning – a part of a body becomes infected –, the metaphor implies a negative evaluation of the economic process. As overheating implies the transgression of a limit considered normal, *supraîncălzire* also includes negative connotations<sup>xv</sup>. However, *comprimare* and *consolidare* do not involve a clear evaluation of the target domain. While the former is used in physics with technical clear-cut reference, neutral from an axiological point of view, the latter may involve an evaluative pattern of the type SOLID IS POSITIVE, having its roots in cultural and physical experience. The pattern is reinforced by such objects as *credibilitate*, *perspectivele de reluare a dezinflației*, *rolul inhibitor al cererii de consum asupra presiunilor inflaționiste*<sup>xvi</sup>, but what about *consolidare fiscală* ('tax consolidation')? According to economists and business operators, raising taxes does not necessarily have benefic consequences, but rather, on the contrary. The fixed phrase *buget consolidat*<sup>xvii</sup> ('consolidated accounts') does not involve any evaluative component whatsoever. In the case of *înghețare* ('freeze') and *relaxare* ('easing'), once more, certain evaluative components are traceable as, in the former's case freeze is related to lack or stillness of life, or to people unfriendly temperatures and, the latter is associated with a less tense or anxious state. Moreover, the

former is used in usually considered negative contexts (*înghețare a numărului de posturi și a salariilor personalului bugetar*; see footnote 9), and the latter in usually considered positive ones as *relaxare fiscală* ('tax abatement'), *relaxare anticiclică a politicii monetare și fiscale* (see footnote 9). As a result of these reflections, we may conclude that some of these metaphors include an evaluative component regardless of the context, which is as evident as less lexicalized the metaphor is, while others can acquire axiological values in certain contexts.

### 3.2. Motion and orientational metaphors

Oriental metaphors were first mentioned and analyzed by G. Lakoff și M. Johnson [5:14], who stated that this class of conceptual metaphors „does not structure one concept in terms of another but organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another” . Further on, the researchers add that in languages which use this type of metaphors to express quantity, UP always means MORE and DOWN means LESS. Movement and orientational metaphors are used in the studied corpus to refer to increasing or decreasing variation of economic indicators such as exchange rate of currencies, sales, prices, etc. The rule postulated by Lakoff and Johnson about general language is also valid in the case of economics language. We have chosen to analyse these types of metaphors together as most occurrences combine both movement and orientational metaphors.

- (9) *În sens contrar a acționat pe parcursul întregului an 2009 mișcarea ascendentă a prețurilor produselor din tutun, determinată de majorarea în două etape a accizelor în euro.* [14]
- (10) *Evoluția a fost determinată de temperarea declinului achizițiilor de bunuri și servicii, în contextul atenuării trajectoriei descendente a venitului disponibil al populației.* [15]
- (11) *Împrumuturile companiilor au continuat să fie cele mai dinamice, ritmul de creștere a acestora reintrând în teritoriul pozitiv.* [16]
- (12) *Sistarea exporturilor de cereale de către Rusia și Ucraina, puternic afectate de secetă, a determinat salturi bruște ale prețurilor materiilor prime agroalimentare la nivel mondial.* [16]

The conceptual metaphor mentioned earlier is rendered linguistically through verbs of movement *a intra, a coborî, a urca* etc. and deverbal nouns such as *mișcare, salt*. Direction is expressed by verbs of movement including reference to spatial orientation *a intra, a coborî, a urca*, etc. and their derivatives, e.g. *salt* etc., or by modifiers of nouns referring to trend, *tendință, trend*, etc. The motivation of the metaphor of entering or

leaving a certain territory lies in the image of graphs and charts in which the negative and positive sides are strictly separated. Other image motivated metaphors are to be met in the type of text analysed: for example, when talking about deficit, its increase is often described as a movement of going deep: *adâncirea deficitului de cerere agregată* [14]; *contribuția negativă a cererii externe nete la dinamica PIB s-a adâncit până la -2,8 puncte procentuale*<sup>xviii</sup> [16]. In this case, due to the concept of deficit<sup>xix</sup> itself, DOWN means MORE; specialists also name it a negative increase. Another interesting example of image influence on language is talking about a chart curve in terms of a body:

- (13) *Curba ascendentă descrisă de variațiile anuale ale prețurilor de producție a consemnat o tendință de aplatizare.* [16: 29]

The report also contains the chart where the line describing variation, previously curved, is beginning to have a straight constant proceeding. The metaphorical mapping started from the analogy between the chart values and the surface of a more or less round body becoming neat after having been pressed.

### 3.3. Measurement metaphors

These metaphors are used to express concepts of measuring the variation of certain economic phenomena. They are of particular interest for the source domains used in the metaphorical mapping, as these belong to other specialized domains such as Physics. In this category, *amplitudine* ('amplitude') and *magnitudine* ('magnitude') are very frequent.

- (14) [...] *amplitudinea readâncirii contracției economice în trimestrul III 2010.* [16]  
 (15) [...] *ritmul și magnitudinea adâncirii deficitului de cerere agregată.* [14]  
 (16) [...] *magnitudinea șocului inflaționist exogen a condus la o creștere a ratei anuale a inflației.* [16]

While *amplitudine* relates the variation of an economic indicator to a body's oscillations, *magnitudine* reflects the analogy to the degree of an earthquake's intensity or to the dimensions of a star, specialized use specific to Astronomy. In cases of context triggering, where other earthquake related words appear, for example, *șoc* ('shock'), negative values can be traced in the meaning of the measurement modifier, a fact which is very rare in specialized texts. On the other hand, in other contexts it is interchangeable with *amplitudine* (14, 15). The basis of the use of these

two terms in contexts of this type is the existence of a potential polysemy extension in their meaning. Although it is not specified in the dictionary, the meaning of measuring oscillation or earthquake shock wave is very likely to extend to measuring variation of economic indicators.

### Conclusions

The present study has focused on the use of free metaphors in professional specialized texts, namely the central bank reports. The analysis has revealed a limited use of metaphors as the discourse genre is tributary to accuracy, denotation and factual data support. Free metaphors, meaning non lexicalized expressions, tend to repeat in more or less similar contexts. The dominant types of metaphorical occurrences include change of state, movement and orientational, as well as measurement metaphors. The conceptual patterns and their influence on the linguistic level have been described throughout the present article. The source domains of the metaphors range from general knowledge and experience (and general language expressions) to specialized ones (expressed through technical vocabulary) such as physics. As regards, motivation of metaphors, this is mainly related to environmental experience of the human body (orientational metaphors) but there are also cases of motivation lying in graphs and charts used as a symbolic system of describing indicator variation parallel to language. Although mainly used with denominating function, metaphors may include certain evaluative connotations regardless or not of the context, as the analysis revealed particularly in the case of change of state metaphors.

### Translation of examples

- (1) Therefore, the NBR Board decided to continue ensuring an adequate management of **liquidity** in the banking system. (IR 11/2010)
- (2) A major role in **draining** excess liquidity played the NBR's deposit facility whereby a daily average of lei 1,031 billion was absorbed. (IR 11/2010)
- (3) Population consumption resisted VAT and salary cut **assault** (headline in *Ziarul Financiar*, December 2, 2010)
- (4) The downward trajectory of the RON/EUR average exchange rate saw a trend reversal in April, mainly on account of **heightened** (in Romanian version, literally, *inflamed*) investor concerns regarding Greece's debt crisis. (MA 04/2010)

- (5) The pro-cyclical nature of fiscal policy contributed in the pre-crisis period to the **overheating** of the economy, which had already been growing rapidly. (AR 2009)
- (6) Fiscal policy faced lower budget revenues owing to the **decline** (in the Romanian version, literally, compression / squeeze) in GDP. (AR 2009)
- (7) The EUR 5,168 million current account deficit was covered by foreign direct investment to a significantly larger extent (88.2 percent). (AR 2009) (in the Romanian version, literally, *the participation of the foreign direct investment in covering the EUR 5,168 million current account deficit consolidated to a large extent, up to 88.2 per cent.*)
- (8) [...] **the easing** (in Romanian version, literally, *relaxation*) of lending conditions for mortgage loans – by removing the requirement to take into calculation interest rate risk and currency risk (AR 2009)
- (9) Running counter to disinflation was the **uptrend** (in the Romanian version, literally, *upwards movement*) in tobacco prices throughout the entire year. The explanation for this development lies with the two-step hike in EUR-denominated excise duties. (AR 2009)
- (10) Behind this stood a slower decline in purchases of goods and services amid a more sluggish **downtrend** in households' disposable income and a faster annual growth rate of new consumer loans. (MA 04/2010)
- (11) Corporate borrowings continued to be the most dynamic component, their growth pace **reverting to positive territory**. (IR 11/2010)
- (12) Following the ban on grain exports by Russia and Ukraine which were hit by severe drought, worldwide agri-food commodity markets saw a **surge** (in the Romanian version, literally, *jump*) in prices and worsening expectations. (IR 11/2010)
- (13) The upward curve described by the annual changes in producer prices seemed to **flatten out**. (IR 11/2010)
- (14) [...] projections are still fraught with significant uncertainties, especially in terms of **the magnitude** (in the Romanian version, literally, *amplitude*) of economic contraction (IR 11/2010)
- (15) [...] the pace and **magnitude** of aggregate demand shortage widening (AR 2009)
- (16) [...] the **magnitude** of the exogenous inflationary shock caused the annual CPI inflation to reach markedly higher levels (IR 11/2010)

Notes

- <sup>i</sup> In the same order: literal translation *shopping basket* for average cost of a week's shopping; volatile prices; liquidity / cash; the engine of economic growth;
- <sup>ii</sup> Rastier, F. (1987) – *Semantique interpretative*, Paris, PUF quoted in [4]
- <sup>iii</sup> DEX 98: (Finance) total amount of cash a company, person, etc. has to meet immediate and short-term obligations.
- <sup>iv</sup> DEX 98: *a drena*: to collect and evacuate infiltrated water from soil, fields, etc. with the help of drains
- <sup>v</sup> National Bank of Romania
- <sup>vi</sup> This is the case of the metonymical use of the item *rigidități* ('rigidities') whose reference to complicated bureaucracy, reduced transparency, etc. on market is described in a footnote in the same text [14]. The metonymical relation includes the substitution of the phenomena by their shared characteristic. The metonymy also includes a negative evaluation of the respective phenomena.
- <sup>vii</sup> Increase: *a crește, a urca, a se consolida, a se multiplica, a intra pe un trend ascendent / în teritoriul pozitiv*; decrease: *a scădea, a coborî, a se comprima, a se reduce, a intra pe un trend descendent / în teritoriul negativ* etc.
- <sup>viii</sup> **Modest / strong / weak** growth; **steep** adjustment; **severe** recession
- <sup>ix</sup> fiscal **easing** (in the Romanian version, literally *relaxation*) was not a viable option; a counter-cyclical **easing** of monetary and fiscal policies; hiring and wage **freeze** across the public sector [17]
- <sup>x</sup> A possible new stirring (literally, *inflammation*) of tensions on international financial markets.
- <sup>xi</sup> (over)heating
- <sup>xii</sup> A squeeze (literally, *compression*) in the volume of exports / in the volume of finance / of consumption credit dynamics / of lei credits
- <sup>xiii</sup> www.businessdictionary.com
- <sup>xiv</sup> The **consolidation** of prospects for resuming disinflation; Consumer demand is anticipated to **consolidate** its dampening influence on inflationary pressures; **consolidation** of central bank credibility [19]
- <sup>xv</sup> Cognitive linguistics usually prefers the term *value* instead of *connotation* [6:261]
- <sup>xvi</sup> See footnote xiii.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Financial information presentation in which the assets, equity, liabilities, and operating accounts of a firm and its subsidiaries are combined (after eliminating all inter-firm transactions) and shown as belonging to a single reporting entity. www.businessdictionary.com
- <sup>xviii</sup> aggregate demand shortage **widening** (in the Romanian version, literally, *becoming deep*) [17]; the negative contribution of net external demand to GDP dynamics **deepened** to -2.8 percentage points [19]
- <sup>xix</sup> Deficit: current expenses exceed current income [9]

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