

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Translation practices at the European
Central Bank with reference to metaphors

Luciana Tcaciuc

2013

Aston University

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TRANSLATION PRACTICES AT THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK
WITH REFERENCE TO METAPHORS

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SEPTEMBER 2012

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ASTON UNIVERSITY

Title: Translation Practices at the European Central Bank with Reference to Metaphors

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Thesis summary:

The European Union institutions represent a complex setting and a specific case of institutional translation. The European Central Bank (ECB) is a particular context as the documents translated belong to the field of economics and, thus, contain many specialised terms and neologisms that pose challenges to translators.

This study aims to investigate the translation practices at the ECB, and to analyse their effects on the translated texts. In order to illustrate the way texts are translated at the ECB, the thesis will focus on metaphorical expressions and the conceptual metaphors by which they are sanctioned. Metaphor is often associated with literature and less with specialised texts. However, according to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, our conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature and metaphors are pervasive elements of thought and speech. The corpus compiled comprises economic documents translated at the ECB, mainly from English into Romanian. Using corpus analysis, the most salient metaphorical expressions were identified in the source and target texts and explained with reference to the main conceptual metaphors. Translation strategies are discussed on the basis of a comparison of the source and target texts. The text-based analysis is complemented by questionnaires distributed to translators, which give insights into the institution's translation practices. As translation is an institutional process, translators have to follow certain guidelines and practices; these are discussed with reference to translators' *agency*.

A gap was identified in the field of institutional translation. The translation process in the EU institutions has been insufficiently explored, especially regarding the new languages of the European Union. By combining the analysis of the institutional practices, the texts produced in the institution and the translators' work (by the questionnaires distributed to translators), this thesis intends to bring a contribution to institutional translation and metaphor translation, particularly regarding a new EU language, Romanian.

Keywords: institutional translation, European Union, European Central Bank, conceptual metaphor theory, Romanian

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAT – computer-assisted translation

DGT – Directorate-General for Translation (the European Commission's translation department)

ECB – European Central Bank

EMU – Economic and Monetary Union

ESCB – European System of Central Banks

EU – European Union

LSP – language for specific purposes

SL – source language

ST – source text

TL – target language

TS – Translation Studies

TT – target text

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Objectives and background of the study

Multilingualism is at the heart of the European project. The language policies adopted by the European Union aim at ensuring the equal status of all 23 official languages. Thus, translation plays a very important part in the European Union institutions. Due to the complexity of the procedures and the variety of languages and documents, this setting is particularly interesting to investigate.

There are several EU institutions, with different roles and functions. Each of them normally has a comprehensive and complex translation service, and different institutional procedures in place.

One of these institutions is the European Central Bank (ECB), which has a financial role and, until the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, was not considered a European Union institution. The ECB is a supranational institution and has the role of ensuring price stability and implementing monetary policy in the euro area. As in other EU institutions, the official documents it produces, which are mainly drafted in English, have to be translated in all 23 official languages of the EU. The ECB has a small translation department, with two to four translators for each language. The specificity of this particular institution is that the documents belong to the field of economics and are often highly specialised. Although in the discipline of Translation Studies there is some research on institutional translation and EU institutions (e.g. Koskinen, 2008; Wagner et al, 2002), this is insufficient and mainly focuses on institutions with a larger translation service (e.g. the European Commission).

The aim of this study is to investigate the translation policies and practices within the European Central Bank and to analyse the effects of these practices on translators' behaviour as reflected in the actual translations. This study will explore the translation process in one of the EU institutions because this particular setting is unique and offers many interesting

aspects to analyse (as regards the language regime, the rules, the types of documents, the working procedures). Moreover, there is little research in the field, especially regarding new languages (such as Romanian) and this particular institution (the European Central Bank). For illustration of textual profiles of the translations, the study focuses on metaphors, more specifically on metaphorical expressions as evidence of underlying conceptual metaphors. A reason for choosing metaphor as the subject of the analysis is that not all aspects of language can be explored and metaphors pose a sufficient number of challenges in terms of translation. Metaphor is often associated with literary and expressive texts and less with specialised texts. However, according to Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, our conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature and we can find metaphors in all types of texts. Despite the fact that many texts translated in the European Union institutions are specialised, they contain a large number of metaphors, because metaphors structure our whole understanding of the world and are pervasive elements of thought and speech. Moreover, the highly specialised economic documents produced and translated at the European Central Bank contain many culture-specific terms, technical terms and neologisms, which can pose significant challenges to translators.

The corpus compiled for this study comprises documents translated within the European Central Bank. The main language pair analysed in this thesis is English and Romanian, whilst French and Spanish versions were occasionally used for reference (especially since, like Romanian, they are Romance languages and French is one of the main working languages of the European Union institutions). Using corpus analysis, the most frequent metaphorical expressions were identified in the source and target texts. Text analysis, during which rigorous criteria of metaphor identification and analysis were employed, was used to describe and explain these conceptual metaphors and to identify the strategies used for translating metaphorical expressions that belong to them. Moreover, a series of questionnaires were distributed to translators from the European Central Bank in order to investigate whether translators identify metaphors in the texts they translate and how they normally deal with them. Another research method was observation (ethnographic method), which, together with the questionnaires, allows us to go further, beyond the description provided through the text analysis.

The translation process at the ECB was examined through analysing the available documents describing the translation policies in the institution, observing practices at the ECB, limited personal correspondence and confidential open-ended questionnaires. The translation product (readily available, relatively large, specialised source and target sub-corpora) is

publicly accessible and for this reason, the present thesis focuses on the translation product and analyses it descriptively.

The present study attempts at answering three questions:

1. What are the translation policies and procedures of the European Central Bank?
2. What translation strategies do translators use at the European Central Bank to deal with economic metaphors when translating from English into Romanian?
3. How is translation influenced by the institutional conditions and policies?

In order to provide an answer to these three questions, the present study employs several methods. The observation of the institutional setting and the analysis of documents regarding institutional procedures provide information about the translation policies and procedures at the ECB. The translation strategies were identified on the basis of the analysis of the corpus of texts. The links between the textual profiles and the institutional conditions were established following the analysis of the actual texts, of the institutional procedures and of the questionnaires distributed to translators.

In analysing metaphors, the conceptual metaphor theory was used because it provides a framework for analysis at text level rather than at the level of individual metaphorical expressions and has already been successfully used by many researchers, but not so much in Translation Studies as yet (some of the scholars are Al-Harrasi, 2000; Schäffner, 2004; Shuttleworth, 2011). The collected data (the corpus of authentic texts – language versions of the ECB documents) was analysed using the conceptual view of metaphor.

1.2 Social and theoretical relevance of the study

Nowadays, a large number of translations are produced in various institutions: international organisations, European Union institutions, multilingual companies, etc. These translations are constrained by the translating institution (Koskinen, 2008: 2). In 1988, Mossop identified a gap in the research on institutional translation; since then, some research has been done in the field. However, twenty years later, Koskinen reiterated Mossop's claim, since still a lot of research has to be conducted. Translating institutions are considered a "missing factor in translation theory" (Mossop, 1988 cited in Koskinen, 2008: 4). The institutional context of translation has been explored more in relation to the publishing industry and literary translation. Koskinen (2008: 27) notices the following:

Considering the amount of translation work in the EU institutions and its widening geographic and linguistic reach to present and future candidate countries, it is surprising how little research on EU translation has been carried out in translation studies.

This thesis was designed as a contribution to institutional translation, the EU institutions in particular, in view of the research gap identified by scholars. The present study, which focuses on the European Central Bank, explores three aspects: the study of the institutional framework, the study of translators and the study of translated documents. Moreover, it explores the translation into Romanian, a new language in the EU, which has been relatively little researched in this particular setting. Another important aspect is that in Romanian the terminology is not very well-established and sometimes EU terms differ from those used at national level. The translators need to make certain choices, especially in case of new metaphors, in order to produce accurate, clear translations, which comply with the rules and guidelines. Translators have to deal with highly specialised texts (sometimes aimed at economic experts) and have to observe institutional practices and constraints (which form the translator's *habitus*, a concept discussed in section 2.1.3 of this study). All these factors have an impact on translators' agency and on the way the texts are translated. The present thesis could be of use to the ECB, for training purposes and professional awareness, as well as to anybody who wants to gain an insight into the translation practices of the ECB.

Thus, by combining the analysis of the institutional practices, the texts produced in the institution (illustrating the practices by the translation of metaphors) and the translators' work (by the questionnaires distributed to translators), this study intends to bring a contribution to institutional translation and metaphor translation, particularly with regards to a new EU language (Romanian).

1.3 Structure of the study

The present thesis is structured as follows:

In Chapter 2, the theoretical framework which informs the analysis is presented. The first section outlines institutional translation and its main traits, as well as concepts such as *agency*, *habitus*, *capital*, and presents the main ideas expressed by scholars in this field. The conceptual metaphor theory is presented and explained. The chapter also comprises examples of conceptual metaphors and a classification of metaphors; the functions of metaphor are also presented, as well as its ideological role. The next section deals with metaphors in specialised texts – in political texts, in the political discourse on the European

Union and then in economic texts, which is the object of the present thesis. The main studies that focus on metaphor in economic texts in Romanian are presented, as well as a critique of economic metaphors in the journalistic field. The next section gives an overview of the main ideas in the literature related to translating metaphor, as well as the strategies for translating metaphor.

Chapter 3 describes the corpus and methodology employed in the present thesis. The assembled corpus is presented and the reasons for choosing it are listed and discussed. The advantages and disadvantages of using corpus analysis software are also outlined. Then the main challenges identified by scholars in researching metaphors, institutional translation and EU translation are mentioned and developed. The methodology employed in this study is further presented, outlining corpus analysis, the ethnographic methods and the questionnaires. The quantitative and qualitative methods are analysed, outlining the main characteristics of each of these methods and arguing why the combination of the two methods has been chosen as a methodology for the present thesis.

Chapter 4 presents the institutional conditions and policies of the European Central Bank and the translation process in the European Union institutions in general. Concepts such as 'EU language', 'the source text', 'parallel texts', 'translators' invisibility', 'hybrid texts' are explained, as well as the characteristics of EU texts. Then, the European Central Bank is presented, as it is the institution explored in this thesis: the linguistic regime of the European Central Bank is described and explained, as well as the main types of documents produced and translated at the ECB. The organisation of the translation service is described, with a special focus on the translation into Romanian and the main documents translated into Romanian. The main style guides in force at the ECB are also analysed.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the empirical analysis. A product-oriented description of the texts is provided. The textual profiles and translation strategies are identified and analysed. Some quantitative data regarding the texts are provided. The main translation strategies for translating metaphors are identified, analysed, and classified, with relevant examples from the texts (on the basis of a comparison of the source and target texts).

Chapter 6 aims at explaining the links between the textual profiles of the translations and the institutional conditions at the ECB. The questionnaires filled in by the translators of the ECB are analysed, in relation to the translation strategies. A link is established between the results

(the translation strategies identified, the data regarding institutional procedures), the theoretical framework and the answers provided by the translators in the questionnaires.

Chapter 7 contains the evaluation and implications of the results. The conclusions and limitations of the research are presented, as well as possible directions for further research. The chapter also summarises the contribution that the present study brings to the discipline of Translation Studies.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

The present thesis aims at exploring the institutional context of the European Central Bank regarding translation, the way metaphors are translated into Romanian at the ECB and the conditions and policies that may influence the translation process. The main research questions are: a) What are the translation procedures and policies at the ECB? b) What strategies do translators use for translating metaphors? and c) How does the institutional setting influence the translation process?

In the discipline of Translation Studies, there is extensive research on metaphor. Some scholars use the linguistic view of metaphor, others choose the conceptual view (aspects further analysed in section 2.2.1 of this chapter). However, institutional translation, as previously stated, has been little researched. Some of the interesting and complex aspects to explore are the translators' agency, power and creativity in the translation process, and the influence of the regulations imposed by the specific institution. The theories and ideas from the existing literature in these fields will constitute the theoretical framework of this study.

The aim of this chapter is to present the main theoretical framework underlying the present research. The chapter is divided into four parts. First, a theoretical overview of institutional translation is provided, as the aim of the present thesis is to explore the translation process in the context of a specific institution (the European Central Bank). Concepts such as 'agency', 'habitus', 'capital', and 'field' are presented and analysed, since at the ECB there are certain institutional policies and procedures regarding translation. In the second section, the conceptual metaphor theory is described and presented because it is the framework in which the present thesis operates and allows for a global perspective and text level analysis. The third section deals with metaphors in political, economic and other specialised texts, since the texts translated at the ECB belong to the highly specialised field of economics. The fourth section reviews the literature on translating metaphor and the strategies for translating metaphor, mentioned by various scholars, since the present thesis focuses on metaphor translation to illustrate institutional practices. This particular theoretical framework has been

chosen in view of the research questions and following a careful reflection upon the aims of the present study.

2.1 Institutional translation

2.1.1 The institutional context

Many translations take place in an institutional setting. These institutions have a specific role and follow certain rules and procedures; thus, the translation process in the institutional context is also governed by specific rules. A gap has been identified in the field of institutional translation. The translation process in the European Union institutions has been explored, but insufficiently and mainly with reference to the European Commission. Moreover, there is little research as regards the new languages of the European Union.

Koskinen (2011: 1) defines an institution in the following way: “any institution can be defined as a form of uniform action governed by role expectations, norms, values and belief systems”. Institutions have roles, patterned actions and they are endowed with authority and legitimacy (including as regards the translation process). Referring to institutions in general, Halliday (2007) states that every institution is a communication network and a speech community: “The structure of the institution will be enshrined in the language, in the different types of interaction that take place and the linguistic registers that are associated with them” (Halliday, 2007: 120). Every institution will exercise, to a certain extent, some control over the language used: “The characteristics of one type of institution are likely to be revealed in unexpected ways in the language” (Halliday, 2007: 121).

Institutional translation refers to translating in or for a specific organisation. According to Fawcett & Munday (2009: 142), institutional translation concerns the effect of organisational, structural, relational, ideological or historical aspects of a translating institution on both translators and the translation as a process and product. This stems from the idea that translation is a socially situated practice. According to various researchers (Fawcett & Munday, 2009; Koskinen, 2008; Mossop, 1988), institutional translation is still rather unexplored and explanations and empirical details are lacking. Mossop (1988: 65) argues that translating institutions is an “important participant missing in existing models of translation”. Thus, he identifies a gap in the research on institutional translation. He also

states that “the goals of a translating institution are what determines the general approach taken in the translations it produces: whether they are relatively literal or free, whether the language is conventional or innovative, whether metaphors are eliminated or retained, and so forth” (Mossop, 1988: 65). The roles and functions of the institution which is the object of study of the present thesis – the European Central Bank – are presented in Chapter 4.

Koskinen has done extensive work on translation in the European Commission, based on ethnographic studies. Her work is particularly relevant for the present study because she is one of the few scholars who describe institutional translation in the EU and the translation process in the European Commission; she also interviewed translators, both as an insider (she worked as a translator there) and as an outsider (after leaving the Commission, as a researcher). Koskinen (2008: 22) defines institutional translation in the following way:

[W]e are dealing with *institutional translation* in those cases when an official body (government agency, multinational organization or a private company, etc.; also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of “speaking” to a particular audience. Thus, in institutional translation, the voice that is to be heard is that of the translating institution. As a result, in a constructivist sense, the institution itself gets translated.

At the ECB there are also particular procedures and constraints, which stem from the specific purpose of the institution. These are discussed in Chapter 4.

According to Koskinen, each institution where translation takes place has specific purposes and its own way of addressing the external audience. The specificity of the institution can influence translators’ freedom and creativity in the translation process (agency). For a discussion of agency, see 2.1.2 below.

The translation process in different institutions has become more and more complex. Sometimes there are multiple agents involved in translating a document (translators, revisers, editors, experts) and a collaboration process takes place. Thus, the role of the translator changes and the translator becomes “a participant in a situated institutional practice that has become routinized and habituated over time” (Fawcett & Munday, 2009: 144). The complexity of the process and the way translation is done depends on the institutional context.

Mossop (1990), who analyses the role of translating institutions in determining how a translation is done (focusing on the Canadian Government’s translation service), argues that,

in order to understand why translations are done in a certain way, the institutional setting in which translations take place should be considered. Sometimes the “meaning is changed to serve the purpose of the translating institution” (Mossop, 1990: 345).

Each institution has its own policies, aims, and rules. However, they differ in the degree of institutionalisation and in their approach to institutional translation. Institutions exercise, to a certain extent, some sort of control over the translation process. According to Koskinen (2008: 18), “all institutions constrain and regulate behaviour”. Institutional translation is collective, anonymous and standardised. The consistency of vocabulary, the syntax and the style of documents are controlled by the institution: traditionally by style guides, revisions, mentoring and training, and in contemporary institution settings, by databases, term banks and CAT tools¹. This is also the case of the ECB, as well as other EU institutions, where translators are working with a translation memory.² All these procedures are presented in detail in Chapter 4.

Another issue repeatedly addressed by scholars is that translators are “invisible” and the voice to be heard is that of the institution. Koskinen (2008: 23) argues that the European Union institutions (particularly the European Commission, on which she focuses in her study) place very stringent constraints on translation: “The language is not individual but quite heavily controlled and translation is not a personal act but a collective process” (Koskinen, 2008: 24).

Other scholars, although not in the context of institutional translation, also mention constraints in a community in which translation takes place. Chesterman (1993: 4) talks about “certain behavioural regularities [...] accepted (in a given community) as being models or standards of desired behaviour”. Hermans (1999: 82) states that norms imply a certain degree of social and psychological pressure and “act as constraints on behaviour, by foreclosing certain options and choices”. Since institutional translation also happens in a community and in a social environment, the quotes above show that some rules have to be followed, even if the institution is not present.

¹ CAT (computer-assisted translation) tools are a range of software applications to support the translation process and make it faster.

² The translation memory is a large database where all previous translations are stored.

In her study of the Finnish translators working for the European Commission, Koskinen (2009: 108) found that the different institutional factors affect the translators' status and identity. Translators become the spokespersons of the institution. This is why the translating institution often hides its translational origin and all documents are considered to be "language versions", not "translations". This implies that all Commission documents, irrespective of the language version, have equal authoritative power over the audiences to which they are addressed.

Each institution has different settings for institutional translation, different regulations and guidelines, which results in a whole range of different translation strategies and routines. Koskinen (2011: 6) argues that the ideological and political agendas, which differ in each institution, shape and define their preferred translation strategies. As it will be illustrated in section 2.2.4, metaphor can also be ideological and thus, metaphor translation becomes more challenging. However, the ideology might not be directed at the readers of the TT, but rather exist within an institution in the form of rules and guidelines.

The translators who translate for the EU institutions have little freedom when it comes to the translation choices (this is also the case of translators at the European Central Bank, an issue which will be further explored in Chapter 4 of this thesis). They are mainly bound by the institutional practices specific to a certain institution. According to Koskinen (2008: 2), "the official nature of the institution endows the documents with authority and performative power". Translators have to follow certain rules and translation is based on a "precedent", on previous translations. For example, at the European Commission, special attention needs to be paid to the names of official pieces of EU law (regulations, directives, decisions, etc.), as the same name has to be used every time reference is made to such a document. Thus, the translator has to look for the official name in the EUR-LEX³ database and copy it as such.

Translators also have to use the agreed terminology. At the European Commission, they can consult the EURAMIS⁴ database containing previous translations to look for a certain term. As Dollerup (2001) states, translators have to "bow to common EU terminology". For the specific case of terminology at the ECB, see Chapter 4.

³ EUR-LEX is a website containing European Union legislation.

⁴ EURAMIS is the European Commission's translation memory, containing previously translated texts.

Translators are pieces in this large and complex mechanism of EU institutions. Their power and freedom are limited, as they always have to take into account the ideology and conventions of the translating institution. This is why a particular institution is often referred to (even by the employees) as a “closed circle”, a world of its own, with its own rules and conventions. Koskinen (2008) uses the term “microcosm” when referring to EU institutions. However, even if many studies advocate that translators have to be more visible and powerful, they may overlook particular institutional contexts. For instance, at the ECB translators may feel that, by working as a translator at the ECB, they belong to an authoritative institution, contribute in a way to policy-making and represent the specific institution, by the texts they translate, even if they remain anonymous.

These considerations will be further discussed in Chapter 4, which focuses on translating in the European Union institutions and, more specifically, presents the European Central Bank context and the translation process in this particular institution, which is the object of the present study. The procedures and constraints of the translation process will be presented. The links between the textual profiles and the conditions and policies at the European Central Bank will be discussed in Chapter 6 of the present thesis. The next section will explore another aspect related to translating in a specific institution: translators’ agency. Then, sociological concepts such as *habitus*, *capital* and *field* will be defined and presented in section 2.1.3.

2.1.2 Translators’ agency

Sociological approaches in Translation Studies have recently addressed the concept of agency (not only related to institutions). This section intends to explore this concept. Agency means to what extent translators can take their own decisions when they are constrained by institutional procedures. The concept of agency has been addressed in institutional translation, by the scholars mentioned below.

Kinnunen & Koskinen (2010: 6) provide the following definition of agency: “willingness and ability to act”, the former being related to “consciousness, reflectivity and intentionality”, and the latter to the “constraints and issues of power(lessness)”. Agency implies a certain type of behaviour and certain choices within a social context.

According to Paloposki (2010: 88), agency can be understood as the translators' "everyday practices, decisions and even routine chores", the "freedom of choice to decide for themselves on certain issues" and the control they have over their own work. Koskinen (2010: 166) argues that social structures play a role in determining human action and the freedom to act.

A translator's decisions are individual, but they are made in a historical and social context. As translation is seen as a form of social interaction, it occurs within social structures, which are also structures of power. The translator is "an agent whose actions are neither entirely free nor predetermined" (Hermans, 1999: 80).

Institutional regulations influence or place constraints on agency. Koskinen (2010: 178) argues that "it is not norms that govern translation activity, but the translators' ways of dealing with these norms". Translators find themselves in a network of constantly shifting relations, which can influence the choices they make. The aim of the present research is to investigate how the institutional context impacts the translation process.

Mayoral (2003: 50) mentions a series of "factors that reduce the number of choices in translation (translation constraints)": meaning constraints, textual constraints, translation constraints, ethical, communicative, assignment, conceptual, ability and risk constraints. According to Mayoral (2003: 49), constraints can be imposed by (1) laws, professional regulations and customs; (2) constraints that other participants in the act of translation impose. Nida (1998) also states that in the translation process, there are constraints that interfere with the translators' creativity.

Yankova (2008: 143), referring to statutory texts translated in the European Union institutions, argues that:

Translators [...] are not free to use just any strategy; they are faced with institutional constraints, which inevitably affect their work, on top of the fact that as a rule, statutory texts call for an exact and faithful translation in order to preserve the intent of the legislative institution.

The translators' role is to facilitate communication between people. In the EU institutions, their role is to provide access for citizens to the laws, regulations and informative documents

of the EU in their own language. Thus, the decisions they take regarding the translation and their choices are crucial. According to Yankova (2008: 143),

[...] these choices will leave an imprint on the evolution of the national language and will influence the discourse patterns in the receiving culture particularly in varieties of language that are being freshly introduced, such as the new, supranational European legal discourse.

The supranational, EU discourse is new for the Romanian language and started to be introduced when Romania joined the EU in 2007. The translation choices in EU documents are particularly important, since the respective documents will be used at national level and the specific language used can influence national language (by introducing new terms, by adding new meanings to already existing terms, by borrowing English terms). These aspects are valid for both legal and economic documents; the way legal texts are translated has a greater impact on the language since they become legislation at national level and can be consulted by any citizen. The economic documents of the ECB are publicly available on the website (some on both ECB's website and the National Bank's website) and their translation impacts the development of the Romanian economic language.

Koskinen (2008: 2) states that the translators working for the EU institutions do not have much freedom and that translations "are constrained and controlled by the translating institution". Institutional ideologies provide the framework and basis for translation work and translation is not a personal process anymore, but a collective one. According to Koskinen (2008), the text does not belong to the translator, but to the institution. Translators become "mediators between the EU culture and their own national culture" (Koskinen, 2008: 43). Thus, the translator is not an agent of change, but an institutional actor. Nordland (2002) also states that the translators' choices are dictated by the institutions, by the external forces that determine their decisions. Koskinen (2000: 87) also argues that there are patterns of expectations and translators are not free to use any strategy. These systemic constraints imposed on translators determine the collectivity and anonymity of the resulting translations. There is little individual responsibility for translators, no individual creativity, no feedback.

Another scholar focusing on the agency of linguists in the EU institutions is Beaton-Thome (2010); however, unlike Koskinen, whose research is concerned with translators in the European Commission, Beaton-Thome explores the work of interpreters at the European

Parliament. She found that there are strong links between the interpreters' work and the institution's ideology and identity.

Some scholars place emphasis on translators' freedom and creativity. Vermeer (1989: 174) states that "[t]he translator is the expert in translational action. He is responsible for the performance of the commissioned task". According to Šarčević (2000), translators can and should be creative, even in legal texts. Mayoral (2003: 2) states that "[e]ven the most constrained ways of translating admit a high degree of freedom and creativity, which allows translators to find their job extremely enjoyable". However, the degree of freedom enjoyed by translators depends on each institutional context – some are more rule-governed than others. The regulations and procedures in place at the ECB are presented in Chapter 4.

This section explored to what extent translators are free to be creative or their creativity is limited by certain institutional rules that they have to observe. As illustrated above, scholars have identified that there are certain institutional constraints and translators are not free, particularly in the EU context. Since the present study investigates the translation process at the ECB and how translators' choices are influenced by the institutional context and constraints, such claims regarding institutional constraints are relevant. The next section will further explore sociological concepts which can be linked to the rules that translators have to observe in the specific institutions.

2.1.3 Habitus, capital, field

In the recent years, sociological approaches have been used in the discipline of Translation Studies, in order to define and explore the translator's role, status and power. Some relevant concepts for the present thesis are Bourdieu's (1990) *habitus*, *capital* and *field*, as the sociologist argues that society is governed by regulated principles which organise practices. These concepts are used in order to understand society and how it functions.

The first concept developed by Bourdieu and examined in the present section is that of *habitus*. According to Bourdieu (1990), *habitus* is a cognitive structure that is socially produced. It is a set of dispositions which generate practices and perceptions. The important features of *habitus* are the practices of actors and their interaction with each other and with their environment. In Koskinen's (2008) words, these would be the "shared norms and values".

Bourdieu's (1968: xx) earliest definitions of *habitus* is the following:

A system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems.

A more recent definition of *habitus* can be found in Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice* (1990: 53):

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.

So, according to Bourdieu, these dispositions are durable, transposable (they operate in various fields) and practices are structured and organised. Between the people operating within these structures, there are power relations. A series of constraints are also imposed and decision-making is part of the habitus, it is not an autonomous process. There are certain institutionalised roles and the persons belonging to the same group share the *habitus*, which allows institutions to attain full realisation. In the context of translation in the European Union institutions, this means that the shared *habitus* of the institutional actors shapes certain translation practices and creates a way documents are translated in the institutions (namely, the ECB).

Simeoni (1998: 32) states that "The habitus of a translator is the elaborate result of a personalized social and cultural history". It is a "pre-structured and structuring agent mediating cultural artefacts in the course of transfer" (p. 1). Simeoni (1998) argues that the acceptance of norms by the translators, over the years, has led to a submissive behaviour and to a low prestige of the profession. This idea can be linked to the fact that the names of the translators working in the EU institutions are not mentioned anywhere, the translators are invisible and the documents are produced by the institution and reflect the institution's views. For instance, at the ECB the name of the translator does not appear on any of the translated documents (press releases, annual reports, monthly bulletins, etc.) and the only author is the institution concerned.

Another important concept developed by Bourdieu is *capital*. Capital acts as a social relation that includes cultural knowledge that confers power and status. It is defined by Bourdieu (1986: 241) in the following way:

Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor.

Bourdieu (1986: 241) argues that the way the different forms of capital are distributed constitutes the structure of the social world ("the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices").

Bourdieu (1986) differentiates three forms of capital: *economic capital*, which refers to economic resources and is convertible into money; *cultural capital*, which comprises skills, knowledge and is convertible into economic capital; and *social capital*, which comprises social obligations. Social capital includes institutionalised relationships and membership to a specific group, which imply a set of durable obligations and institutionalised rights. Cultural capital plays a central part in power relations. In the context of translation in the European Union institutions, power relations mean the relations between the rules of the institution regarding the translation process and the freedom of the individual translators to make certain translation choices.

Bourdieu (1984) also introduced the concept of *field*, which refers to a socially instituted domain. The fields are the social and institutional settings where people express their dispositions, and where they compete for the distribution of the various forms of capital. The laws of the field continuously exert a powerful influence, and people experience power relations differently, according to the respective field.

The field involves a network of social relations and a commitment to the same values. The agents have certain positions and there is always something at stake, for which people compete. Each field is defined by the relationships between the different actors within the field and there is a close link between field, capital and habitus.

Thus, the ideas relevant for the present thesis are that each institution is governed by a set of specific rules and has its own structure and values. As Maylaerts (2010: 15) states, “the interplay between agency and structure, between the individual and the collective, between habitus and norms constitutes the basis of any understanding of translation as a social activity”. The fact that translation takes place in society explains the links between sociology and Translation Studies and the relevance of the sociological concepts discussed above. According to Simeoni (1998: 24), the concept of habitus is very important for the theories of social action, “of which translation is an undeniable part”. He states that the “habitus is the true pivot around which systems of social order evolve” (Simeoni, 1998: 24). Within institutions, people are part of a group, play specific roles and have certain power relations. It is the case in the European Union institutions, where there are specific regulations and procedures. The various procedures in force at the European Central Bank (the institution investigated in the present thesis) will be presented in detail in Chapter 4.

The next section presents the conceptual metaphor theory, with definitions, examples, common source and target domains and the function of metaphor.

2.2 Conceptual metaphors

2.2.1 Definition of metaphor

This study aims at exploring the institutional policies and procedures of the European Central Bank with reference to metaphors. Metaphor is a complex and fascinating phenomenon in every language and culture and poses many challenges to translators, because it is often ideological and cultural. The recent economic crisis has resulted in a very large number of metaphors in the economic discourse. Other reasons why the conceptual metaphor theory was chosen in this study are that it has been successfully applied by other researchers (for examples, see below) and it is increasingly used to analyse the discourse in a variety of fields: economics, business, politics, etc. Moreover, this particular theory of metaphor focuses on the cognitive, communicative function of metaphor.

In order to understand metaphor and to establish the framework in which the present research operates, the main theories employed will be presented and analysed. In the present sub-section certain definitions of metaphor will be analysed, specifying which

definition of metaphor will be used throughout this thesis. Since there are different understandings of metaphor, it is important to establish, from the beginning, the definition (and theories) employed in the present study.

The conceptual metaphor theory has been successfully used in identifying metaphors in many disciplines such as discourse analysis, linguistics, but it has not been used much in Translation Studies. It can provide some answers to questions such as: a) Why are there links between some very specific entities/concepts that are referred to in metaphors, and not between others? (Grady, 1997); b) Why do particular metaphorical choices occur in particular texts, genres or discourses? (Semino, 2008). Therefore, the conceptual metaphor theory was chosen as a fit-for-purpose prism through which the data will be examined.

It has to be pointed out that there are two main views on metaphor: a linguistic, traditional one, which states that metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon occurring at word level, and a cognitive one, also called the conceptual metaphor theory, which suggests that metaphor involves a mental mapping process and our entire thinking is organised metaphorically. In the present study the conceptual metaphor theory proposed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) will be employed, since it puts emphasis on a more global level, seeing metaphor not as an isolated expression occurring at word level, but as a system, which allows us to explore it at textual level. The communicative and cognitive functions are at the foreground of the theory, not the aesthetic one.

The traditional view of metaphor focuses more on literary and poetic texts and views metaphor as a property of words, with a rhetorical and artistic function. Metaphor is employed as a stylistic device and its role is decorative (Deignan, 2005). Stefanowitsch (2005: 163) reports that the traditional view of metaphor (which he calls the *stylistic hypothesis*) regards metaphor as:

an extraordinary use of language, an embroidering figure of speech that is intentionally employed in order to achieve particular aesthetic effects, and thus found mainly in poetry, literary language, public oratory and various other registers prone to 'ornamental' uses of language.

This view has certain limitations. For example, Deignan (2005) argues that such a theoretical framework does not explain why metaphors are semantically related to each other. Moreover, it does not account for the frequency and ubiquity of metaphors. The conceptual metaphor

theory can answer these questions and address issues like the metaphor's function in the language. As expressed in Kövecses (2002); Lakoff & Johnson (1980); Maasen & Weingart (2000); Semino (2008); Werth (1999), the function of metaphor is much more than embellishing the language; its function is first and foremost a communicative one.

Within the conceptual metaphor theory, Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 5) define metaphor as understanding and experiencing one concept in terms of another. They argue that the human conceptual system is metaphorically constructed: "Metaphors and linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system." (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 6).

Kövecses (2002) adds to the argument above, saying that metaphor is "a key instrument in organising human thought" and Forceville (2002: 211) argues that metaphor is "not primarily a characteristic of language" but, rather, "belongs to the realm of thinking". Glucksberg (2001: 91) thinks along similar lines, stating that metaphor is not simply a conventional linguistic strategy but a mental structure.

According to the conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor as a notion does not begin in the external world as a literary or stylistic device but, rather, is intrinsic, embedded in human mind, where two large, broad and complex cognitive concepts, also called "conceptual domains" or "domains of experience", are compared. Our conceptual system, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) claim, is closely related to our experiences in the world and our conceptions of the physical reality, our thinking and the way our cognitive system functions are all partially metaphorical. In addition, they state that metaphor is a mechanism for creating similarities, **new** meanings and **new** realities (emphasis mine). Semino (2008) also states that metaphor is the phenomenon whereby we talk and potentially think about something in terms of something else. Barcelona (2000: 3), echoing Lakoff & Johnson, defines metaphor as:

The cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially mapped, i.e. projected onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one.

When defining metaphor, Lakoff & Johnson describe it as a cognitive process. The domains of metaphors are not isolated concepts, but rather conceptual, cognitive areas related to human experience. For example the types of experience can be formed by:

- Our bodies
- Our interactions with our physical environment
- Our interactions with other people within our culture
- Products of human nature
- Natural kinds of experience: love, time, ideas, understanding, arguments, labour, happiness, health, control, status, morality.

To illustrate the force of metaphor, an example of a famous metaphor used in political discourse and discussed by scholars (e.g. Chilton, 1996; Musolff, 2000; Schäffner, 1996 and 2001) is the “common European house”. This metaphor was used by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the mid-1980s. There was a difference between the intended meaning of the metaphor and the perceived one because of the connotations of the word ‘house’ for the Russian and the Western people. Gorbachev referred to the common responsibility of the states, having in mind the apartment blocks common in the Russian society, whereas Western media thought of the freedom of moving from room to room, associated to the detached family houses that can be found in Western Europe. Thus, the lack of a set of shared associations led to misunderstandings in case of using this metaphor (according to Zinken, 2007) or to the deliberate use of this metaphor in political debate.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) describe some features of metaphors:

- They highlight some features and suppress others: LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART, LOVE IS A JOURNEY
- They entail specific aspects of concepts: LOVE IS MADNESS
- They give new meanings to concepts
- The meaning of metaphor is culturally determined and linked to one’s past experiences.

Deignan (2005: 13) summarises the conceptual metaphor theory in the following manner:

- metaphors structure thinking
- metaphors structure knowledge
- metaphor is central to abstract language
- metaphor is grounded in physical experience

- metaphor is ideological

According to Semino (2008), the metaphorical processes help conceptualise abstract, unfamiliar domains, such as social and political institutions, international relations, strategic doctrines.

Drawing from all of the above, for the purposes of the present research, the definition of metaphor which will be used in the present thesis will be the one formulated by Lakoff & Johnson, in the framework of the conceptual metaphor theory: metaphor is used to express one entity in terms of another.

The following section comprises examples of conceptual metaphor, after which several classifications of metaphor will be provided.

2.2.2 Examples of conceptual metaphors

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 3) describe conceptual metaphors as an intrinsic part of the thinking process. They claim that “our conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”. Lakoff & Johnson also provide multiple examples of conceptual metaphors in everyday language, proving that we think, reason and express our experiences of the world in metaphoric terms without reflecting on it. Below are several examples of such language use:

- ARGUMENT IS WAR (ARGUMENT is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of WAR; the conceptual metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR, one metaphorical expression is, e.g. “win an argument”; the argument is mentally perceived as having the characteristics of war – it can be won, lost, attacked, etc.); other metaphorical expressions are “indefensible claims”, “attack an argument”, “win an argument”, “shoot”, “attack a position”, “new line of attack” (also in Knowles & Moon, 2006; Semino, 2008).
- HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN: “peak of health”, “rise from the dead”, “fall ill”, “come down with the flu”
- HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN: “have control over”, “on top of the situation”, “height of power”, “fall from power”
- MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN: “income rises”, “go down”, “underage”

- INFLATION IS AN ENTITY (AND AN ADVERSARY): “deal with inflation”, “combat inflation”

Among the examples mentioned by Boers (1997), some conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions belonging to the economic field are presented below:

- ECONOMIC GROWTH IS HEALTH; CRISIS IS SICKNESS: “thriving industry”, “economic paralysis”, “crippling strike”, “healthy economic climate”, “economic revival” (behind some of those, on a different level, another conceptual metaphor can be seen – THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON, because the economy can be healthy, get ill or crippled and recover from illness).
- BUSINESS IS WARFARE: “invading foreign markets”
- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS A RACE: “lagging behind in economic development”
- MARKET IS A MACHINE: “the exchange rate mechanism”
- ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IS GARDENING: “pruning costs”

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 5), explaining why these metaphors occur, argue that our conventional ways of thinking about all these notions presuppose a metaphor, of which we are hardly conscious. We say ‘win an argument’, ‘waste time’, ‘spirits sank’, etc. not because we make a conscious choice of how to embellish the language we use, but because we *think* about arguments as if they were wars, about time as if it were a limited resource and about negative emotions as a downward movement. These are concepts, shaped by our bodily, social, emotional and other experiences. Grady (1997) argues that our thinking is systematically metaphorical and that there are conventional metaphoric associations (mappings) between some concepts but not between others.

Indeed, when analysing the examples of conceptual metaphors provided by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), it can be seen that there are strong relationships between certain source and target conceptual domains that are not seen between others. The aforementioned relationships are illustrated with reference to the English language and the Anglo-American culture (for a discussion of culturally defined and constrained metaphors, see section 2.2.5). The following examples illustrate the point made above:

- ARGUMENT IS WAR
Why is it possible to “win an argument” and have “a new line of attack” but not possible to “waste an argument” or “pass an argument across”?
- HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN
Why do we say “peak of health” and “fall ill” and not the other way round – “abyss of health” and “fall healthy”?

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) offer an explanation: because in our patterns of thinking, in our cognitive system, we think about arguments exclusively as conflicts. An argument is never a co-operative act: it is always a confrontation. Regarding the “health” metaphor, it is common sense, but, based on our life experience, we interpret upright posture as a sign of well-being and falling down as a sign of illness. All these associations rise from our physical senses, experiences of the physical world, our emotions, social situations, cultural context and communicative acts (the idea is also expressed by Kövecses, 2005).

2.2.3 Classification of metaphors

In the literature on metaphors (both the linguistic view and the cognitive view), many scholars have attempted to classify metaphors, from different perspectives. Some of these classifications (both traditional and newer) will be presented below:

Dagut (1976: 23) divides metaphors into three categories:

1. those which prove to be ephemeral and disappear without a trace (the vast majority): the metaphors of literature and journalism;
2. metaphors which remain as they began - unique semantic creations (a very large group): e.g. the metaphors of literature;
3. those that are “taken up and used by an ever-increasing number of other speakers, so that they gradually lose their uniqueness and peculiarity, becoming part of the established semantic stock of the language and being recorded as such in the dictionary” (Dagut, 1976: 23). The author mentions that these are the most important type of metaphors, even if they are less frequent than the other two categories.

According to their degree of “institutionalisation”, Van den Broeck (1981: 74-75) divides metaphors into three categories:

1. lexicalised metaphors – metaphors that have lost their uniqueness and have become part of the established stock of the language;
2. conventional metaphors – or traditional metaphors, common to a literary school or generation;
3. private metaphors – innovating creations of individual poets.

From a conceptual point of view, Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 139) mention two main types of metaphors: conventional and creative. Conventional metaphors “structure the ordinary conceptual system of our culture”. Metaphors of the other type are imaginative and creative. They can also be referred to as “new” metaphors. A new metaphor is a metaphor that is not already part of the conceptual system of a culture as reflected in its language. New metaphors can be tricky and for translating them, different strategies may be adopted, such as demetaphorisation or paraphrase (see Chapter 5).

Referring to the cognitive function of metaphors, Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 147) use the following classification of metaphors:

1. structural metaphors – refer to conceptual mappings between domains: IDEAS ARE FOOD
2. ontological metaphors (viewing a nonphysical thing as an entity or substance, according to Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 27) – provide less cognitive structuring for target concepts: TIME and LABOR as SUBSTANCES
3. orientational metaphors – make a set of target concepts coherent: MORE IS UP, HAPPY IS UP

Oriental metaphors are very frequent in economic texts: MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN (e.g. Prices are rising); GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN (e.g. ‘a peak’, ‘all-time low’). Similar examples will be analysed in the corpus of texts from the European Central Bank, in Chapter 5. Ontological metaphors are also commonly used in the economic discourse: INFLATION IS AN ENTITY (e.g. Inflation is inevitable). Personification is a type of ontological metaphor: INFLATION IS A PERSON, INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY (e.g. ‘combat inflation’). According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 34), these personifications “allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms”, e.g. “viewing something as abstract as inflation in human terms has an explanatory power”. More such examples (EURO IS A PERSON, ECB IS A PERSON) will be analysed in Chapter 5.

2.2.4 Functions of metaphor

This section analyses the functions of metaphor, focussing predominantly on the cognitive and communicative function. Section 2.2.4.1 analyses the communicative goals of metaphor; section 2.2.4.2 expands the argument of the metaphor's subjectivity and deals largely with the ideological aspect of metaphor. They all are united by one overarching theme: the communicative and cognitive function of metaphor.

2.2.4.1 The communicative function

In the literature on metaphors, different authors express different views on the metaphor's nature and, consequently, function in the text. Deignan (2005); Kövecses (2002); Maasen & Weingart (2000); Stefanowitsch (2005) report that metaphor has a very clear, pragmatic, communicative function in discourse.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) state that metaphor can lead to new meanings being constructed through the means of bringing together different ideas and systems of knowledge. The same idea is expressed by Semino (2008), who emphasises creativity and innovation in metaphor. Mac Cormac (2002: 348) adds that metaphors suggest new ways of expressing feelings. These ideas demonstrate that metaphor is a device for creating innovative forms of linguistic expression.

Cameron (2007: 219), analysing metaphor use in reconciliation talk, states that metaphors play a cognitive and pragmatic (interpersonal) role and can be used to express emotions and feelings and to facilitate the understanding of certain concepts. According to Quinns (1991, cited in Cameron, 2007: 200) metaphor is socio-cultural as well as cognitive because social interaction is the site of metaphor use and evolution, and because social groups develop particular metaphorical ways of thinking, together with ways of using metaphor in language, that may act as markers or constructors of social and role identity.

Semino (2008) adds that functions of metaphor include:

- Persuasion (also in Maasen & Weingart, 2000: 20)
- Reasoning
- Evaluation (also in Knowles & Moon, 2006: 4)

- Explanation (also in Knowles & Moon, 2006: 4)
- Theorisation
- New conceptualisations of reality (also in Mac Cormac, 2002: 348)

The functions above are categorised under the “framing an aspect of experience” heading. She also mentions “interpersonal functions” (like humour or emotional involvement – also in Knowles & Moon, 2006: 4) as well as “textual functions” (creating internal coherence of a text).

Kövecses (2002), in the framework of the conceptual theory, mentions that metaphors are used for understanding certain things better. Metaphors are created in our mind and are expressed as a function of how we understand certain concepts and how we regard them. Moreover, metaphors do not merely help us comprehend the world around us, but they also have the function of **shaping** our understanding of the world and our attitudes. This refers to the ideological aspect of metaphor, which will be discussed in section 2.2.4.2.

2.2.4.2 The ideological function

Many scholars argue that metaphors are a powerful and efficient tool, used to influence positively or negatively the public’s opinions, because, as Weiss (2000: 58) states, “the language used is important for the effectiveness of the utterance and of its understanding”. An important reason for using metaphors in political and EU texts would be, according to Schäffner (2001: 215-216), that “particular choices of linguistic expressions serve to express ideological and socio-cultural values”.

The fact that metaphors can create and shape new realities (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) gives them the potential to become ideological tools. The meaning of the words in a language is a product and process of human thought. Therefore, things always have a certain meaning *to* someone. Thus, metaphor has the potential to change the perception of reality, through the correspondences it establishes between concepts. Lakoff & Johnson argue that metaphor indeed is ideological.

Deignan (2005) argues that metaphor is biased: the metaphorical choices that a speaker makes present a subjective point of view. Moreover, metaphor is used in political discourse for the purpose of persuasion, presenting a particular ideological stance. It can shape social

and political ideas in the public mind (Deignan, 2005: 131). Deignan states that the relationships between entities can be deliberately formed in metaphorical expressions to encode particular ideological stances. If the source domain resonates strongly on the emotional level, metaphors can be especially effective tools for political persuasion.

Musolff (2000) argues along the same lines. He reports the words of Margaret Thatcher: “metaphorical language is important” and also quotes her saying that euro-metaphors might lead to “political structures which are contrary to our interests” (Musolff, 2000: 206). This is one of the reasons why the excessive and inappropriate use of metaphors in the media has been criticised (see section 2.3.3).

Musolff echoes the idea already expressed in Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and Santa Ana (1999): metaphorical language “makes complex socio-economic issues, such as the EU integration process, comprehensible for the general public”. However, public debate concerning Europe for him is a system of metaphors that express alternative notions about the nature of the EU (Musolff, 2000: 9). Metaphor in the discourse on the EU has a biased perspective and specific objectives, he argues. Sometimes metaphors can be imaginative, picturesque, even grotesque – and not in any way neutral or objective. He provides an example of the road/transport conceptual metaphor whereby Germany is portrayed as the driver of the European train and Britain as the slowest ship. To say the least, such a view perpetrates and enforces stereotypes.

2.2.5 Metaphor as a product of culture

According to Lakoff & Johnson, a conceptual metaphor has two conceptual domains, of which the second one (the target domain) is understood in terms of the first one (the source domain). The source domains are related to everyday experience, are more familiar and concrete, palpable; the target domains are more abstract, related to the internal world of a person or to social phenomena and relations. Lakoff & Johnson (1980) call the correspondences between source and target domains, “mappings”. Those “mappings”, they claim, are conventionally fixed within a linguistic community. In other words, they have the same meaning in one culture. Moreover, they are culturally defined and shaped. Similarly, according to I.A. Richards’ terminology (1936), a metaphor contains two parts: a tenor (something a person speaks about) and a vehicle (the thing to which the tenor is compared). The interaction between the tenor and the vehicle gives the meaning of the metaphor. For

example, in Shakespeare's famous metaphor "the world's a stage", the tenor is "the world" and the vehicle is "stage". The notions of *tenor* and *vehicle* largely correspond to the target and source domains in the conceptual metaphor theory, respectively.

One of the functions of metaphor is to define and explain the processes that are happening in the world around us (Jäkel, 1997; Knowles & Moon, 2006; Semino, 2008). Santa Ana (1999: 195) explains why there is a need for a link between two domains of experience. He analyses metaphors used in the US public discourse to refer to immigrants and argues that metaphorical expressions are used to "facilitate listeners' grasp of an external, difficult notion of society in terms of a familiar part of life".

Since metaphors and conceptual domains are constrained by the cultures in which they are born, the same conceptual domains are linked to different metaphors in different cultures. For example, Emanatian (1995) lists certain conceptual metaphors in the English language:

- SEX IS HEAT
'she's hot'
- SEXUALITY IS A PHYSICAL FORCE
'they were drawn to each other'
- LUST IS INSANITY
'I'm crazy about him'
- SEX IS WAR
'he is known for his conquests'

However, Emanatian (1995) also draws attention to the fact that these concepts are perceived, and thus expressed differently in other languages. She provides a comparison between English and Chagga, a language of the people living on Mount Kilimanjaro. In Chagga, conceptual metaphors are expressed in different terms – for instance, SEX equals EATING, and not heat. Moreover, a conceptual metaphor like SEARCHING FOR A MATE IS FISHING ('there are other fish in the sea') is not possible because the geography of Mount Kilimanjaro does not allow catching or eating fish (Emanatian, 1995: 180). Thus, it is important to note that metaphors are *culturally* and *contextually, environmentally* defined and constrained. In fact, it is not necessary to look for distant cultures to find differences: Boers (1997) reports that even in one language – English – the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT is more commonly used in British English than in its American counterpart.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 8-9) also argue that different cultures can use different metaphors. For example, TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY are metaphorical concepts used in Western culture, but “this isn’t a necessary way for human beings to conceptualize time; it is tied to our culture”.

Scholars indicate “causes”, or origins, of some conceptual metaphors. For example, Kövecses (2005) argues that the conceptual domains we use when building metaphors are taken largely from our physical environment, social context, cultural context and communicative situations. Moreover, he argues that a metaphor can be conceptual, linguistic, neural-bodily and social-cultural at the same time (Kövecses, 2005: 293). Some scholars (e.g. Johnson, 1995) tried to establish if conceptual metaphors can be universal and if so, how universal they can be. Johnson (1995) claims that the source domains come from basic-level experiences that are shared by human beings, which presupposes a degree of universality of metaphors.

Barcelona (2000) states that some metaphors are more universal than others (for example, bodily experiences) and some are culturally constrained. Sweetser (1990) echoes this claim. Emanatian (1995: 165) also discusses this issue and argues that “certain basic concepts common to all cultures are conceptualized metaphorically and in quite similar ways”; she calls these common concepts “pancultural metaphorical expressions”. Kövecses (2002) asks if there are any conceptual metaphors that can be found in all languages and cultures. However, this question regarding the universality of metaphors remains open since there is no immediate answer.

These aspects related to the way conceptual metaphors can be culturally shaped and constrained by the environment of a particular culture are relevant to the present study. The more culturally shaped a metaphor is, the more challenges it poses to translators.

Metaphor translation in the context of the European Union has cultural implications. The European Union is a culturally and linguistically diverse entity. The EU has 23 official languages (24 when Croatia enters the EU in 2013) and, given this diversity of languages and cultures, there will be situations when one culture perceives things differently than another (and thus, metaphorical expressions can differ). In the multilingual and multicultural

environment of the EU, what strategies do translators use when translating metaphors? This is one of the questions that the present thesis will try to answer.

In what follows, metaphors in political, economic and other specialised texts will be discussed, as the present study focuses on a specialised field: economic texts.

2.3 Metaphor in political, economic and other specialised texts

Metaphors are not a prerogative of literary discourse, but they are widely used in everyday language. They are not only used by ordinary people who may not be conscious that the expression they are employing is actually a metaphor (as mentioned by Knowles & Moon, 2006; Semino, 2008; Zanotto et al, 2008), but also by politicians in their discourse (as illustrated by Chilton & Schäffner, 2002; Muntigl, 2002; Musolff, 2000; 2001; Schäffner, 1996; Semino, 2008). Metaphorical expressions are also used by authors of specialised documents – particularly from the fields of business, banking and finance, which are the most relevant for this thesis (examples are given in Bielenia-Grajewska, 2009; Herrera-Soler, 2008; Velasco Sacristán, 2004). This happens predominantly because the function of metaphor is cognitive and communicative rather than decorative. The participants in the discourse are conveying a particular meaning in order to achieve a communicative goal.

This section analyses metaphor in various specialised texts (political, economic) relevant for the topic of this study. The sub-section below examines metaphor in political texts.

2.3.1 Metaphor in political texts

Although not so many scholars have researched the European Union discourse, more literature can be found regarding political texts in general (not necessarily in the EU context) and the metaphors they contain. Some of the authors having written on metaphor in political texts are Chilton (2002), Muntigl (2000), Musolff (1996, 2001, 2004), Schäffner (1996). In this section, the role of metaphor in such texts will be discussed. It is important to note, however, that the texts analysed by the aforementioned authors are texts about the EU – journalistic, publicistic, analytical ones. They are not EU documents (those will be analysed in a separate section). This section will be structured in the following way: first, the very fact of the presence of metaphorical expressions in political discourse will be discussed in general terms; secondly, the discourse *on* the EU will be described and critically evaluated.

Chilton & Schäffner (2002) argue that, since language is so closely tied to our culture, and culture, in turn, is tied to the political activity of any particular society, it is impossible to imagine politics without the use of language. Moreover, it has been demonstrated by researchers on multiple occasions that metaphors are an integral part of political discourse. Lakoff & Johnson argue that “[m]etaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality” (1980: 159). More examples of metaphors in political texts can be found in: Al-Harrasi (2001); Chilton & Schäffner (2002); Muntigl (2002); Muntigl, Weiss & Wodak (2000); Musolff (2001); Schäffner (2001).

Semino (2008) gives some examples of elements of the political field that are likely to be constructed metaphorically:

- The current state of affairs
- Causes and solutions to problems
- Plans and policies
- Future states of affairs
- Various types of participants and entities in the political domains
- “In-group” (oneself) vs. “out-group” (others)
- Politics and political action themselves

Musolff (2001: 177) states that political texts contain a large number of metaphors and he refers to the “multitude of metaphors which permeate the political debate over Europe”. Chilton & Schäffner (2002) mention that there are certain types of conceptual metaphors that are very frequently used in general political discourse. For example, the metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT (“time passes”, “as time goes by”) is commonly encountered. Another prominent example is EVENTS ARE OBJECTS MOVING ALONG A PATH (“elections are approaching”, “his mistakes are catching up with him”).

Muntigl (2002) also provided the following examples (the author’s emphasis in the text):

1. Container metaphors: inner and outer space; GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS ARE CONTAINERS FOR INDIVIDUALS (for example, “in the Euro area”, “outside the Euro area”, “non-euro area”, “across the euro area”). This metaphor is also frequent in the corpus of texts analysed in the present thesis (see Chapter 5).

2. Path metaphors (often based on the conceptual metaphor POLICY IS A PATH): starting points; end points; time; direction; motion (“*starting/stopping* the negotiations”). Also in Chilton (1996: 50-55): “employment rates *will rise*”, “job creation *has slowed*”.
3. Force (dynamics of pressure and resistance – “stop”, “block”, “resist”). Another meaning of force can be “power to act” (for example, “social policy *can* provide citizens with wealth and security”). This metaphor has also been encountered in the corpus analysed in the present study: *ECB can [do something]* (see Chapter 5).

As outlined above, since metaphors are ideological, culturally defined and shape our understanding of the world, they can serve the three functions of political discourse: communication, understanding and persuasion.

2.3.1.1 Metaphor in political discourse on the European Union

In order to understand the general principles of metaphor use in the discourse related to the EU, it is important not only to look at the texts produced *by* the EU, but also at the texts *about* it. The discourse on the EU (for example, in the realm of political journalism or other public political discourse the object of which the EU is) will be briefly analysed below. Although it is not the original language used by the EU institutions when communicating their messages, the language of secondary sources contains metaphors that present the idea of the European integration in a particular way that has an ideological element.

It has been illustrated by researchers that political discourse is replete with metaphors. The presence of many metaphors, from various fields in these documents is explained by Chilton & Lakoff (1995: 58): metaphors are “necessary tools for understanding the nature of world politics and for formulating policy”. They can help to understand, perceive and structure the world. Schäffner (1996) and Musolff (2000; 2001) provide a large number of examples of conceptual metaphors in the political discourse on the EU. Some of these examples, taken from Schäffner (1996: 37-52), will be listed below:

- THE EU/THE EURO AREA IS A CONTAINER (“enter the EU”, “in the Euro area”, “outside the Euro area”, “admission”).
- BIRTH, DEATH, ILLNESS RELATING TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE COMMUNITY (“revive the Community”, “heal the community’s wounds”). Also in Musolff (2000):

“heart of Europe”, “Euro-sclerosis”. The Euro is called “an offspring”, “a child”; there are references to the birth of the Euro.

- EUROPE IS A HOUSE AND EUROPEAN POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION (“build Europe”, “construct the EU”, “brick by brick”, “pillar”, “cornerstone”, “foundation”, “faulty design”, “Union’s architects”, “house”, “fortress Europe”).
- MOVING AND STEPS METAPHOR; POLITICAL PROCESSES ARE MOVEMENTS ALONG A LINE (“move forward”, “a step towards closer union”, “stand still”).

All these metaphors are also frequent in the texts produced and translated at the ECB, and will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Musolff (2000; 2001) provides similar examples, with a special focus on the path/road/means of transport metaphors. He also notes that these are some of the most frequently used and are more prevalent in the British discourse. Here are some examples:

THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IS A ROAD ON WHICH THE MEMBER STATES MOVE WITH DIFFERENT SPEED (Temporal processes are conceptualised in terms of spatial movement – Musolff, 2000).

- “A traveller on the way towards the goal of the EMU”; “the road is now open”
- Progress “on one road” / “on two different tracks”
- The Maastricht treaty is called “a milestone” (Musolff, 2000)
- “Two-speed Europe”; different speeds of member states’ movements towards currency union; “slow-speed countries”; “catch up”; “fall behind”; “move forward”.

Another metaphor that is prevalent in the discourse on the EU is related to transport. The member states’ performance in the integration process is compared to a train or a vessel (Musolff, 2001: 194).

THE EU IS A VEHICLE TRAVELLING TOWARDS INTEGRATION

“TRAIN” METAPHORS

- Economic and political integration of the EU is a “railway journey”
- “The train might be going in the wrong direction” – a quote by M. Thatcher.
- Europe – a “high-speed train” – (Musolff, 2001: 189). The expressions “to be on the Euro train” and “to miss the Euro train” are referring to Europhiles and Eurosceptics.

SHIP OR GROUP OF SHIPS TRAVELLING FROM ONE PORT TO ANOTHER

- “run the EU ship”
- “Shipwreck of the Commission” an expression that is referring to the resignation of the Santer Commission in 1992. Musolff also reports that *The Economist* and *The Guardian* talked about the “wreckage of the Commission”
- “New crew members coming aboard”

Another common metaphor, especially used in the media, is THE EU IS A GEOMETRIC STRUCTURE OF A STATIC NATURE:

- “Variable geometry”;
- “The hard core”;
- “Concentric circles”.

The most salient metaphors among the ones mentioned above are those related to building and movement (path/road). They could already be regarded as more “creative” (using Lakoff & Johnson’s classification), for instance comparing the integration process to a motorway or the European development to a train or a fortress/a house. The images of a motorway, a train, a house or a fortress evoke certain associations in people’s minds. The notions of the motorway and the train (speed), as well as those of the house (comfort and shelter) and the fortress (strength and protection) are used to shape a particular view of the abstract phenomena.

It must be noted that these metaphors are not without cultural influence. Musolff (2000: 188) provides the analysis of the notion of the “European fortress”. It is not only a structure that provides safety and protection, but also a place of containment, since there is a tendency to create an elite group of nations that defend their own interest and can be prone to social exclusion (for example, regarding immigrants).

In the section below, the literature on metaphors in economic texts will be reviewed and discussed.

2.3.2 Metaphor in economic texts

This section aims at presenting metaphor in economic texts, as the documents analysed in this thesis (texts translated at the European Central Bank) belong to the field of economics/finance/banking – a language for specific purposes, or specialised language. An increasing number of articles are being published in the field of metaphors in specialised texts (e.g., in the economic field, Andersen, 2000; Fuertes Oliveira & Velasco Sacristán, 2001; Jensen, 2005). Thus, this section will primarily focus on metaphors in economic texts, although occasionally other fields will also be mentioned in order to illustrate the fact that metaphor permeates all types of discourse.

Metaphor is frequently encountered in all types of specialised texts. Among the researchers who focused on metaphor in specialised texts are Boquera (2000); Hidalgo Downing & Kraljevic Mujic (2009) – medical texts; Cuadrado (2004) – scientific texts. According to them, metaphor has both a cognitive and a pragmatic function.

Charteris-Black & Musolff (2003: 153), analysing metaphors in British and German financial reporting, point out the rhetorical importance of metaphors, as they influence opinions. The most recurring metaphors describing euro trading found in both languages (English and German) are the up/down movement and the health metaphor. As will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6 of the present thesis, these are also common metaphors in the corpus of texts from the European Central Bank.

Other authors focus on business and finance. For example, Herrera Soler (2008) researched metaphor in business/financial texts; he compiled a corpus of metaphors in business press headlines and worked with English and Spanish, combining qualitative and quantitative analysis. He also points out the importance of metaphor in conveying ideology (Herrera Soler, 2008: 53). Velasco Sacristán (2004) analysed a series of conceptual metaphors from a business English syllabus and the implications for teaching, arguing that metaphor can be a useful device for teaching business English. Erturk et al. (2011) analysed the metaphor ‘finance as circuit’ in banking language. They state that “[e]ven after the financial crisis of 2007–2008, metaphors and the use of analogy have played key roles in framing alternative visualizations of financial market organization” (Erturk et al, 2011: 15).

Bielenia-Grajewska (2009) analysed the metaphors in texts on investment banking and worked with English, German, Spanish and Polish. She states that metaphors play a very important role in this field, but they can vary from culture to culture. Skorczynska (2001) identified metaphors in scientific business journals and business periodicals, claiming that there is a shift in the function of the metaphor: from the scientific-instrumental to rhetorical-narrative (Skorczynska, 2001: 58).

As some of the texts used in this thesis will illustrate, a recurrent topic in the documents related to economic and business matters in 2009 was the economic crisis, which was frequently referred to in metaphorical terms. Despite the fact that journalistic texts are not the topic of the present thesis, the texts that comprise the data set contain reports targeted at the general and specialised public on the topic of the economic crisis. A relevant academic article in this respect is "*Turbulence and turmoil in the market or the language of a financial crisis*" by White (2004), who focuses on two suggestive metaphors and identifies them in articles from *The Times* and *The Financial Times*. His conclusion is that the economic world is often referred to in newspapers by metaphoric terms, which "enshrine important conceptual, communicative and ideological principles" (White, 2004: 89). In another research paper, White (1997) explored metaphors used in reporting financial market transactions during the currency crisis of September 1992. He notices the "overwhelming recourse to metaphor" in the journalistic discourse (White, 1997: 242); journalistic texts contain more metaphors than the more specialised ones, as they are addressed to the general public.

Ennis (1998: 24) states that in the field of economics there is a continuous process of developing new metaphors, which appear first in English (as the international language of finance). Referring to the Spanish language, the author claims that these metaphors are then copied or adapted in Spanish: "Curiously, such borrowed items often become established even when there would seem to be perfectly acceptable equivalents available in Spanish" (Ennis, 1998: 24). In his endeavour to find the cause of this phenomenon, he states: "Perhaps the borrowing of relatively new English economic terms carries some sort of prestige with it, although the misuse of such terms can render them somewhat absurd" (Ennis, 1998: 24). Regarding new economic terms, with potential for metaphors, during the course of the study it has been found that these are also borrowed in Romanian, even if an equivalent could have been found: *swap*, *spread*, *overnight*, *futures*, etc. These aspects will be discussed in Chapter 5 of the present thesis.

In summary, according to the examples presented above, it can be said that specialised texts contain a large number of metaphors, just like the general political texts mentioned above. This applies across multiple domains: either political or related to politics (economic-financial).

The question relevant for the topic of this study would be the following: If political and economic texts contain a large number of metaphors (as indicated by Bielenia-Grajewska, 2009; Chilton & Schäffner, 2002; Herrera Soler, 2008; Muntigl, 2002; Musolff, 2000; 2001; Schäffner 2001; Velasco-Sacristán, 2004), how do translators produce accurate and clear translations in a multilingual and multicultural environment of the EU in which those documents will be read?

The next section presents views of people who have criticised the inadequate use of metaphors in the journalistic field.

2.3.3 Critique of economic metaphors in the journalistic field

The emergence of the current economic crisis has seen an unprecedented overflow of metaphors related to the economic field, especially in journalistic publications. Some journalistic articles about metaphors, reflecting the journalists' point of view, are presented below. It has to be noted that these journalists understand metaphors in ways which are not compatible with the conceptual metaphor theory and they often use labels such as "inappropriate", "accurate", etc. for the use of metaphors, which is subjective and reflects a narrow understanding of the phenomenon. These perspectives are presented in order to show that the frequent use of metaphors in journalistic articles has triggered reflection and debate in the media.

Journalistic discourse has criticised the abundant use of economic metaphors. Many recent newspaper articles (Borders, 2011; Horner, 2012; Kiviat, 2009; Krugman, 2010; Phillips, 2008; *The Economist*, 2011) complain about the use of too many metaphors in an inappropriate manner, which can lead to misunderstandings and confusion. Journalists state that such metaphors are used because of their communicative force, to attract attention, to manipulate people; many politicians and/or journalists employ them because they want the public to bear in mind a certain image and associate it with a certain person or fact.

One of the most frequently criticised aspects is the fact that inappropriate metaphors are used and the image that is created in the mind of the audience is the one that the authors of the discourse want them to have. The result, *The Economist* (2011) tells us, is “a widening gap between what economists told us and what actually happened.” Kiviat (2009) wrote about the misleading “green shoots” metaphor and warned that “not all green shoots grow into trees”. Therefore, a metaphorical expression that just implies hope is misinterpreted as implying certainty and this can lead to rash decisions. “Bad metaphors make for bad policy,” Krugman (2010) writes.

Moreover, according to other journalists, the inappropriate presentation of metaphors leads to the wrong impressions of what is actually happening. For instance, Phillips (2008) quotes the former Australian Treasurer Peter Costello describing the effects of the financial crisis of 2008: “This is where the Earth shook and the waves go out from America, all around the world, including here”. However, Phillips argues that the economic crisis is not a natural disaster. “It was created by a combustible combination of private greed and public regulatory neglect, and now we must confront the present crisis,” he claims. If it is the case, why is the inappropriate image presented? Krugman (2010) argues along the same lines, claiming that it is wrong to describe attempts at giving economic aid in bail-outs (a metaphor in itself) as “jump-starting the economy”. He writes:

America’s economy isn’t a stalled car, nor is it an invalid who will soon return to health if he gets a bit more rest. Our problems are longer-term than either metaphor implies (...) we’re not talking about a brief burst of aid; we’re talking about spending that lasts long enough for households to get their debts back under control.

Borders, a journalist, (2011) starts his article thus: “One of the most pervasive false metaphors in economics is THE ECONOMY AS MACHINE [which is] arguably the most powerful metaphor at work in contemporary economic discourse”. He argues that since in the economy everything is independent and interdependent at the same time; since it is such a large and complex phenomenon, it should not be described as a machine that can be fixed by wrenching parts in place and pushing buttons. “A much more accurate metaphor for the economy is an ecosystem,” Borders claims.

The examples above show, in the journalists’ view, how inappropriately metaphor can be used – and at the same time what potential and power it has over our language and perception of phenomena. It is important to take all of the above into account when

addressing issues of metaphor in specialised texts like the EU documents – especially when translation is in focus. The language used in these documents is very important and they will be read by many people, who can be influenced by the metaphors present in the texts.

In the section below, the literature on economic metaphors in the Romanian language will be reviewed, as this is the language of the target texts analysed in the present thesis.

2.3.4 Economic metaphors in Romanian

The literature on metaphors in Romanian economic texts is scarce. However, there is budding research, especially in the context of the economic crisis, which has been a fruitful source of metaphors. Some of the authors who focused on metaphor in economic texts or on translating metaphor in Romanian are Dobrotă (2005, 2011), Frăţilă (2009), Frunză (2005), Nicolae (2008), Pecican (2007a, 2007b), Pârlog (2011). Cmeciu (2007) explored the use of metaphors in politics (in election campaigns), as a means of generating creativity, but also in order to convince, manipulate, influence the public.

Pecican (2007a) analysed, from a cross-linguistic perspective, conceptual metaphors in Romanian and English central bank reports (from the Romanian National Bank and the Bank of England, respectively). This study is of particular relevance because it uses banking documents, conceptual metaphors and the language pairs employed in the present thesis (even if not from a Translation Studies perspective). The author states that the “categories of conceptual metaphors are roughly the same in both languages”: metaphors that conceptualise economy as a living organism and metaphors related to movement on a vertical axis, upwards or downwards (Pecican, 2007a: 85). As regards the frequency of conceptual metaphors use, she noticed the predominance of metaphors that describe economic processes in the English texts as compared to the Romanian ones and the higher percentage of non-metaphorical terms in the Romanian reports (pp. 81-82). Metaphorical expressions belonging to the aforementioned conceptual metaphors were also frequently encountered in the source and target sub-corpora analysed in the present study (see Chapter 5).

In another article, the same author (Pecican, 2007b) analysed conceptual metaphors in Romanian and English financial news reports. Even if she does not analyse translations, this study can provide certain clues about what to expect in translated documents. Her

conclusions are similar to those in the first article: “while most of the underlying conceptual metaphors are basically the same (economy as a living organism, economy as an object moving upwards or downwards, economy as a vehicle), English financial press reports make wider use of metaphors than their Romanian counterparts” (Pecican, 2007b: 239). In Romanian there are a larger number of non-metaphorical terms, as some English metaphors (e.g. “high” used as a noun, adjective and adverb) can only be rendered non-metaphorically into Romanian, as stated by Pecican (2007b). In the corpus of texts analysed in the present thesis, it has also been found that some metaphorical expressions are demetaphorised in Romanian (see Chapter 5). Another interesting finding of Pecican’s is the influence of English on Romanian, due to the fact that the U.S. and Great Britain are international economic models, which is demonstrated by the number of borrowings from English into Romanian: *boom*, *bubble*, *trend* (p. 241). This will also be reflected in the corpus of texts used in the present thesis (see section 5.2.7.2 on loan words).

Pârlog (2011) identified and explored metaphorical representations of the economic crisis in English and Romanian newspaper articles. She states that the current economic crisis led to the creation of a large number of metaphors. The most frequent metaphors she found are the following: RECESSION IS ILLNESS, RECESSION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON, RECESSION IS A FALL, RECESSION IS A BEING, RECESSION IS AGGRESSION. Her results prompted her to claim that:

Many metaphors are common to both the English and the Romanian economic discourse, mainly because there are significant resemblances in the conceptual metaphorical systems of the two languages. The authors of the English texts, however, often seem to take a grimmer view of the situation, and, consequently, use more powerful language, creating more terrifying, depressing images than their Romanian peers. (Pârlog, 2011: 70)

Therefore, according to the quote above, metaphors are subjective and culture-bound. Pârlog (2011) also found instances when some metaphorical patterns in one language do not have a correspondent in the other language (for instance, according to the author, some of the metaphors found only in English are the nautical metaphors, metaphors related to ice, the apocalypse, nuclear accidents, volcanoes, sins). This poses a challenge when translating into languages which do not share the same conceptual framework. In the present thesis, when analysing translation strategies, it is important to check if there are differences between the conceptual frameworks of the source and target languages and to take them into account.

Other authors focused only on specific metaphors. For instance, Frăţilă (2009) analysed the metaphor “the world of business is a battle field” in a Romanian business newspaper, stating that this metaphor is used to convey certain emotions and opinions, as it is a very strong one. Nicolae (2008) explored machines and tools in economic metaphors from a business database. She identified the following metaphors: ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY, MONEY IS A LIQUID. The author also states that a corpus approach can prove very useful in exploring metaphors in a specialised language like that of economics, since it provides empirical evidence on the target domains and on how conventional or creative particular uses of language are and it increases the degree of authenticity (Nicolae, 2008: 306). This statement is particularly relevant for the present thesis, as corpus analysis forms part of the research methodology (see Chapter 3). Frunză (2005), the purpose of whose research is to explore culture-specific metaphorical expressions in English and Romanian, focused more on the cultural aspect of metaphors, analysing how realities are perceived metaphorically in English and Romanian. She states that different cultures conceptualise things differently and that there are metaphors specific only to the Romanian language, as well as metaphors specific only to the English language. An example is the metaphorical expression “s-a dat la brazdă” meaning that someone managed to adapt to a new environment or has made things right; the conceptual metaphor is ADAPTING IS PLOUGHING. The possible translations are “to see one’s way through” or, more idiomatically, “to rub off corners” (Frunză, 2005: 4).

According to Frunză (2005: 3), “the historical experience of the Romanians, a nation of farmers, shepherds, fishermen, bee-keepers, handicraftsmen led to the creation of linguistic expressions that are characteristic to this particular geographical region as well as the people inhabiting it”. For her, the translatability of a metaphor is determined not by its “originality”, but by its cultural features which are shared by the speakers of the target culture (p. 10). The issues around the translation of metaphors will be explored in section 2.4.1.

While most of the research presented above is not in the field of Translation Studies, there are some studies that focus on translating metaphor. Dobrotă & Maftai (2002) analysed the translation of economic metaphors from English into Romanian, in order to examine the structure and different types of economic metaphors and to establish strategies for their accurate translation into Romanian (p. 313). Their conclusions are that “[i]t is obvious that in the Romanian translation the metaphorical terms were slightly ‘cooled down’, preserving more of their function of enlivening the usually plain specialized language rather than their

form, which appears as too informal to be suitable in the context” (Dobrotă & Maftei, 2002: 313). They claim that the specialised language of economics is unequally developed in the two languages: whereas English has a “soundly established vocabulary in the field, Romanian has just engaged on the path to integrating its economy, and therefore its specialized vocabulary, into the European and global economic system”. The most frequently used translation strategy encountered is the paraphrase or the conversion of metaphor to sense, “as such a safe approach ensures the appropriate perception of the ST message” (p. 320). This can be linked to the concept of “risk aversion” (see Chapter 6).

The authors include a classification of metaphors used in the economic field, adapted from Ullmann (1962):

1. anthropomorphic metaphors, i.e. transfers of meaning from the human body and its parts to inanimate objects, e.g. “daughter company”, “sister company”, “parent company”, “head office”, etc. These economic metaphors are formed by the “humanization” of economic entities (ECONOMY IS HUMAN), so that people understand certain abstract concepts better.
2. animal metaphors, e.g., “bear” (an investor who believes a stock or the overall market will decline), “buck” (slang for one million dollars).
3. metaphors that translate abstract experience into concrete terms, e.g. “heavy industry” - “industrie grea”, “light industry” - “industrie ușoară”. Such terms also lead to a better understanding, as abstract concepts are illustrated through concrete ones.
4. synaesthetic metaphors, i.e. metaphors based upon the transposition from one sense to another: “to cook / salt the books” - “a cosmetiza / falsifica registrele contabile”.

(Source: Dobrotă & Maftei, 2002: 314)

The authors also provide the following examples of widely used conceptual metaphors:

1. MONEY IS A LIQUID, one of the most widely used conceptual frames:

- CASH IS A LIQUID: “liquid assets” (“bunuri lichide”)
- GAIN/ LOSS OF MONEY IS MOVEMENT OF A LIQUID: “cash flow” (“circulația lichidităților”; “flux de numerar”)
- MONEY WHICH CANNOT BE ACCESSED IS FROZEN: “price freeze” (“înghețarea prețurilor”)

- CONTROL IN A FINANCIAL SITUATION IS CONTROL IN LIQUID: “keep your head above water, financially” (“a se menține la suprafață din punct de vedere financiar”)

2. INVESTMENTS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MONEY: “The business is going to hit the bottom soon” (“afacerea e pe ducă / pe punctul de a da faliment”)

- JOINING ANOTHER ON AN INVESTMENT IS MIXING LIQUIDS: “We pooled our funds for the venture” (“ne-am pus banii la comun”).

(Source: Dobrotă & Maftei, 2002: 315-316)

The conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is relevant in the context of the present thesis, as in the selected corpus of texts from the European Central Bank this is a very frequently occurring metaphor.

Summing up the research on metaphors in English and Romanian economic texts, several conclusions can be drawn. First of all, scholars have identified certain similarities between English and Romanian conceptual metaphors. However, since the Anglo-American economic system is currently the most influential one, the language used to describe this system is much richer and developed than in the countries that opened their markets for international trade as recently as twenty years ago. According to the researchers’ findings, the English language has a larger stock of economic metaphors, whereas in the Romanian language the expressions from English are often borrowed, and stronger expressions are “toned down”, making them less emotional. All of the above has implications for both the findings of the present thesis and for the translation process – the results of the literature review furnish clues to potential findings of the present research, and how to interpret them. The fact that Romanian needs to invent terms and search for equivalents is likely to influence translation strategies and the translators’ choices. These aspects will be further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 of the present thesis, in which a corpus of texts translated at the European Central Bank is analysed, translation strategies are identified and parallel excerpts are examined in order to identify how translators have dealt with metaphors.

The next section reviews the main theories on translating metaphor, as well as the different strategies proposed by scholars for translating metaphor, as the aim of the present thesis is to explore translation practices with reference to metaphor.

2.4 Translating metaphor

In the discipline of Translation Studies, the translation of metaphors has been widely discussed, especially with regard to the translatability of metaphors and the translation strategies/procedures that could be/have been used when translating metaphors. Some authors have discussed these issues from a normative perspective (how metaphors should be translated, e.g. Newmark, 1981); others have adopted a descriptive point of view (how translators have dealt with metaphors in the texts, e.g. Van den Broeck, 1981). Within the classic, linguistic approach, a series of prescriptive translation procedures have been proposed, whereas in the cognitive view, metaphor can be interpreted more holistically (Jensen, 2005: 184).

2.4.1 Views on translating metaphor

Some scholars speak of metaphor as a translation problem (Newmark, 1988; Jensen, 2005; Fuertes Oliveira & Velasco-Sacristán, 2001). Dagut (1976: 25) argues that in Translation Studies metaphor has been treated inadequately, which is reflected in two opposing views: one holds that there is no solution (i.e. metaphor is untranslatable); and the other, that there is no problem (i.e. metaphor can be quite “simply” translated word for word). However, the translatability of metaphors cannot be generalised, as there are many factors that determine the ontology of metaphors.

According to Dagut (1976: 32),

there is no simplistic general rule for translation of metaphor, but the translatability of any given SL metaphor depends on (1) the particular cultural experiences and semantic associations exploited by it, and (2) the extent to which these can, or not, be reproduced non-anomalously in TL, depending on the degree of overlap in each particular case.

Moreover, he argues that “what determines the translatability of a SL metaphor is not its ‘boldness’ or ‘originality’, but rather the extent to which the cultural experience and semantic associations on which it draws are shared by speakers of the particular TL” (Dagut, 1976: 32). The translator has to have intercultural awareness in order to unravel the complexities of metaphor, because a metaphor that is “strikingly effective” in one language can become “peculiar or even unintelligible” if transferred unchanged into another (Dagut, 1976: 32).

Van den Broeck (1981) states that translatability in case of metaphor is high between close pairs of languages, if there is contact between SL and TL, if the two cultures evolve in parallel and when the text to be translated contains one single type of information and it is not complex (Van den Broeck, 1981: 84).

Fuertes Oliveira & Velasco Sacristán (2001: 75), in their article on the translatability of metaphor in LSP, base their research on the following assumptions:

1. Metaphor is a translation problem and in translating metaphor there is “little point in seeking to match target language words with those in the ST in isolation from a consideration of the writer's world view” (Hatim & Mason, 1990: 4, cited in Fuertes Oliveira & Velasco Sacristán, 2001: 75);
2. Metaphor is a cognitive tool (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), which plays an important role in term formation and concept analysis.

Fuertes Oliveira & Velasco Sacristán (2001: 86-87) also mention the traditional ways of dealing with the translation of metaphor:

1. A classical or traditionalist view which argues that metaphors are basically aesthetic devices with an ornamental role (Nida & Taber, 1969; Vázquez Ayora, 1977; Newmark, 1988, etc.);
2. An eclectic view, which defends that metaphor is an aesthetic device which creates similarity (Dagut, 1987; van den Broeck, 1981, etc.);
3. A figuralist or functionalist view that offers a heuristic account of the figure by claiming its cognitive function (Snell-Hornby, 1988, etc.).
4. A hybrid approach (Meyer et al, 1997) which combines the aesthetic and the cognitive role of metaphor and analyses metaphor according to three main translation difficulties: cultural specificity, structural constraints and its cognitive role, to which the authors add the translator's role in the decision-making process, especially when dealing with LSP texts.

Fuertes Oliveira & Velasco Sacristán (2001: 87) argue that in translating metaphors, many factors should be taken into account, especially when it comes to language for specific purposes (LSP). They quote Samaniego Fernández (2000), who proposes a model that takes

into consideration the following factors: cultural references, semantic associations, communicative purpose, functional relevance, linguistic constraints, degree of informativity, interpretation, register, text types, metaphor typology and contextual constraints.

According to Andersen (2000: 58), whose hypothesis is that translators lack knowledge about metaphor, for the translation of metaphors, the translator is required to have metaphor competence, which she explains as identification and interpretation of metaphor, understanding of metaphor. Jensen (2005: 204) also states that the translator needs to have competence developed through experience, which includes “cross-cultural knowledge, an awareness of the pragmatic, semantic and textual function of the metaphor, as well as an understanding of the duality of metaphors as both mental concepts and linguistic expressions”.

Andersen (2000) states that in translation theory, the translation of metaphors has been a neglected aspect, and especially translating metaphors in LSP texts. According to this researcher, the reasons why metaphor has been neglected reside in the opposition between metaphor as a linguistic vs. metaphor as a mental phenomenon: “Not knowing if a metaphor is a linguistic and/or a mental phenomenon and not being able to identify *the* metaphor, how should we be able to make a theory for translating it?” (Andersen, 2000: 58). This clash is summarised in the following way:

Should we find the underlying metaphorical concepts in the source-text to be translated and translate these into equivalent metaphorical concepts of the target-text, as the cognitive theory seems to claim? Or should we start by finding the metaphorical linguistic items in the source-text and if possible translate these into similar linguistic items? (Andersen, 2000: 58)

This quote is relevant for the present thesis, as in the questionnaires the translators are often talking from the linguistic point of view, which views metaphor as a linguistic, rather than a mental phenomenon, whereas the aims of the study and the theoretical framework it employs (i.e. conceptual metaphor) view metaphor as a cognitive, mental entity. Andersen (2000: 59) claims that both views should be taken into account by the researcher, because metaphor is both a linguistic and a mental phenomenon, but translators have to start with its linguistic manifestation, because translators operate on the linguistic surface. In other words, metaphor is a complex phenomenon and, when translating it, a variety of elements have to be taken into account. According to Snell-Hornby (1995: 53), when translating metaphor, “multiple

relationships in both cultural association (perspective) and language (dimension)” have to be identified at semantic, morpho-syntactic and pragmatic level.

Van den Broeck (1981: 73) argues that metaphor should not be treated in isolation; its translatability depends on the other elements in the text. According to the “initial norms” (an orientation towards either the source text or the target text), Van den Broeck (1981: 85) mentions two ways of translating metaphors:

1. If the translation adheres to the SL norm, metaphors will tend to be translated “sensu strictu”;
2. If the second position is adopted, SL metaphors are most likely to be replaced by corresponding TL metaphors, or will at least often be adapted (domesticated, adapted to the target system).

This is relevant because when translating metaphors, usually translators do not translate word for word, but they adapt to the target culture, shift images and demetaphorise.

The section below outlines some of the classifications of strategies for translating metaphors, identified by researchers.

2.4.2 Strategies for translating metaphors

The concept of ‘strategies’ can be a confusing one in the discipline of Translation Studies. Different scholars employ different terms: ‘strategies’, ‘procedures’, ‘techniques’, ‘methods’, ‘changes’, ‘shifts’. Several classifications of strategies have been proposed and the terms used often overlap. The first classification of translation strategies belongs to Vinay & Darbelnet (1958), who divide them into: direct procedures (borrowing, calque, literal translation) and oblique procedures (transposition, modulation, equivalence, adaptation). Nida (1964), from a communicative perspective, proposes five “techniques of adjustment”: addition, substitution, alteration, footnotes, adjustments of language to experience. Newmark (1988) establishes eight “methods” that refer to the whole text and 15 “procedures” related to sentences and smaller units. Another classification was set up by Chesterman (1997): ten syntactic, ten semantic and ten pragmatic strategies. However, since the metalanguage of Translation Studies is “uncertain and requires clarification” (Gambier, 2010: 417), it is important to make several distinctions when speaking of translation strategies: between product-oriented research and process-oriented research; between global and local

approaches; between problem-solving and routines. When using them, the researcher should define the strategies, as there are many ambiguities and overlapping; another limitation of working with strategies is the fact that they are decontextualised, generalised and analysed at micro-level (Gambier, 2010).

One of the aspects investigated by scholars is what strategies to adopt for translating metaphors. Different researchers have proposed different classifications of the strategies used when translating metaphors, from different points of view. Some of them will be presented below.

Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997: 354), in their article on teaching metaphors, suggest a classification of strategies for translating metaphors, identified in students' works. This classification was provided with reference to the language pair English-Polish. The examples, in the framework of the same classification, were taken from Pecican (2007a: 75), who works with the language pair English-Romanian, with conceptual metaphors and uses the classification elaborated by Deignan et al. (1997: 354).

1. Same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression: “economic growth” – “creștere economică”;
2. Same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression: “a robust growth” – “o creștere viguroasă” (‘vigorous growth’)
3. Different conceptual metaphors and, consequently, different linguistic expressions – “to wind up” (a bankrupt company) – “a lichida” (o companie falimentară) (‘to liquidate a company’)
4. Words and expressions with similar literal meaning but different metaphorical meanings – “hit” – “a lovi” (‘to hit’); whereas both words have the same literal meaning, they are used in different metaphorical expressions: in English “to hit” can be used in the meaning of “to reach a certain level” (e.g. “to hit bottom”), whereas in Romanian “a lovi” means “to affect, to cause damage”.

The last strategy is added by Ennis (1998), cited in Pecican (2007a: 76):

5. L1 metaphorical expression rendered non metaphorically in L2 and vice versa – “to rocket” (prices, value of shares) – “a crește brusc” (‘to grow suddenly’); “to plummet” (prices, value of shares) – “a scădea brusc/puternic” (‘to decrease suddenly/strongly’)

Some of these strategies will be identified and analysed in the corpus of texts from the European Central Bank, in Chapter 5.

Researchers in the field of Translation Studies also report finding a similar set of strategies. For example, Al-Harrasi (2001: 195-203), who analyses metaphor translation (from Arabic into English) in political discourse, identifies several procedures used by translators in handling conceptual metaphors in political texts:

1. Keeping expressions of the same conceptual metaphor – the metaphor is reproduced in the English translation;
2. Deletion of references to the conceptual metaphor – or deletion of metaphor;
3. Demetaphorising – the translator demetaphorises the concept;
4. Shifts to other (related) conceptual metaphors – the translator uses an expression of a different domain, which is related to the conceptual metaphor in the source text.

It must be mentioned that this classification is used in a specific context (translating political discourse from Arabic into English, particularly translating specific Arabic ideological concepts); however, it will be partially used in this thesis because it refers to conceptual metaphors.

Jensen (2005) analysed the translation of metaphors from English into Danish by professional and non-professional translators. She found that professional experienced translators retained metaphors in the target text to a much greater extent than the non-professional translators, who deleted 41% of the metaphors. Jensen (2005: 193) suggests the following classification of translation strategies:

1. Use an equivalent of the original metaphor, which would express a similar conceptual mapping;
2. Replace a metaphor of the original with a metaphor based on a different conceptual metaphor;
3. Replace a metaphor with a paraphrase;
4. Deletion – a complete deletion of the metaphorical expression.

Newmark (1988: 106) mentions how metaphors should be translated and does not refer to conceptual metaphors (he rather views metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon). He describes six types of metaphor and makes recommendations for their translation, based on their type:

1. dead (used) metaphors – those metaphors in which the reader is not conscious of the image. They designate space, time, human body, human activities. They are quite universal, but literal translation is not a good option. E.g. “the field of human knowledge”;
2. cliché metaphors – they comprise stereotypes and they are in-between dead metaphors and stock metaphors. They have “outlived their usefulness” (Newmark, 1988: 107) and they do not correspond to the “facts of the matter” (E.g. “leave no stone unturned”);
3. stock (standard) metaphors – established metaphors, with emotional effects, covering a situation both referentially and pragmatically. Many of them are related to universal concepts (E.g. “sleep” as “death”);
4. adapted metaphors – they should be rendered by an equivalent adapted metaphor if they can still be understood; E.g. “the ball is little in their court” – “c’est peut-être à eux de jouer”;
5. recent metaphors – they are usually neologisms, words that are in fashion in the language. They usually designate universal qualities: fashionable (“in” – “dans le vent”);
6. original metaphors – they can also be called “individual” metaphors. They are quite difficult to translate as they have been created by a writer. E.g. “sea of troubles” (*Hamlet*).

The classification above is relevant, since the translation strategies employed can differ according to the type of metaphor (e.g. in case of new metaphors, the strategy may be paraphrase or addition).

Newmark (1981: 87-91) views metaphor as a translation problem in the source text. He identifies seven procedures of translating metaphors:

1. Reproducing the same image in the TL;
2. Replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image;
3. Translation of metaphor by simile;

4. Translation of metaphor (or simile) by simile plus sense;
5. Conversion of metaphor to sense;
6. Deletion;
7. Same metaphor combined with sense.

Based on Newmark's procedures, Frunză (2005: 9), after having analysed a set of cultural-specific metaphorical expressions in English and Romanian, identifies three strategies for translating culture-specific metaphorical expressions:

1. Reproducing the same image in the TL on the condition that the image has comparable frequency and currency in the appropriate register. This type of transfer is dependant on cultural overlap or on universal experience or what are usually called by anthropologists 'culture universals'. E.g. "a-și băga nasul în" – "to poke one's nose into"; "a bea ca un pește" – "to drink like a fish";
2. The translator may replace the image in the SL with a standard TL image that does not clash with the TL culture. E.g. "ai carte, ai parte" – "knowledge is treasure"; "a spune verzi și uscate" – "to talk through one's hat";
3. Conversion of metaphor to sense – in case of archaisms. E.g. "a da iama" – "to squander".

Toury (1995: 82, 83), who did not analyse actual translations, mentions six ways in which metaphor could be translated:

1. metaphor into "same" metaphor (the metaphor is the same in the two languages);
2. metaphor into "different" metaphor (or "substitution" – another metaphor is used in the target language);
3. metaphor into non-metaphor (there is no metaphor in the target language);
4. metaphor into 0 ("omission" of the metaphor);
5. non- metaphor into metaphor – the last two strategies are from a TT perspective;
6. 0 into metaphor ("addition" of metaphor).

Van den Broeck (1981: 77), from the perspective of descriptive Translation Studies, mentions the three following ways of metaphor translation:

1. Translation “sensu strictu”, when both SL “tenor” and SL “vehicle” are transferred into the TL;
2. Substitution, when the SL “vehicle” is replaced by a different TL “vehicle”;
3. Paraphrase, when the metaphor is rendered by a non-metaphorical expression in the TL.

Kurth (1997) described actual translations. He analysed the translation of metaphors into German in Charles Dickens’ works, based on the scenes and frames semantics. Kurth’s relative scale imagery provides nine examples of basic translation means for the translation of metaphors in literary texts:

1. Deletion or Omission (*Streichung*);
2. Condensation, Reduction or Shortening (*Raffung*);
3. Leveling (*Bildeinebnung*);
4. Weakening, Mitigation or Attenuation (*Bildabschwächung*);
5. Image Shift or Change (*Bildverschiebung*);
6. Retention (*Wahrung*);
7. Extension, exaggeration, hyperbolisation, overstatement (*Bildüberhöhung*);
8. Creation of new metaphors (*Neumetaphorisierung*);
9. Elaboration, explanation (*Ausspinnen*).

As the various translation strategies listed above are quite comprehensive, some of these strategies will be investigated and explored in the corpus of texts selected for the purposes of the present research, in Chapter 5 of the present thesis. The strategies adopted by the ECB translators when translating metaphors will be identified and analysed, with examples from the texts.

Crerar-Bromelow (2008: 75), discussing whether an awareness of conceptual metaphor can help the translator in his/her task, claims that: “If the translator understands the cognitive and linguistic processes behind the words or phrases employed in the source text, then s/he is in an empowered position to create a suitable equivalent text in the target language and at the same time to intelligently increase the translation’s ‘visibility’”.

According to Schäffner (2004), a source and target culture can sometimes employ the same conceptual metaphors and sometimes different ones. When transferred from one language to

another, a metaphor may be modified. Instead of providing guidelines about what translators should do, she suggests analysing and describing what the translators actually did when translating metaphors:

By describing the strategies chosen by translators in dealing with metaphors, and explaining the effects a specific solution has had on readers and cultures (or predicting its potential effects), the discipline of Translation Studies can provide a valuable contribution to the study of metaphors. (Schäffner, 2004: 1268)

In this thesis, a descriptive approach was chosen in line with the recommendations above since it is empirical and objective (see Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion of the research methodology and its objectivity).

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the main ideas in the literature regarding the theoretical concepts relevant for the subject of the present study. Institutional translation was defined and discussed, as well as translators' agency and sociological concepts such as *habitus*, *capital*, and *field*. Translation takes place in the society and in a specific institution, and there are certain rules that regulate practices. In the EU institutions, the translators have to follow the guidelines and use specific translation tools and databases and thus, they represent the voice of the institution. The particular conditions at the European Central Bank will be investigated in Chapter 4 of this study. The conceptual metaphor theory was defined and presented, since this study aims to explore institutional conditions with reference to metaphors. Metaphor is encountered in any type of discourse, as illustrated in section 2.3 of this chapter, which outlines different examples of metaphors in political, economic and other specialised texts. Studies focusing on economic metaphors in Romanian, some from a cross-linguistic perspective, others analysing translations, were also presented. Researchers acknowledge the influence of English economic vocabulary on the Romanian one, which is reflected in the presence of a large number of loan words. The main ideas in the literature on translating metaphor were also outlined, as well as strategies devised by various scholars for translating metaphor, from different perspectives. The strategies often overlap and, for the purposes of this study, a classification of strategies has been established on the basis of the analysis (presented in Chapter 5).

In the light of the ideas presented above, the main questions that this thesis will try to answer are: If metaphors can create new realities and new meanings; if they can shape public opinion and are used ideologically, what does it mean for translators? How do translators render the meaning, the ideological slant and the 'representation of reality' of the source text metaphor? What strategies do they use? Moreover, if the source text is full of metaphors and highly ideological in nature, there will be particular linguistic choices that translators have to make. Therefore, how free are translators to make those choices and how ideologically constrained are they by the type of document and by the institutional setting? Some of these aspects will be further explored in the next chapters of the present thesis (particularly Chapters 5 and 6).

The next chapter (Chapter 3) will present the corpus and methodology used in the present thesis.

Chapter 3

Corpus and Methodology

This chapter aims to present the corpus used in the thesis, the reasons for choosing this particular corpus (section 3.1) and the methodology employed, also giving an overview on the literature on qualitative and quantitative methods (section 3.2).

As already stated in previous chapters, the aim of this thesis is to explore the institutional policies and procedures regarding translation at the European Central Bank. The corpus selected for this study includes mainly source texts and target texts for analysing the metaphors and translation strategies, but for investigating institutional conditions several methods were employed: ethnographic methods, observation of the context in which translation takes place, analysing the documents that describe policies and practices and reflecting upon them, questionnaires of the translators working at the ECB. These aspects will be presented in more detail below.

3.1 Corpus

This section comprises a detailed description of the corpus created for the present thesis and a justification for selecting it. This thesis aims to explore the institutional context of the European Central Bank in order to identify translation practices. An objective of the study was to gain an insight into policies and practices, by observing the context in which translation takes place and by collecting and analysing documents about procedures; for linking policies/practices to translation strategies, a corpus of source and target texts produced and translated at the ECB was compiled.

According to its reporting obligations, the European Central Bank has to publish reports on its activities (monthly, in a document called the Monthly Bulletin and yearly in the Annual Report) and information brochures for the general public (which help the ECB communicate with the people in the Member States). These are some of the types of texts that will be analysed in

the present thesis. For a detailed description of all the types of documents produced and translated at the ECB, see Chapter 4. The reasons for the choices of documents for the corpora (of source and target texts) will be explained below.

The corpus collected for this thesis consists of English, Romanian, French and Spanish versions of forty-five texts produced and translated at the European Central Bank. The sub-corpus of English source texts has 1,250,000 words and the sub-corpus of Romanian target texts contains 1,335,000 words. Since these are economic documents, they contain many figures –the total number of words in the English sub-corpus (without figures) is 895,780 and the number of words (without figures) in the Romanian sub-corpus is 978,750. The following documents have been included in the corpus: two annual reports (of 2009 and 2010), five ECB Staff Projections (of 2010 and 2011), twenty-five Editorials (of 2009-2010), six Monthly Bulletins (of 2008 and 2009), a document on *Implementation of Monetary Policy*, five brochures (*The Single Euro Payments Area*, *How Euro Became Our Money*, *Price Stability: Why Is It Important for You?*, *The European Central Bank, the Eurosystem and the European System of Central Banks* and *Recycling the Euro Banknotes*), and an informative book on the European Central Bank, its role, history and functions. The documents are publicly available on the ECB's website. For full titles of documents, as well as their bibliographical references, see Appendix 1.

The corpus used for this study is considerable in size in view of the aims of the thesis, namely not to search for regularities to back up by statistical evidence, but to explore how and in which respect (which) institutional conditions/constraints are reflected in translation strategies (to be identified in translations as products). The corpus is rich in salient data for various reasons. First of all, it is a collection of specialised texts produced by one specific institution that has a narrowly-defined area of activity and therefore, the topics of the texts and the key words belong to a particular domain: finance, economics, banking. Secondly, the size of the corpus is deemed adequate for specialised language analysis. Thirdly, it contains texts aimed both at specialists and the general public, which allows analysing a broader range of texts, yielding more representative results. The English sub-corpus of texts for the general public (the five brochures and the book on the History, role and functions of the ECB) amounts to about 140,000 words, while the Romanian sub-corpus contains 170,000 words; the English sub-corpus of texts for the specialised public (the annual reports, the projections, the editorials, the Monthly Bulletins) contains about 1,1 million words, whereas the Romanian one has about 1,16 million words. The number of words in the specialised texts is so high

because the ECB mainly publishes specialised documents and the number of brochures for the general public is significantly lower. Moreover, specialised texts contain a lot of figures and tables, which also explains the high number of words.

The Monthly Bulletin is a 200-page document produced every month, describing the evolution of prices, the current economic situation, existent risks to price stability and other such issues. In Romanian (because Romania is not part of the euro area yet), it is not translated every month, but only in March, June, September and December (in collaboration with the National Bank of Romania, which is further described in Chapter 4). For the other months, only the Editorial is translated into Romanian (which is only a small part of the Monthly Bulletin, comprising 4-5 pages) and this is why this document has also been selected as part of the corpus.

Which documents are translated and which are not is determined within the ECB according to the status of the country: more documents are translated if the country belongs to the euro area. If the country is not in the euro area, it is not so relevant to translate certain documents which specifically refer to the euro area and its functioning. Hence, in order to ensure an even representation of the data, only the texts that had all four language versions (English, French, Spanish, and Romanian) were selected for analysis.

These texts were chosen for this study because they are quite comprehensive (almost all of them have at least 200 pages) and they are the most representative texts translated within the European Central Bank (see Chapter 4 for a classification of all the texts produced at the ECB). There are three main reasons that justify the choice of the corpus: the fact that they are typical of what the institution normally produces (and thus representative of the language that is used in the ECB); their format (they are in electronic form so that they can be used with the corpus analysis software) and variety (various types of texts, addressed both to experts and to the general public, thus both highly specialised and less specialised).

For the purposes of this research, it is useful to make a distinction between documents translated at the ECB for the general public and documents intended for the governors of the ECB, investors, business (experts). The specialised documents are subject to constraints by national central banks because the statistics and predictions they contain will influence investment decisions, while the more general ones are not. The translation process and the collaboration with the National Bank are described in detail in Chapter 4. For this reason,

translation strategies in each type of texts can differ – but only empirical analysis can lead to concrete conclusions. Nevertheless, the factor of target audience will be taken into account during the analysis.

3.2. Methodology

The methodology used in the present thesis combines quantitative methods (collection of texts, identifying word frequency, identifying occurrences of metaphors and comparison when it comes to the patterns and trends) and qualitative methods (analysing translation strategies on the basis of a comparison of the ST and TT, observation in the institution, analysing documents related to policies and procedures and questionnaires filled in by translators). Quantitative methods are used to determine the frequencies of one or another translation strategy (but this is not the main purpose of the thesis); the actual strategies, their types and variety are more relevant to the research questions than the number of times each strategy is used. The corpus analysis method was employed as the main research method, to investigate the translation product; source texts and target texts were analysed to see how translators dealt with metaphors and then the translation strategies were classified using labels already established by others in the existing literature (see Chapter 2). For this research, WordSmith⁵ software was used in order to identify occurrences of certain metaphorical expressions and their concordances and collocations. Additional research methods were the questionnaires and observation, in order to find out what translators do and why.

3.2.1 Advantages and disadvantages of using corpus analysis software

Corpus analysis is a relatively new method in Translation Studies research (it has been used since the 1990s) and nowadays corpus-based Translation Studies is a widely-used area of research. It involves using computerised corpora to study translation (Kruger, 2002). In this way, patterns, generalities, regularities are identified, and they can increase the global understanding of the researcher. Among the researchers who have used this method or have written about it are Baker (1993; 1996); Kenny (2001); Kruger (2002); Laviosa (2002); Olohan (2004).

⁵ WordSmith Tools is a piece of software developed for corpus analysis.

For the purposes of this research, the WordSmith software application was used. It is important to know its main advantages and disadvantages before commencing the analysis. The advantages of using corpus analysis software are that it is more convenient to manage large corpora, it is time-efficient (the manual search would take a lot of time) and it offers other functions – word frequency lists, collocations, etc. However, there are also some limitations: the researcher cannot identify metaphors because a particular conceptual metaphor can be instantiated by a large number of different lexical items and, thus, metaphors have to be identified manually, by using intuition, guessing: identifying figurative language implies the researcher's own understanding of metaphors (see Deignan, 2005 for a discussion on educated guesses of an experienced researcher). Moreover, metaphors cannot be identified by external features and the “concordance” function does not tell us that expressions have a metaphorical meaning. Thus, the researcher has to establish certain criteria and interpret the data thereby. One approach is to look for identifiable expression units that are likely to contain metaphors (Musolff, 2004). For more detailed instructions on working with metaphors, identifying them, etc. see below. Thus, both automatic (using the software) and manual methods (qualitative analysis using established, strict criteria) were used in the present study.

3.2.2 How to research metaphors?

This is a question addressed by many scholars, as metaphors are not easy to identify. Musolff (2004: 8) identifies two difficulties: 1) how to *find* metaphors in collections of linguistic data; 2) what to *count* as metaphors. He states that the researcher has to establish parameters and interpret the data. An approach would be to look for identifiable expression units that have metaphoric potential. Along the same lines, Deignan (2005: 9) speaks of the researcher's own understanding of metaphors.

When using corpora, Herrera Soler (2008: 54) argues that the research process can combine concordance programs with a “hand-searched process”; they are different tools with their respective advantages and disadvantages. The aim of the research dictates if they should be used individually or mixed. Herrera Soler (2008: 54) states that:

By using concordance programs specific tokens or chunks of words are searched automatically, a system that favours an accurate quantitative analysis. But when personal surveys are conducted, automatism is not so highly prized as researcher's interpretations are constantly required.

This alternative to the computer search is a good resource for qualitative analysis, which may provide clues for significant patterns that may become starting points for automatic searches in other corpora.

The Pragglejaz Group (2007: 2) also mention the “lack of agreed criteria for metaphor identification” and the “lack of precision about what counts as a metaphor”. They propose a method for identifying metaphors, comprising the following steps:

1. Read the entire text;
2. Determine the lexical units in the text;
3. Follow these steps:
 - a. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context;
 - b. For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context;
 - c. If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it;
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz group, 2007: 3).

According to the Pragglejaz group, this method can be a reliable tool to identify metaphorically used words in discourse.

The ideas on metaphor analysis cited above illustrate that researchers have been trying to systematise the process of textual analysis in search of metaphors. However, the method depends very much on the researcher’s own definition of a metaphor, of their understanding and intuition. That is why it is important for the researcher to define metaphor or at least to specify what definition/theory of metaphor they will be using before commencing the research (in the present study, metaphor was defined in section 2.2.1).

The context in which metaphors are being analysed, as well as the method which is employed also need to be taken into account. In this thesis, both automatic (electronic, corpus-analysis software) and manual methods (choosing and feeding in words that may have a metaphoric potential) have been used for identifying and analysing metaphors.

3.2.3 Questionnaires

Besides using corpus analysis, the methodology of the present study also included questionnaires distributed to translators working at the European Central Bank regarding the way of identifying and translating metaphors. Despite the fact that the number of questionnaires is limited (because the number of translators working at the ECB is quite low), they provide interesting information that can be linked to the translation strategies and the institutional procedures. In the questionnaires, specific questions were asked about the translation of metaphors. These will be analysed in detail in Chapter 6 and the actual questionnaires are included in Appendix 4. However, questionnaires are a supplementary research method, as well as statistics/quantitative methods. The main research method is qualitative corpus analysis, as the most important question of the present thesis is not how many instances of one or another translation strategy can be found in a target text but instead what (different) strategies are employed when translating metaphorical expressions belonging to the same conceptual metaphor and how strategies can be linked to institutional conditions and constraints.

Reid (1996, cited in Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil, 2002: 45) describes this method in the following way: “small, purposeful samples of articulate respondents are used because they can provide important information, not because they are representative of a larger group”. It was decided to use this method because the ideas and opinions expressed by professionals and practitioners about what they are doing and how they are doing it can add to the observation of the institutional context and the description and analysis of texts. The translators’ education, training and experience would allow them to make sound judgement about their choices of translation strategies and approaches. Moreover, the answers provided by the translators can allow, to a certain extent, to establish a link between the textual profiles and translation strategies on the one hand and the institutional context on the other.

3.2.4 How to research institutional translation? Ethnographic methods

The way to research institutional translation poses another challenge to the researcher. This thesis focuses on translation practices in a particular institution (the European Central Bank) and thus, several factors have been taken into account and analysed: the institutional framework (or the translation context), the translators’ actions (the process, but only at a general level) and the actual texts (the product). According to Koskinen (2008: 35), “[a]n

institutional approach therefore needs to combine the study of texts and the study of people in human interaction". Thus, not only is the end product analysed, but also the process behind it. The aim of the present thesis is not to investigate cognitive processes while translators translate (e.g. using think-aloud protocols or keystroke logging or eye-tracking software); only the general processes – the institutional procedures and practices – will be investigated and some insights into the people involved (translators, revisers, commissioners, experts, etc) will be provided, in terms of their role, tasks and status more generally, not by observing a concrete activity. Translated texts are analysed and translation practices are described at a general level. In order to identify links between translations and the institutional context, questionnaires were also distributed to translators. As part of the research process, documents and literature describing and specifying translation policies and procedures were also analysed, in order to identify which procedures are in place at the ECB.

As far as researching EU translation is concerned, in her article bearing the suggestive title *How to research EU translation?*, Koskinen (2001) argues that EU translation is so complex that many Translation Studies concepts cannot be used as such when investigating this specific type of translation. She particularly mentions concepts such as "source text", "target text", even "translation", as EU translations are usually referred to as "language versions" (these concepts are analysed in more detail in Chapter 4). This can pose problems to researchers, as it is difficult to comparatively analyse the source text and the target text – instead, there are several language versions, whose authors and translators are usually collective and anonymous (Koskinen, 2001: 293). Since translation is sometimes not mentioned when it comes to EU texts, the identity of the translators is also hidden and they remain invisible actors that are part of a multilingual and collective translation process. This can be related to the discussion of *habitus* in section 2.3.1, as the institution is the author of the translated documents.

Koskinen (2001: 299) suggests several possible ways of researching EU translation. One option is to analyse the process and not the end product: how a document is drafted, what changes are made, who makes them. However, this would require a direct involvement of the researcher in the work of the EU institutions, which may be difficult. Another option is to focus on the final versions and to analyse their function for the intended purpose and/or the intended target audience. For the purposes of the present research, translation strategies for translating metaphors are analysed; they are explained with reference to conditions and

procedures. Documents describing policies and regulations are also analysed and another method is observation of the particular institutional setting (ethnographic methods).

Since ethnography provides, to an extent, an insight into the way translators relate to their work and in view of the research aims and research questions, it was decided to employ it for the present study. Ethnographic research is characterised by the reflective role of the researcher and the use of mainly qualitative data collection methods, such as interviewing and observation (Hubscher-Davidson, 2011: 4). Regarding ethnographic research, Koskinen (2008:154-155) states that “addressing issues arising from real life can enhance the researcher’s feelings of meaningfulness.” By using ethnographic methods, the researcher can gain a better understanding of the translators’ working methods. Koskinen (2006: 114) argues that ethnographic methods can, amongst other things, “support theory building” in Translation Studies. They can also have drawbacks, such as the fact that findings are not easily generalisable because of the use of small samples of participants, and the limited focus (on certain aspects of reality). However, translation researchers “can make efficient use of ethnographic research methods to increase their understanding of translators’ perspectives and behaviours” (Hubscher-Davidson, 2011: 13) and further engagement with the discipline of ethnography seems a fruitful avenue for further translation research.

In the present thesis, several aspects are being explored with regard to the European Central Bank: a description of the institutional context and policies (the institution), an analysis of the process based on the questionnaires filled in by ECB translators (the people, the translators) and an analysis of the actual translated texts, of what translators have done (the product). In order to obtain data on the institutional setting and to distribute questionnaires to translators, it was necessary to engage in collaboration with the institution. This is not easy for the outside researcher. The collaboration was possible via e-mail; the questionnaires were sent to the assistants, who sent them back filled in by the translators. The data obtained are used and presented in the thesis. However, it must be acknowledged that the data set has its limitations (there are no written documents describing the translation department and how translators work at the ECB – only style guides and official documents on language policy, descriptions of institution; the questionnaires were filled in by a limited number of translators).

Below, qualitative and quantitative research methods will be reviewed and discussed and the choice of the methodology used for the present thesis will be justified.

The two methods (quantitative and qualitative) will be combined in the present study. Researchers have argued that combining both methods is a reliable approach (Driscoll et al, 2007; Jick, 1979), as the two techniques are two separate ways of understanding the world (the qualitative method that is interpretative and the quantitative method that emphasises the empirical aspects of research). Therefore, it is advisable to employ more than one research method in order to get a bigger, more developed picture (this idea has been advocated by Webb et al, 1966, cited in Blaikie, 1991, and more recently by Brannen, 2005). Mixing research methods will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.5. Quantitative and qualitative research methods

This section explores the possibility of combining quantitative and qualitative approaches as an optimal methodology for this thesis (however, having in view the research questions and aims, the quantitative methods are less prominent). First of all, both methods will be briefly described and their main features outlined. Secondly, the quantitative-qualitative debate will be revisited, exploring the critique of each method and arguments in defence of each of them provided. Thirdly, the arguments for and against mixed methods will be explored and the position promoting the combined approach will be defended in the light of the aims of this thesis, the theoretical framework upon which this research is based, and the field and the subject of the study. Finally, the way in which mixed methods will be applied for this thesis will be described and presented in the light of the research objectives.

It is important to understand the main features of both research methods, as well as their similarities and differences. First of all, it must be pointed out that the two are often referred to as a dichotomy (e.g. by Brannen, 2005; Bryman, 2006). Yet, there are very strong arguments from, e.g. Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil (2002), according to whom the two methodologies can be seen not as a dichotomy, but rather as opposite ends of the same spectrum.

It is important to know what the research process is made of. Guba (1990, cited in Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil, 2002: 44) writes that there are three main parts: “assumptions concerning reality (ontology), knowledge of that reality (epistemology), and the particular ways of knowing that reality (methodology)”. Brannen (2005) echoes this, also adding theory, or theoretical frameworks, to the list. The perception and understanding of these four elements is very different in quantitative and qualitative approaches.

3.2.5.1 Quantitative research

The roots of quantitative research are in positivism (Blaikie, 1991; Sale et al, 2002). According to the quantitative paradigm, the ontological aspect takes the world and reality for granted. It exists, objectively, independent of human perception. Sale et al. (2002) write that “science is characterized by empirical research; all phenomena can be reduced to empirical indicators which represent the truth”. However, in language research, the empirical, objective reality is already a questionable entity: if language is used and understood through the means of human perception, then how can one measure anything quantitatively (i.e. counting instances of language use) without being subject to human perception? Also, even in natural sciences the raw data may be numerical, but the theory used to interpret and analyse the data is man-made. Therefore, one must be very selective about what theories to use and how to interpret the data (for discussion, see Blaikie, 1991).

The epistemology of quantitative research is also very straightforward: the knowledge about the world comes from observation and experimenting (Blaikie, 1991). Sale et al. (2002) add that the researcher is able to study the phenomenon without influencing it or being influenced by it. Thus, one of the main principles of quantitative research is the ability to repeat the experiment. With the same data, under the same conditions, any researcher should get the same results.

The methodological aspects of the paradigm include predominantly numerical data and statistical analysis. Numbers reflect the reality, argue the proponents of the method. Data collection methods include observation and counting, structured interviews, questionnaires (close-ended and/or open-ended questions), etc. Sample sizes can be very large because the aim of the research is to capture a picture that is representative of a large population (Sale et al, 2002). In this thesis, given its objectives, corpus analysis will be employed and instances of various translation strategies will be identified and analysed. This will be done to present a picture concerning a larger sample and to back up or add to the findings from other research methods, or to present the issue at hand from a different angle.

3.2.5.2 Qualitative research

The qualitative paradigm is placed at the other end of the dichotomy (by those who perceive it as a dichotomy, e.g. Brannen, 2005; Bryman, 2006) and is often criticised by those advocating quantitative approaches. A main feature (and an important point of critique) of qualitative methods is the fact that they are subjective. The method is based on constructivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), which means that the reality and its interpretation are socially constructed. Qualitative research is concerned with the “complexity and variability of phenomena in human action” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 9).

From both ontological and epistemological points of view, if reality is subjective, then one must set some strict criteria against which to test it. Sale et al. (2002) argue that qualitative methods are based on interpretivism, and this must be countered by safeguarding the method through the means of setting rigorous criteria. In research, every finding must be named and classified, and backed up by theoretical justification. In fact, Blaikie (1991: 116) quotes Webb et al, saying that “all research methods are biased”. This is because all research, quantitative and qualitative, involves a human factor. This is exactly why rigorous criteria are important.

More technical and less controversial features of qualitative research include a focus on values, evaluation, extracting meaning from the data and working predominantly with textual rather than numerical data (Neill, no date). Strauss & Corbin (1998) write that semi-structured interviews are best for this kind of research. In the present thesis, questionnaires will be used with a small number of selected participants. These can be compared to semi-structured interviews, except for the fact that they are not spoken, recorded and transcribed, but instead the answers are written directly by the respondent; moreover, there are no follow-up questions. The fact that many of the questions in the questionnaires are open-ended leaves the respondents a considerable degree of freedom to reply in any way they want, which makes it similar to an interview environment.

3.2.6 Combining quantitative and qualitative research

As literature on research methods has shown, there are multiple views on combining the quantitative and the qualitative methods. Some scholars advocate this (e.g. Brannen, 2005; Niglas, 2000; Sale et al, 2002 also seem to have more arguments for than against), but there

are some who are striving to find lines of fault in it (e.g. Blaikie, 1991). Blaikie, as well as Sale et al. (2002) provide a very detailed discussion of the arguments concerning mixed-method approaches. Those arguments will be outlined below and the terms *mixed methods* and *combined methods* will be used interchangeably.

A very important concept in combining different research methods is that of Triangulation, introduced by Norman K. Denzin. There is one strong argument from Denzin (1970b: 471, cited in Blaikie, 1991: 116) that justifies combining various methodologies:

No single method is superior. Each has its own strengths and weaknesses. It is time [...] to recognise this fact and to move on to a position that [allows approaching problems] with all relevant and appropriate methods, to the strategy of methodological triangulation.

Denzin (1978, cited in Niglas, 2000) has clearly identified four different types of triangulation:

- *Data triangulation* – the use of variety of data sources and data sets in a study. Data may be both qualitative and quantitative, gathered by different methods or by the same method from different sources or at different times.
- *Investigator triangulation* – the use of several different researchers. Here the importance of partnership and teamwork is underlined as a way of bringing in different perspectives.
- *Theory triangulation* – the use of different theoretical viewpoints for determining competing hypotheses, as well as for interpreting the single set of data.
- *Methodological triangulation* – the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or phenomenon. It may also include the use of the same method on different occasions and situations.

The latter type is a particularly important one, but the other three are very closely linked to it. Different data, different viewpoints of the researchers, different theories employed and different methods are all linked to one aspect of research: overcoming the limitations, seeing the bigger picture. This is the first argument in favour of the mixed methods and it is linked to the complexity of phenomena also expressed in Sale et al. (2002).

If no theory or paradigm is without limitations and, since quantitative and qualitative approaches are not mutually exclusive, they might as well be complementing each other and

compensating each other's shortfalls, presenting a more developed, elaborate picture. Blaikie (1991: 115) expresses similar ideas, also saying that combining methods is meant to "overcome problems of bias and validity". Webb (1966: 147, cited in Blaikie, 1991: 116) claims that:

When a hypothesis can survive the confrontation of a series of complementary methods of testing, it contains a degree of validity unattainable by one tested within the more constricted network of a single method.

Sale et al. (2002) state that combined methods can be used because the objectives of any research process are to learn about the world around us (physical or social) and because both paradigms have their own elaborate theoretical frameworks and means of testing the findings. As discussed above, both paradigms have their own faults and their own ways of rigorously testing the findings against certain criteria.

Finally, Brannen (2005: 176) gives a good argument for combining research approaches. She argues that the choice of methodology depends on two factors: "the context of enquiry or the research design" and "the context of justification where the data are analysed and interpreted". The former is especially important because it has a two-way relationship with the research question(s). Brannen proceeds to write that our choice of methodology depends on what we are trying to find out. Although it may seem self-evident, even a simple question can lead to a complex set of methods. In fact, Casebeer & Verhoef (1997, cited in Sale et al, 2002) argue that qualitative and quantitative methods should be viewed as part of a continuum of research rather than as a mutually exclusive dichotomy; they add that specific techniques should be selected based on the research objective, echoing Brannen's words.

3.3 Conclusion: Research methodology of the study

Brannen's arguments above provide an excellent basis for an explanation of the methodology chosen for the present thesis. In case of this study, as the research objectives are to explore the institutional practices of the European Central Bank in terms of translation, the research design follows these patterns:

- Using WordSmith software, a general word list was exported from the corpus. The word list was scanned manually, in search for words with “metaphoric potential” (Musolff, 2004; Pragglejazz Group, 2007);
- The words with metaphoric potential were fed into the software’s Concordance tool. If it was found that the context and collocations of those separate words form a metaphorical expression, the equivalents were sought in all language versions (predominantly in the Romanian one); however, sometimes the search started in the target texts and the expressions with metaphoric potential were looked for in the target language versions;
- Short extracts from the sub-corpora of texts (source text and target text) were analysed qualitatively in search for metaphorical expressions. A classification of translation strategies was established and the analysis is presented in Chapter 5. The results are summarised in Chapter 6.

The method is based on qualitative research. The research focuses on metaphorical expressions as evidence of underlying conceptual metaphors. Using corpus analysis (the WordSmith software), the most frequent metaphorical expressions were identified in the source texts. Textual analysis was used in order to describe and explain these conceptual metaphors. Translation strategies were identified in order to explore if and how decisions/strategies are determined by institutional policies and procedures.

- The institutional context was explored through observation in the institution, and by analysing documents about the procedures, in order to investigate the policies and procedures regarding translation at the ECB.
- Questionnaires were distributed to professional practising translators about metaphors in economic texts and translation strategies. These mostly contain open-ended questions which were analysed qualitatively.
- A link was established between textual profiles and institutional conditions in order to find out if and how the strategy choices were determined by institutional procedures and, in general, how the institutional context influences the translation process.

In this study, three out of four methods of triangulation mentioned above (see 3.2.6) will be used. Investigator triangulation is not possible merely because there is only one researcher conducting the study. Data triangulation is self-evident: the data is collected from the corpus of texts (extracts and concordances), from the documents about the institution's policies, and from the questionnaires. Theory triangulation is almost a must during the course of any academic inquiry – one of the most important things for a researcher to understand are his/her limitations, as well as the limitations of the theories used. No theory is perfect in terms of being capable to encompass all aspects of the phenomenon explored in the study; therefore, to get the bigger picture one must employ more than one theory. The theoretical framework of the present thesis comprises several aspects: the conceptual metaphor theory, translating metaphor, institutional translation. Finally, stemming from data triangulation, the need for methodological triangulation appears by itself. In order to study multiple datasets, different methods must be used, be it a framework of criteria against which to test the findings, or the software that is used to compile the corpus, or merely the learned judgement used when looking for specific information in the respondents' answers to the questions asked in the questionnaires.

To sum up, the aim of the present chapter was to present the corpus and methodology of this study. The corpus consists of documents produced and translated at the European Central Bank and available to the public. As far as the methodology is concerned, some ideas and concerns expressed by scholars regarding researching metaphor and institutional translation were briefly outlined. Qualitative and quantitative research methods were also presented. The present study combines corpus analysis, observation, ethnographic methods, and questionnaires, in an attempt to explore how the institutional setting influences the translation process.

The next chapter (Chapter 4) will present the translation process in the European Union institutions, specifically in the European Central Bank.

Chapter 4

Institutional Conditions and Policies. Translating in the European Union Institutions and the European Central Bank

The aim of this chapter is to present the translation policies and processes in the European Union institutions, and more specifically, translation policies and practices at the European Central Bank (as this is the institution investigated in the present study). The conditions, practices and policies in the institution are examined in order to better understand the context in which translation takes place and the factors that can influence the translation process. As already mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.1.1, the translating institution can often control the rules that govern translation. Since the present study aims at exploring the translation process in a specific institution (focusing on metaphors), this chapter provides an overview of the main procedures and practices at the European Central Bank. First, the chapter will provide a general overview of the European Union's language policy and basis for translation. Then, the focus will be on the European Central Bank, its role, functions and translation practices (with specific reference to the Romanian language). The particular features of translating in the EU institutions will be analysed in more detail in section 4.3, as the ECB is an EU institution and translating in this specific setting has certain particular traits that distinguish it from translating in other settings.

4.1 The translation policy in European Union institutions

The literature on the translation context in the European Union institutions is not so extensive. Most studies have focused on the European Commission and legal documents. More prominent authors among a few examples are Kaisa Koskinen (2001; 2006; 2008; 2009; 2011) and Emma Wagner (2001a; 2001b; 2002), who wrote about the translation services in the European Commission and the role of the translators working there. Other scholars, like Frame (2005); Robinson (2005); Stolze (2001); Šarčević (2001); Seymour (2002) wrote on legal documents in the European Commission. As far as the European Central Bank is concerned, Weenink-Griffiths (2005) focused on the translation service of the lawyer-linguists department at the ECB and Ferard (2009) wrote an article on English terminology in French

annual reports of the European Central Bank. For other scholars who focused on institutional translation, see Chapter 2 section 2.1.1.

The European Union institutions are a very complex setting. As Wagner (2002: 14) mentions, there is no single “EU translation service”, but there are several. Each institution has its own translation service (smaller or bigger, according to its needs) and they can be quite different. The European Commission has the largest translation service and it is the biggest employer of translators in the world. There is one point that the EU institutions have in common: they all have specific institutional conventions (referring to the terminology, layout of documents, etc.) which translators have to follow. The translation practice is determined by the overall language policy.

The language policy of the European Union is a very interesting aspect. At first, when the European Community was formed, there were four official languages. All important documents had to be drafted and translated into these four languages. Regulation No. 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community of 1958⁶ has the following provisions:

“Article 1. The official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Community shall be Dutch, French, German and Italian. [...]
Article 4. Regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the four official languages.
Article 5. The Official Journal of the Community shall be published in the four official languages.”

Thus, ever since the creation of the European Union as we know it today, there has been a binding regulation regarding the use of all official languages of the countries that have joined the Union.

As a result of several enlargements, the European Union now comprises 27 countries (28 in 2013, when Croatia will join). The current regulation in force, Council Regulation (EC) No. 920/2005 of 13 June 2005 amending Regulation No. 1 of 15 April 1958 determining the language to be used by the European Economic Community and Regulation No. 1 of 15 April 1958 determining the language to be used by the European Atomic Energy Community and

⁶ Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31958R0001:EN:NOT> (accessed on 10 September 2012)

introducing temporary derogation measures from those Regulations⁷, stipulates that: “The Official Journal of the European Union shall be published in the 21 official languages”.

Thus, the important documents (regulations, directives, decisions) have to be translated in all the 21 (23 since 2007) languages of the European Union. This requires significant resources and a high number of translators translating into their native language for all the official languages of the Union.

According to the European Union legislation, all languages have equal status in the European Union and all documents are equally authentic. Translations are referred to as “language versions” and the word “translation” is not mentioned, which decreases the translators’ visibility (according to Wagner, 2001b: 68). However, this terminology is used in order to safeguard “the equal rights of all languages and therefore the national identity of all Member States” (Wagner, 2001b: 68). Moreover, since EU documents are often binding regulations, all language versions must have legal power. Therefore, a distinction between “originals” and “translations” might reduce their credibility. It must be noted, however, that this applies especially to EU legal documents and the texts analysed in the present thesis are not in this category.

In the European Union institutions not all documents have to be translated in all the official languages, only important ones. However, in the European Commission, the three “working languages” are English, French and German. In the past, most of the original documents were drafted in French. English was not even among the four languages of the Community when this structure was created. Progressively, French was replaced by English and now most of the documents in the European Commission are drafted in English (Phillipson, 2003; Yürek, 2005; *Translation and Multilingualism*, European Commission, 2012⁸).

The following section focuses on the institution investigated in the present study, namely the European Central Bank, with specific emphasis on the translation procedures.

⁷ Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32005R0920:EN:NOT> (accessed on 10 September 2012)

⁸ Available at http://bookshop.europa.eu/is-bin/INTERSHOP.enfinity/WFS/EU-Bookshop-Site/en_GB/-/EUR/ViewPublication-Start?PublicationKey=HC3210532 (accessed on 20 August 2012)

4.2 The European Central Bank

4.2.1 The European Central Bank's status

The European Central Bank was established in 1998 and its headquarters is in Frankfurt, Germany. Its role is to maintain price stability and to implement and define the monetary policy in the euro zone⁹. Other tasks are to ensure the supervision of financial markets, to set the key interest rates for the euro zone, to control the money supply, to manage the foreign currency reserves of the euro zone, to issue euro banknotes and to monitor price trends.

In order to conduct its operations smoothly, the ECB has three decision-making bodies:

- The Executive Board, which consists of six members (one president, one vice-president and four other members), appointed for 8 years;
- The Governing Council, which comprises the Executive Board and the governors of the countries that adopted the euro;
- The General Council, which is made of the ECB president, the ECB vice-president and the governors of all Member States of the EU.

The ECB and the national central banks of the countries that have adopted the euro form the Eurosystem. There is a very close cooperation between the ECB and the Eurosystem. The ECB and the national central banks of all EU Member States form the European System of Central Banks (ESCB).

Before the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty (1 December 2009), the European Central Bank was not considered a European institution. At the beginning of 2010, the Europa website¹⁰ presented the following classification of EU institutions and other bodies:

- Institutions of the European Union: the European Parliament, the European Council, the European Commission, the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors;
- Consultative bodies: the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions;

⁹ The euro zone includes the countries that have adopted the euro (it is also called *euro area*).

¹⁰ http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/index_en.htm (accessed on 22 February 2010)

- **Financial bodies:** the European Investment Bank, the European Investment Fund and the **European Central Bank** (here and below – emphasis mine);
- Interinstitutional bodies: the Publications Office, the European Personnel Selection Office, the European Administrative School;
- Decentralised bodies (Agencies): Community agencies, Common foreign and security policy agencies, police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters agencies, executive agencies, EURATOM agencies and bodies (about 20 agencies);
- Other specialised bodies: the European Ombudsman, the European Data Protection Supervisor.

Thus, the European Central Bank was not initially among the European Union institutions. However, now the Europa website¹¹ presents a different classification of European Union institutions:

1. The European Council, which defines the general political direction of the EU and which became an institution after the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty;
2. Main institutions: the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the European Commission (on which the EU decision-making process is based and which generate the laws and policies that apply in the EU);
3. Two other institutions that play a vital role: the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Auditors;
4. **Other institutions and bodies that have specialised roles:** the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions, the European Investment Bank, **the European Central Bank**, the European Ombudsman, the European Data Protection Supervisor, the Publications Office, the European Personnel Selection Office, the European Administrative School;
5. Specialised agencies.

The European Central Bank remains an independent institution. The ECB enjoys political independence, as it cannot take instructions from any European Union institution or body. Scheller (2006: 123) states that: “In accordance with Article 108 of the EC Treaty, the ECB acts totally independently and on its own behalf within the limits of the powers assigned to it by the Treaty”. In order to achieve its primary objective, that of ensuring price stability, the ECB should not be influenced in any way. Moreover, an independent central bank is more

¹¹ http://europa.eu/institutions/inst/index_en.htm (accessed on 10 September 2012)

credible for the public. Scheller (2006: 124) mentions that the ECB enjoys several types of independence:

- Institutional independence: the ECB cannot seek or take instructions from any body (Community institutions, governments of Member States, etc.);
- Legal independence: the ECB has legal personality, including the right to bring actions before the European Court of Justice;
- Personal independence of the members of its decision-making bodies: the members of the Executive Board and the Governing Council have a long term of office and they can only be dismissed if they are unable to perform their duties or if they are guilty of serious misconduct;
- Functional and operational independence: the ECB has the exclusive right to conduct the monetary policy of the European Union and to issue euro banknotes; it also controls the official foreign reserve holdings of the euro area countries;
- Financial and organisational independence: the ECB has its own financial resources and enjoys organisational autonomy; it also has its own budget, independent of that of the EU, and its own recruitment system.

According to Peterson & Shackleton (2006: 178), the European Central Bank has certain distinct characteristics that “set it apart from the other institutions of the European Union” because it does not follow the same rules and regulations as the rest of the European Union institutions and it has its own rules regarding the hiring, promotion and firing of the personnel. The normal procedure to be able to work for the European Union institutions is to sit a series of tests organised by EPSO (European Personnel Selection Office), but the European Central Bank has its own system of testing and hiring people and jobs are advertised on its website.

Some researchers highlighted the similarities between the European Central Bank and the German Bundesbank. However, the ECB has its own institutional culture and identity. The European Central Bank is “a unique supranational organization” (Peterson & Shackleton, 2006: 185) and it is the most independent central bank in the world.

However, the Lisbon Treaty brings about some changes regarding the status of the European Central Bank. According to *Your Guide to the Lisbon Treaty* (2009: 6), “The Lisbon Treaty formalises the position of the European Central Bank by making it an institution of the European Union”. Thus, the European Central Bank gains the official status of a European

Union institution and the European Council can vote the presidents of the European Central Bank by qualified majority. Article 245a of the Lisbon Treaty states that:

The European Central Bank shall have legal personality. It alone may authorise the issue of the euro. It shall be independent in the exercise of its powers and in the management of its finances. Union institutions, bodies, offices and agencies and the governments of the Member States shall respect that independence.

However, according to Gloggnitzer (2008: 80), the changes in the Treaty of Lisbon will not affect the organisation and structure of the European Central Bank and the institution will function as before: “The status of the ECB as an EU institution does not affect the ECB’s or the ESCB’s structure, tasks, statutes or objectives”. The European Central Bank has always been an independent body and has not taken instructions from any other EU body, which will not change: “The Treaty of Lisbon does not question the personal, operational, financial and legal independence of the ECB, nor does it have any substantive effects on the functioning of the ESCB” (Gloggnitzer, 2008: 81).

Even if, until recently, the European Central Bank has been a less well-known institution, often criticised for its independence and lack of credibility and transparency (cf. Loedel, 2002), its influence has constantly increased and its role has become more prominent in the context of the economic and financial crisis. Moreover, the introduction of the euro strengthened the ECB’s influence in European politics. According to Verdun (2004: 97), “the launch of the third stage of the EMU¹² was a major, unprecedented development in the history of European integration”.

4.2.2 The linguistic regime of the European Central Bank

The European Union institutions are fully committed to multilingualism. The current language regime of the European Union institutions is fixed by Council Regulation No. 1/1958 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community, which has been amended every time a new country joined the European Union. It initially stated that “each of the four languages in which the Treaty is drafted is recognised as an official language in one or more of the Member States of the Community” and that “[t]he official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Community shall be

¹² EMU = Economic and Monetary Union. The third stage of this process was the introduction of the single currency.

Dutch, French, German and Italian”. Council Regulation No. 1 also stipulates that any member state or citizen can write to the European Union bodies in any of the official languages and has the right to receive an answer in the same language. Also, the treaties, regulations and other pieces of legislation, as well as the *Official Journal of the Community* (which is now the *Official Journal of the European Union*), have to be drafted in all the official languages.

The linguistic regime of the European Central Bank, too, respects this principle of multilingualism. Peterson & Shackleton (2006: 185) state that English is the *de facto* working language of the ECB because it is the global language of banking, whereas, for instance, at the European Commission, French still plays an important part.

According to Scheller (2006: 139), “[r]egulations and other legal acts with general applicability are published in all official languages. The same applies to statutory publications (e.g. Annual Reports, Monthly Bulletins) and a number of press releases.”

However, English is the most widely used language in drafting European Central Bank documents, as mentioned by Scheller (2006: 139):

For most other types of communication and, in particular, for the internal workings of the ECB and intra-ESCB relations, only one “vehicle language” – English – is used. Exceptions are the proceedings of the Governing and General Councils and the ESCB Committees, where simultaneous interpretation is provided in a number of languages. The use of a single vehicle language meets the need for speedy, effective and fully reliable communication within the ECB and the Eurosystem in the formulation and implementation of the single monetary policy and related tasks.

Even if the legislation has to be published in all the official languages of the European Union, as far as the other documents are concerned, the ECB can establish its own language rules. The languages in which a certain document has to be published also depend on the target audience. According to Athanassiou (2006: 24), “different language rules apply to the different kinds of ECB legislation, allowing for the use of one or more languages, depending on whether the addressees are the citizens of the EU or the more restricted group of experts of the ESCB”.

In fact, this distinction, between documents drafted for the experts and for the general public is not only valid for the European Central Bank, but also for the other European Union

institutions. In the case of international bodies a distinction is made between texts for internal use (texts that are used by politicians and negotiators among themselves), and those for external use (texts that are directed to the public at large).

Koskinen (2000) speaks of an “EU culture” and argues that some texts/genres originating in EU institutions develop EU culture-specific genre conventions, i.e. they are not in line with any culture specific conventions of individual languages/cultures.

Koskinen (2000: 86-87) divides documents translated in the European Union institutions into two categories:

- used for intracultural communication: intra and interinstitutional translation (within institutions, EU culture);
- used for intercultural communication: interadministrative and for the general public (between EU culture – national cultures).

Yankova (2008: 135) classifies the texts that are translated into all the official languages into the following groups:

- documents that are essential in the final stages of the decision-making process;
- all texts that are for adoption by the Council;
- documents that are of general interest for the citizens of the Member States.

There are two different types of ECB legislation. The first of these are ECB legal acts, also addressed to third parties outside the Eurosystem (ECB regulations, decisions, recommendations and opinions). In addition, the ECB can adopt ECB legal instruments which are of internal relevance to the Eurosystem without affecting the position of third parties. These legal instruments are ECB guidelines, instructions and internal decisions (Athanassiou, 2006: 24).

In accordance with the provisions of the Rules of Procedure of the European Central Bank, the documents adopted and published by the ECB can be classified in the following groups: legal acts, legal instruments, internal administration and external communication (Athanassiou, 2006: 25-27).

- Legal acts:

They are adopted and published according to the Council Regulation No. 1. In this respect, Article 17.8 of the Rules of Procedure of the European Central Bank provides that:

17.7. ... The Executive Board shall take steps to ensure the ... publication in all the official languages of the EU in the Official Journal in the case of ECB Regulations, ECB Opinions on draft Community legislation and those ECB legal instruments whose publication has been expressly decided.

17.8. The principles of Council Regulation (EC) No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community of 15 April 1958 shall apply to the legal acts specified in Article 34 of the Statute.

Thus, ECB regulations must be adopted and published in the Official Journal in all the official languages of the EU. ECB decisions, recommendations and opinions do not have to be adopted in all official languages, unless they are to be published in the Official Journal. ECB opinions on national draft legislative provisions are adopted both in the language of the national consulting authority and in English. ECB recommendations for Community legislation in the ECB's fields of competence as well as ECB opinions on draft Community legislation are adopted and published in the Official Journal in all the official languages of the EU.

-Legal instruments:

The ECB may also adopt guidelines and instructions. These are legal instruments which are of internal relevance to the Eurosystem and have no direct legal effect upon third parties. The formal requirements for the adoption of ECB Guidelines and ECB Instructions are laid down in Articles 17.2 and 17.6 of the Rules of Procedure. There is, in principle, no obligation under Community law to publish ECB guidelines or instructions. However, those ECB guidelines and instructions that are to be published in the Official Journal also have to be translated into the other official languages of the European Union.

- External communication:

For the purposes of its external communication, the ECB operates a differentiated language regime, using some or all of the official languages of the EU, depending on the circumstances of each individual case. It is possible to distinguish between:

1. the ECB's communication:

- a. within the Eurosystem/ESCB (carried out in English, although interpretation facilities are provided when needed in committee and governors' meetings) – this would correspond to Koskinen's "intracultural translation", within the EU institutions (Koskinen, 2000: 86-87);
 - b. with other national authorities and bodies (carried out in their respective languages);
 - c. with EU citizens (similarly carried out in their respective languages); which would correspond to Koskinen's "intercultural translation", between the EU culture and the national culture (Koskinen, 2000: 86-87);
2. the operational interaction of the ECB with the global financial markets, which tends to be carried out in English, as this is the language most commonly used in international finance;
 3. the ECB's website, which is predominantly English-based, but plurilingual in what concerns the documents drafted in several or all the other official languages of the EU. For some new languages (e.g. Romanian), the website is only partially translated, some parts being in English. Depending on the needs and the purpose of the document, some texts are only in English and others are translated into all or only into some languages;
 4. the ECB's official reporting documents (e.g. Annual Report, Convergence Report, Monthly Bulletin), which are published in the official languages of the Community. Full multilingualism is ensured depending on the ECB's business and/or external communication needs, by way of linguistic resources covering all official languages.

As stated on the ECB's website¹³, the ECB has to publish such official documents because of its reporting obligations (stipulated in various pieces of EU law). According to Article 113.3 of the Treaty, "The ECB shall address an annual report on the activities of the ESCB and on the monetary policy of both the previous and current year to the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission, and also to the European Council". Article 15 mentions the ECB's "reporting commitments": The ECB has to publish reports on its activities at least quarterly – it does so on a monthly basis (Monthly Bulletin). The ECB also produces an Annual Report, presented to the European Parliament, and Convergence Reports (which mention the progress made by the Member States outside the euro area towards achieving the criteria for adopting the euro). Many of the publications are translated into all official EU languages.

¹³ <http://www.ecb.int/pub/intro/html/index.en.html> (accessed on 8 June 2011)

The Monthly Bulletin

The Monthly Bulletin contains policy decisions. It describes and analyses in detail the current economic situation and risks to price stability. An important part of the Monthly Bulletin is the editorial, which summarises the Governing Council's assessment of present data.

The Monthly Bulletin contains the following chapters:

- The external environment of the euro area;
- Monetary and financial developments;
- Prices and costs;
- Output, demand and the labour market;
- ECB staff macroeconomics projections for the euro area (in the March and September issues);
- Eurosystem staff macroeconomics projections for the euro area (in the June and December issues);
- Fiscal developments (in the March, June, September and December issues);
- Exchange rate and balance of payments developments;
- Articles on related topics (except in the March, June, September and December issues).

The Annual Report

This publication describes the activities of the ESCB and reports on monetary policy. The Annual Report usually contains eight chapters:

- Economic developments and monetary policy;
- Central bank operations and activities;
- Financial stability and integration;
- European and international issues;
- Accountability;
- External communication;
- Enlargement of the European Union;
- Institutional framework, organisational and annual accounts;
- Annexes.

Other publications

The ECB also publishes Convergence Reports, according to EU legislation, because it has to report “on the progress made in the fulfilment by the Member States of their obligations regarding the achievement of economic and monetary union”¹⁴. It also publishes a Statistics Pocket Book every month, a document containing selected macroeconomic indicators for the individual Member States of the European Union, as well as comparisons between the euro area, the United States and Japan. The ECB also drafts and publishes economic research papers: the *Working Paper Series* and an *Occasional Paper Series*, which comprise findings in the field of monetary and general economic research. Beside the specialised publications, drafted because of reporting/legal obligations, whose target audience are the EU institutions or the experts, the ECB also engages in communication activities: it published brochures and other information material (for the general public, e.g. on the history of the euro or the history of the ECB). The ECB also drafts and publishes press releases, press conferences, public speeches and interviews, in order to make its activities known to the public.

Thus, the language regime of the European Central Bank complies with the relevant Community law principles, while at the same time enabling it to pursue its tasks, whether these relate to the exercise of its regulatory powers, to its communication with the outside world or to the organisation of its internal administration. From this point of view, the ECB’s language regime seems more flexible than that of the other EU institutions.

A careful distinction should be made between legal documents and other types of documents. At the ECB, the former category would include legal acts and legal instruments. Despite the fact that when it comes to EU legislation, the documents are called “language versions” and not “translations”, in the Rules of procedure of the ECB the term “translation” is mentioned: “Any ECB Guideline that is to be officially published shall be translated into the official languages of the European Communities” and “Any ECB Instruction that is to be officially published shall be translated into the official languages of the European Communities”.

Thus, at the ECB a distinction should be made between legal acts (that need to be published in all official languages and are equally authentic) and the external communication of the European Central Bank (which has no legal force). This is why the European Central Bank has two translation departments. In the Language Services, translators translate the ECB’s

¹⁴ <http://www.ecb.int/pub/convergence/html/index.en.html> (accessed on 20 June 2011)

external communication, which can be highly specialised (on economic and financial matters), but has no legal force. These can be documents related to ECB's compulsory reporting obligations (e.g. the Monthly Bulletin), press releases or informative documents for the general public. On the other hand, the Lawyer-linguists (Juristes-linguistes) department comprises translators with a legal background (they need to have obtained a degree in law in their respective countries), who translate legal acts (regulations, decisions) that will be equally authoritative in all language versions.

It must be noted beforehand that in the present thesis only non-legal documents will be analysed. The corpus of texts contains texts for both general and specialised public: Monthly Bulletins, annual reports, editorials, brochures, etc. (more information about the corpus of texts is provided in Chapter 3). The criteria on selecting the texts for the corpus can also be found in Chapter 3.

4.2.3 Organisation of the European Central Bank's translation service

The ECB comprises 15 directorates-general: Administration, Banknotes, Communications, Economics, Financial stability, HR, Budget and Organisation, Information Systems, Internal audit, International and European Relations, Legal Services, Market Operations, Payments and Market Infrastructure, Research, Secretariat and Language Services and Statistics. The directorate-general for Secretariat and Language Services has three divisions: Language Services, Secretariat and Archives, Library and Records.

The Language Services division is the translation department of the ECB. It is a small department and comprises translation, terminology, editing and other linguistic services. It is interesting to notice that it is not called *Translation department* (the label *translation* is not used in the name of the service), possibly because it is very small (compared to DGT in the European Commission) and it also includes other tasks such as terminology, editing, which are not separate from the translation department, like in other institutions. The tasks of the Language Services division are to facilitate ECB's communication process, in view of its reporting obligations outlined in section 4.2.1. The ECB has to publish certain specialised documents on a regular basis and it also has to communicate with the external world, via the website and other information materials.

The Language Services division is organised according to groups of languages: Germanic and Finno-Ugric Languages, Romance and Mediterranean Languages, Slavonic and Baltic Languages and the English Translation and Editing team. Each language team has at least two full-time translators, as well as freelancers and/or trainees, except the English team, which comprises more translators, as they also have editing tasks. Beside translators, there are also terminologists and language assistants.

At the ECB, all translators work with a central translation memory tool. This is useful especially in case of repetitive and urgent documents, where only a few words need to be changed; another reason for using the translation memory is that the documents have to correspond with the ones published a week/month before, in order to ensure consistency. As Koskinen (2011: 5-6) states, “translators’ memory tools are thus one form of institutional memory”. At the ECB the use of translation memory tools is prescribed and becomes part of the institutional translation process. Sometimes, translators may receive a document to translate and then, after a few days (or months), an amended version of the same document may be drafted, comprising elements which are corrected, changed or added. It is important to ensure the coherence and consistency of the documents and this can be done by assigning the amended version to the same translator. This is why the translation memory is a very useful tool, as it stores previous translations and ensures the consistency of the terms. However, sometimes there can be slight changes to certain documents and the translator has to pay attention to what he/she gets from the translation memory.

The documents to translate and the instructions are sent to the translators by the assistants. They often provide reference documents and other useful information. If an original document is not clear enough, the translators may contact the service/person that originally drafted the text and address questions, which can increase translators’ visibility and agency. For example, in the course of the research for this thesis it was found that, in a document translated at the European Central Bank regarding the economic crisis, the translators added questions and comments and sent it back to the persons that produced the text. They received it back with their questions answered, which clarified some aspects and facilitated the translation process. In case of misunderstandings and/or unclear aspects, an inaccurate translation can be avoided by contacting the person who drafted the original.

Referring to the language in which documents have to be translated, legal acts and official reporting documents (annual report, Monthly Bulletin), have to be generally translated into all

official languages of the EU. In case of the external communication, documents may be translated only into some languages, depending on their purpose. Sometimes, for specific events (e.g. cultural days), materials are translated only into/from one specific language. All language groups work in collaboration with their respective National Bank and translators often go on work visits to the National Bank.

The next sub-section presents the way the Romanian translation department is organised, the main types of documents translated and the procedures that have to be followed.

4.2.4 The process of translating into Romanian at the European Central Bank

The Romanian translation department is part of the Romance and Mediterranean Languages group, together with Greek, French, Italian, Maltese, Portuguese and Spanish. The procedures and practices are mainly the same in all individual departments. Official documents have to be translated into all official languages. Some documents are translated only into some languages, depending, for instance, if the respective country is in the euro area or not.

There is a close relationship between the National Bank of Romania and the ECB in the translation process, as the translators from the two banks collaborate directly. The division of responsibilities between the ECB and the National Bank arising from the principle of multilingualism is not subject to regulations, but is done under a *gentlemen's agreement* (according to the information provided by a representative of the National Bank, in an exchange of e-mail messages). Under this agreement, the National Bank of Romania has the responsibility of producing the Romanian version of the ECB's statutory publications: the Annual Report, the Convergence Report, the quarterly editions of the Monthly Bulletin. In case of these documents, the involvement of the ECB's translators is limited and the final form of the texts is agreed by the National Bank of Romania.

The ECB translators produce the Romanian version of the confidential or sensitive sections of statutory and non-statutory publications and communication documents. The same rule applies to materials with a very tight deadline, which would pose problems for the organisation of the National Bank. When it comes to the non-regular editions of the Convergence Report and the general documentation on the tools and procedures of the Eurosystem's monetary policy and the non-recurring material, the decision on the division of

labour between the teams of translators of the ECB and the National Bank are taken *ad hoc*, depending on the size of the text and the deadlines set.

The legal documents are translated from English into the official languages of the EU by the Lawyer-linguists of the ECB, according to an ECB Governing Council decision. The ECB Monthly Bulletin is translated almost entirely by the translators of the National Bank (occasionally a translator from the ECB joins the team – to exchange experience and to strengthen the ties – and is involved in translating a chapter of the bulletin).

For the translation of the Annual Report, there is a *work-sharing agreement* between the National Bank and the ECB, but most sections are translated by the National Bank.

The translators working at the National Bank have linguistic training, but their management team consists of economists. The advantage of the direct collaboration between the two banks in the translation process is that translators have, in turn, direct access to economists and other experts from the National Bank, whom they can turn to in case of difficulties arising in the process of checking translations or terminological lists. In exceptional cases the ECB translators can directly contact the experts.

Some documents translated at the ECB are revised by the translators of the National Bank and the latter often have a say regarding the final version of the documents. However, the present thesis only focuses on in-house ECB practices and resulting texts. Despite this fact, such cooperation and the revision process are also worth investigating, because the practices and terminology may differ in the two institutions, which can have an impact on the development of terminology in Romanian.

Since Romania is not part of the euro area yet, the Monthly Bulletin is not translated into Romanian every month, but only in March, June, September and December (in collaboration with the National Bank of Romania). For the other months, only the Editorial is translated (which is only a small part of the Monthly Bulletin, comprising only 4-5 pages).

For the purposes of this research, some editions of the Monthly Bulletin, the Editorial and informational brochures were selected for analysis. For a detailed presentation of the corpus, see Chapter 3.

4.2.5 The types of texts translated into Romanian and the procedures to be followed

In this section institutional procedures and rules are outlined in detail in order to a) illustrate the institutionalised nature of translation at the ECB; b) outline how translators collaborate and how tasks are shared; c) present the rules of the translation process – not only in terms of respecting deadlines and performing certain actions only at specific times, but also in terms of actually translating texts. The data included in the present section has been gathered by observation in the institution in question (the ECB), by talking to professionals working there and by analysing documents describing the practices and procedures.

In the Romanian team, there are usually two to four translators: one permanent staff plus one or two temporary staff (one expert from the National Central Bank and/or a trainee and/or a freelance translator). The translators always engage in close collaboration and all documents are revised. According to the type of text, some are revised by economists from the ECB, others by translators from the National Central Bank and others just internally by another translator of the same mother tongue. Having such a small team implies a high degree of shared knowledge and uniformity when it comes to carrying out the work. However, since only one employee is permanent and the others change all the time, the consistency as regards the translation process may also be reduced.

Mainly, all official publications of the ECB are translated, totally or partially: *The Weekly Financial Statement*, *The Monthly Bulletin*, *The Annual Report*, *The Convergence Report*, the monetary policy decisions and other decisions, press releases, texts for the website. The documents to be translated are received by e-mail from the assistants, who are also the contact persons in case of doubts/questions. The assistants can also contact the drafters of the documents to ask questions, clarify things, etc.

Documents are translated with Trados Translators' Workbench¹⁵ or Tag Editor¹⁶ (in case of texts for the website). Sometimes, for certain types of documents (press releases), the LegisWrite¹⁷ application is used. Sometimes texts are aligned using WinAlign¹⁸. The translator

¹⁵ Trados Translators' Workbench is a computer-assisted translation software that contains a translation memory, storing previous translations and showing previously translated segments, in order to help translators translate more quickly and ensure consistency of terminology.

¹⁶ Tag Editor is a computer-assisted translation software that has the same function as Translators' Workbench; it is mostly used for translating websites.

¹⁷ LegisWrite is an application used for legal/official documents.

¹⁸ WinAlign is an application used for aligning translations.

can also carry out terminology work and feed terms into the MultiTerm¹⁹ application. Unlike in other EU institutions, the MultiTerm database of terms is consistently used and opens automatically when opening Trados Translator's Workbench and suggests terms during the translation process.

Moreover, according to the institutional constraints, if the text they have to translate contains a quotation from an article of a piece of EU legislation, translators should not translate themselves that quotation, but they have to keep the previous version, even if sometimes the previous translation might not be the best one. Especially for Romanian, which is a rather new language in the EU, sometimes translations of official EU documents were not very consistent or coherent in the beginning, and the first translations contained inappropriate terms. Some changes have been made to the poor translations, but most of them have been preserved. Regarding conventions, there are other fixed formulas that can only be translated in a certain way (especially names of documents or the way a document begins/ends).

In the course of the research it has been found that the *skopos* (or purpose of translation, cf. Vermeer, 1996) is important, since in case of documents targeted at the specialised public, stricter and more complex procedures are in place. The types of documents translated at the ECB and the procedures to be followed in case of each of them are presented below:

Weekly Financial Statement

It is a document translated on a weekly basis. The Draft is received on Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning. The text is translated with Trados; the assistants may send possible changes to the original. The translation is revised by a colleague of the same mother tongue.

Press release on monetary policy decisions

It is translated on a monthly basis. The final English text is received on the first Thursday of the month (at about 13.00). This is an urgent translation, as it has to be finished by 14.00. It is a short and repetitive text. The translation is revised by a colleague of the same mother tongue.

Editorial (part of the Monthly Bulletin)

It is translated on a monthly basis. The Draft is received on the first Thursday of the month (after 15.00). The translator also receives the names of the economists of the ECB that will

¹⁹ MultiTerm is used for terminology management; it is a glossary of terms.

revise the translations (they will especially check the terminology and the specific phrases from an economic point of view). The text is translated with Trados. On Friday, the assistants create a file where translators can ask questions or make comments addressed to the authors of the text. The translation has to be finished by Monday. The translation is revised by a colleague of the same mother tongue. On Monday afternoon, the assistants send the answers to the questions addressed to the drafters of the texts, as well as the possible changes brought to the English original. The changes are made in the Romanian version. The translation, together with the latest version of the English original, is sent before the end of the day to the economist of the ECB designated to check the Romanian translation from an economic point of view. The deadline for revision is Tuesday, 12.00. The suggestions received from the economist are accepted, partially or totally. The assistants have to confirm that the English version is the final one. The Romanian translation, together with the latest version of the English original, is sent for revision to the translators of the National Bank. The deadline is Wednesday, 12.00. The suggestions received are accepted, partially or totally. If there are objections to the suggestions received, the contact persons from the National Bank should be contacted immediately, in order to reach an agreement, having in view the fact that, eventually, the translation will be published on the websites of the ECB and of the National Bank. The formatting of the text is checked once again against the English original.

Projections (part of the Monthly Bulletin)

They are translated quarterly. The text is received on the first Thursday of March, June, September and December or on Friday morning. The procedures are the same as in case of the Editorial: after having been revised by an ECB translator of the same mother tongue, the translation is sent for revision first to an economist within the ECB and then to a translator of the National Bank. Questions or comments can also be addressed to the drafters of the text. An agreement has to be reached with the translators of the National Bank regarding the final version of the translation.

Other decisions

They are translated on a monthly basis. The Draft is generally received on the third Monday of the month. The drafters of the text can be contacted in case of questions or comments. The text is translated with Trados. For the titles of documents mentioned in the text, the translation is taken from the ECB website (especially for legal documents). The titles which have not yet been translated into Romanian are not translated by the translators, but instead are sent to the lawyer-linguists, who propose a translation. The translation is revised by a

colleague of the same mother tongue. Generally, the translation has to be submitted on Friday.

Annual Report

It is translated annually. The original can be undergo several amendments. The translation is done with Trados and the completed translation will be aligned with WinAlign. The consistency of terms has to be ensured, having in view the fact that some chapters are translated by the ECB and some by the National Bank. The translations have to be checked by the translators of the National Bank. The whole document is proofread at the National Bank, so there is a permanent communication between the translators from the two banks.

Annual Accounts (part of the Annual Report)

They are translated annually. The Draft is received around 10 February and the deadline is 1 March. *The Annual Accounts* comprise five documents: *Main text, Profit Distribution Note, Management Report, Press Release, Auditor's Opinion*. The texts are translated with Trados. The authors of the original can be contacted in case of questions. The translation is revised by a colleague of the same mother tongue and then it is sent to the National Bank for revision. An agreement has to be reached on the suggestions proposed by the National Bank translators.

Convergence Report

It is published every two years. Only the first four chapters are translated. Each language unit translates the chapters allocated to it in accordance with the *Work-sharing agreement* concluded with the respective national central bank or according to the options expressed by the National Bank before launching the translation project. Until now, the Romanian unit was little involved in the translation of this text.

Texts for the website

They are usually translated with Trados TagEditor. Careful attention needs to be paid to the original tags – especially in texts about commemorative coins: if the tag in the Romanian version is not correct, a wrong image of the coin will appear on the website. The translations are revised internally.

Beside translation, the ECB translators also have other tasks, such as alignments and terminology work, which are described below.

Alignments

Sometimes Romanian texts are aligned to the English versions using the application WinAlign. Translators have to check if the segments are correctly aligned (if not, they have to be joined or split).

Adding terms to Multiterm

The Terminology and Language Technology unit send some lists of terms (in English), created by volunteer translators of the ECB, who extract relevant terms from recently translated texts. The lists are checked by experts in the field. The English terms are also validated by the Terminology and Language Technology unit and then they are sent to translators, who add the terms in each language in MultiTerm. The Romanian term is first searched in the translation memory, using the option “Concordance”. The term that appears in the most recent translations, or the one that is used more often, especially in official publications, is preferred. If no term can be found in the translation memory, the translator can propose an equivalent or can look for a term on the National Bank’s website or in other sources. In the “Context” field, the translator has to insert the most relevant context identified with the option “Concordance” in the translation memory, on the ECB’s or National Bank’s website or in other sources. The ECB’s official publications are preferred. If it exists in Romanian, the same context as in English should be inserted. In the “Comments” field, remarks can be added (e.g. about the spelling or usage of a certain word). Other fields such as “Gender”, “Part of speech” or “Definition” can also be added, as well as synonyms of the term. The terminology lists can be sent for revision to the National Bank. After having received and introduced the suggestions from the National Bank, in the “Comments” field it can be mentioned that the Romanian term was checked and validated by the translators from the National Bank (the name of the expert and the date). Since MultiTerm opens automatically and is used together with Trados Translator’s Workbench, it is very important that it contains accurate and validated terms. Moreover, this can also have consequences for metaphor translation, since translators normally use what they find in the memory, including in case of metaphors.

As seen above, the translation process at the ECB is governed by certain rules and procedures that have to be followed in order to ensure consistency and accuracy, in view of the fact that many documents will become official publications and/or will be published on the website (and some also on the National Bank’s website). Moreover, many important political

decisions shall be taken on the basis of these documents. The way terminology works in institutional translation and how terms are selected and validated is particularly important: the terms that appear in the most recent translations and in official publications are preferred, which denotes that terminology evolves in time.

4.2.6 Stylistic guides used for translating documents at the European Central Bank

The European Union institutions are a very complex and particular setting and each translation department is different, corresponding to the specific profile of the European Union institution concerned. Since translation is an institutionalised process, translators have to adhere to a set of dispositions, structures that organise practices, which form the translator's *habitus* (see section 2.1.3) and can reduce the translator's agency, creativity and power. These specific rules to be followed are included in *The Interinstitutional Style Guide* and the Style Guide specific to the institution, to which a style guide for the specific language is added.

The only stylistic guide specific to the European Central Bank is the *ECB English Style Guide – Guide to the stylistic conventions used in English language texts produced by the ECB*. Moreover, as mentioned before, translators work with a translation memory and with a glossary of terms and translate in accordance with previously translated texts, in order to ensure the consistency of the terminology.

For the Romanian language, there is no specific guide for the ECB documents; instead, translators working at the ECB have at their disposal other style guides, which are also used in the other EU institutions: the Interinstitutional Style Guide and the *Ghid stilistic de traducere în limba română pentru uzul traducătorilor acquis-ului comunitar (Stylistic Guide for the Romanian translators of the acquis communautaire)*.

The English Style Guide of the ECB

The *English Style Guide of the ECB* is of a rather prescriptive nature, containing formulations such as “should be”, “must be”, “always write”, “do not”, as illustrated by the following extracts:

Quotation marks **are put** at the beginning and end of the whole passage quoted but not at the beginning of each new paragraph in it.

Where there are more than three digits in a whole number or before a decimal point, **use** commas.

Words normally separated **may** be joined by a hyphen when used adjectivally. This, though **desirable** in a number of common expressions, **should not** be carried to excess. In some cases the hyphen is necessary in order to avoid ambiguity, e.g. brown-coal miner.

Do not put a hyphen between a word beginning with a capital and one beginning with a small letter, or between the various words of a Latin expression, as the association between them in these cases is perfectly clear.

However, despite being rather comprehensive, it does not mention anything specifically about metaphors.

The Interinstitutional Style Guide

The *Interinstitutional Style Guide*, published in all 23 official languages of the EU, aims at linguistic harmonisation. As stated on the website, “[i]t is intended to serve as a reference tool for written works for all European Union institutions, bodies and organisations”.²⁰

Part One assembles the rules for strict application in editing the acts published in the Official Journal, while Part Two outlines the main technical and editorial norms for general publications. The unique working conventions for all languages are indicated in Part Three of the guide and Part Four contains individual language rules. The guide should contribute to enhancing the harmonisation process between all languages and all institutions. The uniform conventions retained in the guide prevail over any other solutions proposed elsewhere or used previously; they must be applied at all stages of the written work.

Part Four of the *Interinstitutional Style Guide* for the Romanian language contains rules and conventions specific to Romanian. It has several parts: punctuation, writing in capital and small letters, spelling of derivate words and compounds, the numeral, writing in italics, morphology and syntax.

Sometimes the word “is compulsory” is used to indicate specific rules:

Acronimele se scriu cu toate literele majuscule atunci când sunt formate din inițialele cuvintelor care compun denumirea sau sintagma abreviată. (‘Acronyms are written in

²⁰ <http://publications.europa.eu/code/en/en-000900.htm> (accessed on 22 March 2011)

capital letters when they comprise the initials of the words that make up the name or the collocation²¹).

Este obligatorie folosirea virgulei în fața conjuncțiilor adversative dar, iar, ci, însă. ('It is compulsory to use the comma in front of adversative conjunctions *dar, iar, ci, însă*').

Sometimes it is phrased like a recommendation or guide, as "attention should be paid to" is used:

În general, în actele oficiale, se va acorda atenție realizării acordului între subiect și predicat și atunci când predicatul este antepus subiectului. ('In general, in official documents, the agreement between the subject and the verb should be made, also when the verb stands before the subject').

The Stylistic Guide for the Romanian translators of the *acquis communautaire*

*The Stylistic Guide for the Romanian translators of the *acquis communautaire**²² aims at ensuring an accurate translation, consistent from a stylistic and terminological point of view. It was designed by the European Institute of Romania, an institution that coordinated the Romanian translation of the community *acquis* when Romania joined the European Union in 2007. This guide contains specific conventions, as well as generally applicable principles for translating and revising legal texts and the case-law.

The Stylistic Guide has three parts: the first one briefly presents the European Union institutions and key concepts; the second part contains a presentation of community documents and their structure and the third part deals with some aspects of the Romanian language that are relevant in the process of translating the *acquis communautaire*, as well as outlines some translation conventions in order to ensure terminological and stylistic consistency. The annexes comprise lists of European Union treaties and institutions, common abbreviations and standard linguistic structures, as well as templates of community documents. The guide also gives examples of texts, with specific emphasis on the case-law of the European Court of Justice. It often has tables with the specific standardised phrase in English and its translation into Romanian, French and German. The authors intend to suggest solutions for translating concepts with no equivalent in the Romanian language, reflecting the EU realities, as well as new meanings. It is intended as a guide for all those interested in European integration in general and in the community *acquis* in particular.

²¹ Translation mine.

²² *Acquis communautaire* refers to all the common rights and obligations applicable to all the member states. (*Stylistic Guide for the Romanian translators of the *acquis communautaire**, p.10).

The third part comprises several sections: punctuation, spelling, abbreviations, morphology, syntax and conventions specific to the Romanian language (translating official names, dates and figures, translation of the parts of EU legal documents).

One can notice the frequent use of “must not”, “should not”:

Subiectul **nu** se desparte prin virgulă de predicat. ('The subject and the verb must not be separated by a comma')

Termenul *Constituție* se scrie întotdeauna cu majusculă. ('The term *Constitution* is always capitalised').

The translators at the European Central Bank have to follow the ECB Style Guide and the Interinstitutional Style Guide. *The Stylistic Guide for the Romanian translators of the acquis communautaire* is mostly used for legal documents, especially by the European Commission. However, through interinstitutional collaboration and meetings organised regularly, the aim is to harmonise the terminology among all European Union institutions. The Style Guide aims at ensuring language quality by the adherence to linguistic standards and norms; however, the specific context of the supranational institution and the need to harmonise across languages and conventions has led to specific features of texts produced within such supranational contexts.

As discussed in this section, the translation process, as it takes place in a specific institution, is constrained by regulations, according to the particular field and role of the respective institution. These style guides and regulations have an impact on the translators' agency because translators have to strictly adhere to them, which limits their creativity and imposes a certain way of translating in the institution. On the one hand, style guides and other tools for assisting translation help translators in their task and are nowadays seen as an indispensable part of the translation process (especially the translation memory); on the other hand, all these regulations and tools have a prescriptive nature, since translators are bound by them and are not free to opt for a certain translation. Some features of translating in the EU institutions will be analysed in the section below.

4.3 Translating in the European Union institutions

In this section some particular aspects of EU translation, language and textual features will be further discussed, as it is important to understand the general context of the EU institutions, their translation process and the types of texts they translate. Most of these features also apply to the European Central Bank context and to the documents that are analysed in the present thesis.

Scholars have researched the EU institutions not only in terms of translation, but also in terms of its languages and texts produced. The language development in the EU institutions and the supranational context have also been an object of research. The scholars who focused on these aspects include Goffin (1994); Koskinen (2008); Phillipson (2003); Šarčević (2001); Tamsin (2003); Trosborg (1997); Wagner et al. (2002); Yankova (2008); Yves (2004), and some of their ideas will be outlined below.

4.3.1 Translating European Union texts

The language used in the European Union institutions has been referred to using many names. Some people call it simply “EU language”. Other scholars have referred to it as “supranational EU language” (Schäffner, 2001), “Eurospeak” (Wagner et al, 2002) or “EU jargon” (Koskinen, 2008).

Schäffner, Musolff & Townson (1996) write about “Eurospeak”, the jargon that is highly specialised and has certain features that arguably make it into a new specialised language. These features include, first of all, a large number of metaphors (Musolff, 2000; 2001) and unusual collocations, which have become specialised terms. The most prominent example of the latter is the term “Member State”. It is a collocation that can be found almost exclusively in the discourse on international organisations and an unusual one in conventional, everyday language.

Trosborg (1997: 153) gives the following definition to the language in which texts in the European Union institutions are drafted: “specific language of the Eurocrats for the purpose of document drafting and community negotiations”. She argues that this “euro-jargon” is blurred, complicated and hard to understand.

Phillipson (2003: 101) argues that Eurotexts are a “Eurobabble that only diplomats and lawyers read”. Here, the term “Eurobabble” denotes a specialised, cryptical, confusing, “impenetrable” language that only initiated people can understand. Referring to the fact that most texts originate in either English or French, the same author refers to the “euro-speak, franglais or frenglish”, alluding to the English and French terms used everywhere (Phillipson, 2003: 127).

Tosi (2005: 385) states that among the issues of European Union texts are “lexical vagueness and weak logical connections”. According to Yankova (2008: 134), these features “spread a sense of mechanistic virtuality that makes the voice of Europe sound awkward, abstract and completely distant from any language spoken in everyday life. The result is that non-standard syntactic structures become acceptable forms of language use”.

In this thesis, the terms “European Union texts”, “European Union documents” or “EU texts” will be used to refer to the documents drafted and translated within any European Union institution (the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Council, the European Central Bank). Muntigl et al. (2000: 66) mention that “Eurotexts” are “the documents generated in the EU’s multicultural, multilingual environment”.

Trosborg (1997: 51) mentions some features of European Union texts which reduce their readability:

- complex sentence structure;
- complex noun phrases;
- overuse of abstract nouns;
- extensive overnominalisation;
- reduced vocabulary;
- meanings that tend to be universal;
- reduced inventory of grammatical forms.

Koskinen (2008: 134) speaks of an “EU jargon”, characterized by the following traits: a) heavy style; b) long sentences; c) specialised bureaucratic vocabulary; d) neologisms.

All the features above point to the fact that EU documents are difficult to read, to understand, and consequently – difficult to translate. Moreover, the fact that all language versions are

equally valid also poses certain challenges – particularly regarding the ideological aspect, as discussed in the theoretical framework. Returning to the notion of metaphor and its ideological potential in institutional documents, it is important that the translator is aware of the linguistic choices he/she makes.

What EU translators are translating will become part of the national law. The target audience has to be considered during the process of translation. There is a considerable difference between texts for informational purposes and documents which will become legally binding. In the legal field, as well as in other fields, translations are not regarded as translations, but as authentic, independent texts. Thus, some of the factors that can determine the way translation is carried out are: the nature of the text, its intended goals, the type of audience it is addressed to, its impact and the context in which it will be used.

Šarčević (2001) argues that the translation of the *acquis communautaire* is a very complicated task and it should always be followed by a linguistic, terminological and legal revision. Coherence and consistency are very important because the *acquis* has several dimensions: social, economic, legal, cultural and provides a country with the legal tools for joining the European Union. In order to produce coherent, consistent and well-documented translations, the translators need to have access to appropriate terminology, reference documents, and they have to be able to re-use previously translated texts (according to Šarčević, 2001: 37). Translators at the ECB have all these tools at their disposal; however, while they are very useful translation aids, they can also hinder translators' freedom and creativity.

Wagner (2001b: 73) also mentions some important aspects that need to be taken into account when translating the *acquis*, especially into the language of a new country joining the European Union:

- the need for careful recruitment of translators;
- maximum use of translation aids;
- national contacts (specialists);
- a positive attitude to revision.

At the ECB, in case of both legal and non-legal documents, the use of translation aids, the collaboration with national contacts and the revision process are essential aspects, compulsory for almost each translated document.

Ensuring consistency, both within a text, as well as between texts, is also very important at the ECB. According to Weenink-Griffiths (2005: 11), in order to ensure the consistency of the translated texts, the following important points should be taken into consideration:

- a word in a text has the same meaning throughout;
- conventions, such as the rules set out in style guides, are followed;
- there is consistency between all language versions.

One of the complex aspects of European Union translation regards the type and genre of the texts translated. It has been argued that European Union documents are “hybrid texts”, a combination between a supranational discourse and a national discourse. As there are several languages and cultures involved in the drafting process, the resulting text might be a hybrid (Schäffner, 1997).

Trosborg (1997: 150) argues that such texts are a result of “internationalisation processes” and contain “a specific language involving coinage of new concepts as well as of new terms”. They are hybrid texts because in their drafting, there has been negotiation between several languages and cultures: “a pseudo-text arrived at as a compromise between several languages and cultures” (Trosborg, 1997: 150). However, these texts have their own norms and they could be accepted in the target culture as new types of texts.

Some scholars have advanced the idea that in the context of European Union institutions we are dealing with a new type of text, reflecting a “pan-European discourse” (Musolff & Schäffner, 1996). This argument is supported by the idea that such texts have their own conventions, independent of the national ones. Thus, we could say that directives, decisions and regulations are, indeed, a text type of their own. The differences between national and EU terminology are another aspect that can pose challenges to translators.

It is important to be able to distinguish a certain text type or genre, as each of them has certain conventions and sometimes the conventions of the target text differ from those of the

source text. Nord (1997) states that norms and conventions play a very important role in text production and reception, as the readers of the target text have certain expectations.

Šarčević (2001: 85) argues that the most important criteria for creating EU terms are translatability and transparency. Likewise, terminological consistency has to be ensured, as translators should not use different terms to express the same concept (as it has often been the case for the translation of the *acquis* into Romanian immediately after the country's accession to the EU): "The problem of terminological inconsistency is particularly acute during the initial stage when EU terms are in the process of formation" (Šarčević, 2001: 87). Standardisation is an important feature of EU terminology, as it guarantees "reliability". The aspect of terminological inconsistency will be further discussed in Chapter 5, which contains a classification of the most frequent translation strategies for translating metaphors in the corpus of texts from the European Central Bank.

4.3.2 Features of source texts

Another significant aspect related to the documents translated in the EU institutions is what the source text is and how it can be identified as such. In the European Union institutions, original texts are usually drafted by a process of multilingual negotiation. The drafting language is usually English or French and texts are often drafted by non-native speakers, which may have implications for the translation process. At the ECB, the drafting language (with few exceptions, in case of documents for specific purposes) is English and the documents can be produced by people whose mother tongue is not English. If the original text is not clear, translators may ask for clarifications, by contacting the drafter.

A specific feature of the documents drafted within the European Union institutions is that all language versions are equally authentic and authoritative. In such a context, Schäffner (1997: 194) argues that there is no "legitimate" source text. Dollerup (2001) states that the originals are not "pure-source-language texts", arguing that "there are no unambiguously identifiable source texts" in the EU context. Thus, many scholars prefer not to use the terms "source text" and "target text" when it comes to EU documents, but rather those of "original" and "language versions". Koskinen (2008) also points to the term "language versions" used in the EU institutions, which emphasises the translator's invisibility and the fact that there are certain rules that govern the translation process. According to Hermans (2007: 9), authentication erases the memory of the translation process, as translated texts become

authentic texts: there are no translations and no originals, but parallel authentic versions. He argues that translations, “once authenticated, cease to be translations and become authentic texts” (Hermans, 2007: 18). However, in the EU context (especially the European Commission), this mostly refers to legislation. At the ECB this can apply only in the sense that translations become texts that represent the institution’s voice and the names of translators are not mentioned. Often specialised documents are meant to be read by experts as authentic texts.

Some scholars wrote about the nature of the source texts or originals drafted in the European Union institutions. For instance, Phillipson (2003) refers to the problems of “reliability and interpretation” that source texts pose. Wodak (2000: 73) analyses the drafting process of a document prepared for the European Council. This paper underwent many changes because it was difficult to reach a consensus. The author notices several types of changes: addition, deletion, rearrangement, substitution (p. 101). Such transformations can have consequences on the translation process, especially if the original text is not drafted by a native speaker. Wodak states that the target audience is very important and it should be taken into consideration when drafting a document. Some documents drafted and translated in the EU context might have a significant impact at national and/or European level, so it has to be ensured that confusion or misunderstandings are avoided in the translation process.

Weenink-Griffiths (2005: 11) mentions some strategies for ensuring the clarity of the drafted documents (the “source texts”):

- avoiding unnecessarily vague or indirect language, and unnecessary ‘legalese’ and jargon;
- checking for correct use of specific terminology;
- checking for clear structure;
- avoiding long sentences and repetition;
- lessening use of the passive;
- replacing nouns by verbs whenever possible;
- applying gender-neutral language.

4.3.3 Parallel texts

A parallel text is a text of the same type or genre, used by translators in order to check for genre conventions in the target culture/text and to get a better understanding of them. As most of the texts in the European Union institutions are drafted in a multicultural and multilingual setting, they might not have an equivalent parallel text in the target culture. Sometimes, in case of legal texts, the closest equivalent could be the national law. However, as within the European Union institutions new text types and genres are emerging, which are not to be found in the target culture (directives, decisions, regulations), they hardly have a parallel text. Thus, this concept, very important in Translation Studies, of the “parallel text”, tends to disappear in the context of the European institutions.

Schäffner (1998) argues that source texts are produced in a specific source-culture situation, according to certain conventions related to the text type or genre in the source culture and language. In the same manner, the target text follows the norms and conventions of the target culture and, ideally, corresponds to the expectations of the target public. The translators can increase their knowledge about the target conventions by analysing parallel texts, which are produced in more or less the same communicative situation. Nevertheless, “there are texts for which there is not necessarily a corresponding text type in the target culture” (Schäffner, 1998: 87), which is the case of some EU documents. Because of the international nature of the drafting, communication and translation processes, which gives rise to new text types, “target texts are produced by way of translation without the existence of a proper source text”. They have been referred to as hybrid texts because “a target text is neither completely identical with the conventions of the source text nor with the conventions of parallel texts in the target culture” (Schäffner, 1998: 89).

4.4 Conclusions

As seen above, the European Union institutions represent a particular case of institutional translation, with specific policies and procedures, often comprehensive and complex. This chapter presented the translation policy of the European Union institutions, the basis for multilingualism and the main EU institutions. Then the focus shifted to the institution under investigation – the European Central Bank: its status, role and functions were outlined. The linguistic regime of the ECB and the organisation of its translation service were presented and discussed. The main types of documents and the specificities of the Romanian

translation department were mentioned, as well as the particular procedures and regulations (including style guides). The ECB has a small translation service and the documents translated are highly specialised. Translators work with a translation memory and there are specific procedures to be followed. In case of every text type there are certain steps that translators have to follow: some are revised by an economist at the ECB and/or by a translator of the National Bank, special tools and terminology have to be used, some require specific formatting. Thus, at the ECB there are many constraints that influence the translation process. The next section of this chapter outlined some features of EU texts, as identified by researchers. Scholars have identified the complexities of translating in the EU institutions (among others, lack of parallel texts, sometimes the source text cannot be identified, lack of clarity of texts, conventions of the target culture).

The next chapter will investigate how translators have dealt with metaphors in the corpus of texts compiled for this study. ST and TT parallel excerpts will be provided and the translation of metaphorical expressions will be discussed and analysed.

Chapter 5

Translation Strategies for Translating Metaphor in the Corpus

In the previous chapters, the theoretical framework of the present thesis was outlined and the institutional setting in which translation takes place was presented; the corpus and methodology were presented and discussed. This chapter aims at describing the main conceptual metaphors encountered in the corpus and at analysing actual texts translated in the institution, by providing excerpts in which the conceptual metaphors and the metaphorical expressions are analysed, and establishing a classification of translation strategies, on the basis of the analysis of the texts.

The present chapter consists of two sections. In the first section, the most frequently occurring conceptual metaphors identified in the corpus are presented, with examples and concordances. The second section comprises a classification of the translation strategies used for translating these metaphors. Less frequently encountered examples of metaphors are also presented to make the analysis of the strategies more representative. It has to be mentioned that all texts of the corpus were analysed in detail, but for illustration here only some examples of metaphorical expressions will be used (parallel excerpts in the source and target languages, with the metaphorical expression highlighted in bold). The appendices will contain more examples.

5.1 Main conceptual metaphors

The present section comprises a brief overview of the most frequent conceptual metaphors encountered in the corpus of economic texts translated at the ECB. They were identified by combining automatic searches within the corpus using WordSmith Tools with manual search inside individual documents, after which a thorough analysis was performed (see the reference to Herrera Soler (2008), who advocates the same method, in section 3.2.2). The expressions with metaphoric potential were identified by examining the WordSmith word lists and using the technique advised by Pragglejaz group (2007), which is described in more detail in section 3.2.2.

Using the word list function in WordSmith for source and target texts, it was initially found that there are a large number of words dealing with the economic crisis, which tends to be expressed in metaphorical terms (*downturn, slump, bust*). There are other metaphorical expressions such as *absorption of liquidity, injection of funds*. Their respective corresponding mappings, according to Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, would be: CRISIS IS DOWN, RECOVERY IS UP, and MONEY IS A LIQUID.

The words with metaphoric potential in the separate sub-corpora (one for each language) were extracted using the concordance function and the way they are translated was examined to discover trends and patterns of translation strategies. One difficult aspect in the beginning of the research was how to identify metaphors. Corpus analysis software cannot know if a word is used metaphorically or literally. Deignan (2005) poses the same problem and her answer is that in using corpora, the researcher is competent enough to be able to identify the metaphors. When using WordSmith Tools some words related to the economic crisis (*downturn, crisis, recession*) were fed (words that have a metaphoric potential) and then the translation of metaphors was analysed and the translation strategies were categorised. However, the software does not indicate which word belongs to a metaphorical expression.

Thus, metaphors were identified based on our understanding of what a metaphor is (see the references to Deignan, 2002; Musolff, 2004 and Pragglejaz Group, 2007 in Chapter 3). First of all, a word list was extracted from each corpus (starting with the source text). Next, it was scanned manually, in search for words that have both literal and figurative meaning as well as for words that belong to Lakoff & Johnson's metaphor groups: orientational (UP-DOWN, RISE-FALL, SLUMP, INCREASE-DECLINE – all of which belong to the conceptual metaphor MORE IS GOOD, LESS IS BAD); container (IN-OUT, INSIDE-OUTSIDE), etc. After that, a more careful concordance search was performed for more salient (frequently occurring) metaphorical expressions.

The most frequent metaphorical expressions were selected for analysis, as well as other, less frequently occurring ones, and based on this, the list of dominant conceptual metaphors was created. Thus, this chapter is mostly based on qualitative research and does not aim at providing statistics, as this would be very difficult in case of metaphors, since the software cannot recognise which expression contains a metaphor and manual analysis has to be performed. Moreover, the aim of the present thesis is to describe practices and identify strategies/choices for metaphorical expressions and effects these choices have had on the conceptual metaphor in the text.

The most frequently occurring conceptual metaphors in the corpus are ECONOMY/INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS (illustrated by the “health metaphor”), MONEY IS A LIQUID, the MOVEMENT ALONG A VERTICAL LINE metaphor (UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD), the INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS metaphor, INSTITUTIONS ARE PERSONS (ECB IS A PERSON – personification), the CONTAINER metaphor (e.g. EURO AREA IS A CONTAINER). All these conceptual metaphors have been previously identified by researchers (for examples and classifications, see Chapter 2, sections 2.2.2, 2.2.3 and 2.3), particularly the MOVEMENT and BUILDING metaphors, and they are also typical in the corpus used in the present thesis, not surprisingly, since they are frequently occurring conceptual metaphors, according to Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

It must be noted that, although the corpus contains texts for two types of target audience – general public and specialists – diverse texts have been included in the corpus in order to provide a more representative dataset for analysis. The aim of the study was not to analyse the differences between strategies employed in general and specialised texts. Moreover, when possible differences were examined, not much variation was found, apart from less frequent use of certain metaphors in general texts (which could be attributed to lower word count, a smaller number of texts in the general public sub-corpus and the less specialised nature of the texts).

ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM / INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS, ECONOMIC PROSPERITY IS HEALTH

The conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS is reflected by various metaphorical expressions: *the health of the economy, the health of banks, the health of financial institutions, sound economic management, the health check of policies, the vascular system of the financial system, fitness check of euro banknotes*. For examples and a discussion of this conceptual metaphor, see sections 5.2.2; 5.2.3 below.

The intangible concept of the economy (or the financial system, fiscal policies, etc.) is difficult to explain using only specialised terminology. The explanation becomes much simpler when the economy (or other related abstract entities) are referred to in concrete terms present in the real world and known to the audience. For instance, *health* and *sickness* are familiar everyday concepts. Therefore, referring to the economy as an organism and to financial prosperity as *health* or to crisis as *sickness* creates parallels between the real world and the

abstract notion (see Chapter 2, section 2.2 for a discussion of the function of metaphor – to make abstract things understandable by mapping them on something concrete).

The concordances of the metaphorical expressions *health* and *sound* presented below show the diversity of expression in the conceptual metaphor: multiple aspects of the economy can be 'healthy' and 'sound'.

Figure 1. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *health* in the English sub-corpus

light of uncertainty over the **health** of other banks and uncertainty for the beneficial effects of **healthy** policy competition. A rough lower prices. The ongoing '**health** check' of the EU committed, against the backdrop of **healthy** total non-financial contributor of a company's financial **health**: more cash available for a used market concerns about the **health** of the banking sector employment growth was reasonably **healthy** in the first few months and renewed concerns about the **health** of some US financial institutions among investors about the **health** of government bond yields by renewed concerns about the **health** of the banking sector.) raised uncertainty about the **health** of the financial system

Figure 2. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *sound* in the English sub-corpus (for the full list, see Appendix 3)

designed for Fund members with **sound** policies which nonetheless achieving and maintaining fiscal **soundness**, notably when ensuring the implementation of an efficient, safe and **sound** post-trade market in the fundamentals of the euro area are **sound**. Against this background borrowers on the basis of the **soundness** of their public financing recommendations for the safety and **soundness** of the EU post-trade of the euro area economy remain **sound**, and the euro area does

MONEY IS A LIQUID

MONEY IS A LIQUID is one of the most prevalent conceptual metaphors in the corpus analysed in the present thesis (examples will be provided in sections 5.2.1; 5.2.2; 5.2.3 below). The most frequent metaphorical expressions that derive from it are related to liquids and their movement (*liquidity, inject, fluctuate, flow, absorb, drain, etc.*). Some of the examples encountered in the texts are: *inject liquidity, drain liquidity, illiquid banks, flow of credit*.

Although *money* seems to be a tangible entity for the common reader, other concepts such as *assets*, *deposits*, *cash-flow* (as well as other expressions related to the movement of money) are not easy to comprehend immediately. As liquids are universal and the understanding of liquids is based on bodily experiences, the use of the 'liquid' metaphor stems from a presumption that such imagery helps the users of the language (especially the target audience) comprehend money better.

For an illustration of examples, see figures below, which show concordances for *inject* and *absorb*.

Figure 3. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *inject* in the English sub-corpus

support in the form of capital **injections** and asset purchase operations, in the form of capital **injections**, took place. In 20 the public and private capital **injections** observed for credit 1s and businesses with credit. "Injection of liquidity" means Equity effects deposits equity **injections** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 stem. Normally, the Eurosystem **injects** an amount of liquidity ons to re-absorb the liquidity **injected** through the Securitit ot the aim of the programme to **inject** additional liquidity i

Figure 4. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *absorb* in the English sub-corpus

ng operations can be liquidity-**absorbing** or liquidity- provi they serve only to provide and **absorb** liquidity in exception nterest rates by providing and **absorbing** liquidity: • the ma around the required level can **absorb** liquidity shocks wi th he conduct of FTOs in order to **absorb** the resulting excess l oothly to economic changes and **absorb** economic shocks1 - als the liquidity provided will be **absorbed** when necessary. Acco

A comprehensive list of concordances, as well as collocations with these metaphorical expressions, are provided in Appendix 3.

MOVEMENT ALONG A VERTICAL LINE

Regarding the 'movement' metaphor, in economic texts, there is a high frequency of metaphors that refer to vertical movement. It is interesting as well as important to note that in the corpus under analysis, the metaphorical expressions are related mostly to *movement* and not to position, which is expressed through the dynamic verbs *rise* and *fall* and similar verbs. Expressions related to a static position (*high* and *low*) are not as frequent in the corpus. Since in the corpora of economic texts used in the present thesis there are more references to

movement along a vertical line (as opposed to horizontal movement), the metaphors referring to vertical movement are based on the UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD conceptual metaphor. This direction of movement (DOWN) is associated with negative evaluation (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 16). In economic discourse, especially in documents that refer to statistics, predictions, estimations, the 'movement' metaphor is very frequent: increase and decrease of prices, inflation, unemployment, purchase power – the increase and decrease can have a certain speed and degree. In English there are a wide variety of words that reflect movement: *to fall, to collapse, to plunge, to drop, to decrease, to go down, to soar, to rocket, to rise, to increase, to go up*. The recession itself is a fall (DOWN IS BAD).

The tables below show collocations of *fall/fell* and *rise/rose*. These collocations represent words that occur to the left and to the right of the key word searched in the corpus: e.g. *sharp fall, falling prices, inflation fell, rates fell, prices rise, inflationary rise, rates rose, growth rose*, etc. The collocation tables include the keyword that was searched and its forms (e.g. *falling, risen*). They reflect the conceptual metaphor MOVEMENT ALONG A VERTICAL LINE. The appendices also contain the collocation list for *sharp*. As it has been discovered during the course of the research, among the most frequent collocations of the expression *sharp* or *sharply* are *decline, fall, contraction, increase, growth, deterioration, rise, inflation, slowdown, drop* (see Appendix 3). Therefore, these expressions are related to the orientational movement metaphor (moving along a vertical line) and to the conceptual metaphor UP/MORE IS GOOD, LESS/DOWN IS BAD (as it can be observed in Tables 1 and 2 below).

Table 1. Collocations of the expressions *fall and *fell* in the English sub-corpus.** Only more salient examples are shown. For the full table, see Appendix 3. More relevant examples have been highlighted in **bold**.

FALL				FELL		
Word	Total	With		Word	Total	With
FALLING	119	falling		BY	52	fell
THE	54	falling		GROWTH	18	fell
IN	49	falling		SHARPLY	16	fell
FALLEN	46	fallen		AREA	15	fell
PRICES	42	fall		0	15	fell
FALLS	39	falls		FROM	14	fell
IN	27	falls		RATE	12	fell
HAS	23	fallen		INFLATION	12	fell
SHARP	23	fall		PRICES	12	fell
WITH	18	falling		INVESTMENT	10	fell
THAT	18	fall		PERCENTAGE	9	fell

INFLATION	17	fall		1	9	fell
PRICES	16	falling		6	8	fell
OIL	16	fall		SLIGHTLY	8	fell
FROM	12	fall		FURTHER	7	fell
DECLINED	12	falling		FINANCIAL	7	fell
ANNUAL	12	fall		POINTS	7	fell
ON	11	falling		LEVELS	7	fell
WHICH	10	fall		RATES	6	fell
DEMAND	10	fall		GDP	6	fell
1	10	falling		BELOW	6	fell
GROWTH	10	falling		BETWEEN	6	fell
DEMAND	9	falling		ACTIVITY	5	fell
LEVELS	9	fallen		VERY	5	fell
PRICES	9	falls		ALSO	5	fell

Table 2. Collocations of the expressions *rise and *rose* in the English sub-corpus.** Only more salient examples are shown. For the full table, see Appendix 3.

RISE*			ROSE		
Word	Total	With	Word	Total	With
RISEN	44	risen	PRICES	30	rose
PRICES	38	rise	FROM	24	rose
INFLATION	29	rise	2	17	rose
HAVE	26	risen	RATE	15	rose
IN	26	rises	EURO	15	rose
PRICE	21	rise	INFLATION	11	rose
INFLATIONARY	18	rise	AROUND	11	rose
WAS	18	rise	GROWTH	10	rose
GROWTH	17	rise	FOOD	10	rose
PRICES	17	rises	YIELDS	9	rose
BROAD	16	rise	DEBT	9	rose
OF	12	rises	SHARPLY	7	rose
SHARP	10	rise	LEVELS	6	rose
PRICE	10	rises	SLIGHTLY	5	rose
RATE	10	rise	25	5	rose
UNEMPLOYMENT	9	rise	CONSUMER	5	rose
IMPACT	8	rise	PRICE	5	rose
PRICES	8	risen	HICP	5	rose
RATES	8	rise	LABOUR	5	rose

INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS

This is a very frequently occurring conceptual metaphor: THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING, INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS (for examples, see section 5.2.3 below). Any intangible system can be seen as a construction, since buildings are all around us, they are concrete, palpable objects, with clearly defined parts: a foundation, pillars, roof, etc. This is why some of the most dominant metaphorical expressions found in the corpus are: *building blocks*, *pillars*, *building upon the existing policies*, *consolidation*, *to build a financial system*, *foundations*, *the build-up of debt*.

The source domain *building* implies a solid structure, stability, security. If the metaphorical building is founded upon solid beliefs or well-established policies, it will be a firm structure. Intangible processes such as policy-making or integration, which happen step by step and are meant to last, can be better understood when compared to constructions, which are also built gradually.

For illustration of the statements above, the figure below presents concordances of the metaphorical expression *building blocks*. As it can be seen, programmes, directives and policies are made of “building blocks” in the corpus of texts.

Figure 5. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *building blocks* in the English sub-corpus

programme, which constituted a **building block** of the ECB's e
Directive contains three main **building blocks**, which are de
rk will comprise the following **building blocks**: i) tools for
and governance, as well as key **building blocks** for transform
port 2010 which was one of the **building blocks** of the ECB's
uses of the crisis (one of the **building blocks** is the work o
of SEPA for cards. One of the **building blocks** is the comple
nity legislation relies on two **building blocks**: • national c
ing process. However, with the **building blocks** almost in pla
sure the implementation of the **building blocks** for SEPA and

PERSONIFICATION: ECB IS A PERSON

In the texts of the corpus, the verbs chosen come from semantic fields which express typical actions associated with people. The ECB is often referred to as a person: in the texts, it is personified and takes the subject position in the sentence, creating a metaphorical

expression. The connotation of the latter is that the ECB is personified, portrayed as acting independently. As Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 31) mention, personification is a type of ontological conceptual metaphor, which allows understanding activities in terms of human actions and interactions. This is also an instance of metonymy, because it is not the ECB that acts, but the people who work there (INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 38).

In the texts there is a high frequency of modal verbs (146 instances of *ECB can*, *ECB may*, *ECB shall*, *ECB must*) followed by action verbs associated with persons (either physical or legal ones): *ECB can decide*, *ECB can analyse*, *ECB can provide*; *ECB may conduct*; *ECB may exercise*; *ECB may submit*; *ECB shall have*, *ECB shall be*, *ECB shall draw up*; *ECB must appoint*, *ECB must ensure*. According to Werth (1999: 314), the meanings of modals are rather abstract and they are a likely domain for metaphorical language. Lakoff & Johnson's (1980: 31; also 38) claim that personification is a type of ontological metaphor backs up Werth's claim according to whom when we attribute human qualities to a non-human subject (be it an institution or another legal entity), we personify that subject, mapping the source domain (person) onto a target domain (e.g. institution). For examples of verbs co-occurring with *ECB*, see the table below. The columns *Total* and *R1* mean the total number of times the word in capitals occurs next to the word *ECB* and the number of times it is the first word to the right of *ECB*.

Table 3. Collocations of *ECB* in the English sub-corpus. Only more salient examples are shown. For the full table, see Appendix 3.

Word	With	Total	R1
HAS	ecb	183	140
DECIDES	ecb	139	138
MAY	ecb	161	66
CONTINUED	ecb	69	56
SHALL	ecb	70	51
ANNOUNCED	ecb	43	33
DECIDED	ecb	54	20
PUBLISHES	Ecb	31	18
WELCOMED	Ecb	24	17
WILL	Ecb	34	17
LAUNCHED	Ecb	14	12
ALLOTTED	Ecb	14	11
ANNOUNCES	Ecb	11	11
MUST	ecb	18	11

For an exemplification of *ECB should + verb*, see figure below.

Figure 6. Concordance of *ECB should* in the English sub-corpus

be void and instead ruled that the **ECB should** be subject to the Commu
 ch there is no legal doubt that the **ECB should** have been consulted, an
 cil on 9 June 2009 specify that the **ECB should** provide analytical, sta
 general, statistics produced by the **ECB should** continue to meet ever-c
 liament supported the view that the **ECB should** be involved in EU-wide
 ch there is no legal doubt that the **ECB should** have been consulted, an
 nvolved in such bodies, whereas the **ECB should** ensure that the Euros

CONTAINER METAPHOR

The ‘container’ metaphor is a type of ontological metaphor, very frequent in the political and economic discourse. It is illustrated by prepositions and adverbs such as *in, out, outside: out of the euro area, non-Euro area Member States, outside the euro area, across the euro area*. Not only is the euro area a container, but also the European Union: *in the EU, outside the EU, non-EU countries, enter the EU*.

The figure below illustrates the main collocations for *euro area* (for a full list, see Appendix 3). More salient examples have been highlighted in **bold**.

Table 4. Collocations of the metaphorical expression *euro area* in the English sub-corpus (NB: part of the table with less relevant data was deleted)

Word	With	Texts	Total
THE	euro area	46	5993
IN	euro area	45	2792
OF	euro area	45	2326
AND	euro area	42	1614
TO	euro area	44	1169
FOR	euro area	38	810
NON	euro area	12	756
BY	euro area	27	749
RESIDENTS	euro area	9	724
COUNTRIES	euro area	36	667
FROM	euro area	24	214
NCBS	euro area	14	189
AT	euro area	30	185
OUTSIDE	euro area	21	180

More detailed examples of the dominant conceptual metaphors, as well as others, will be given in the next section, which presents the translation strategies used for translating metaphors in the corpus of texts, as well as in Appendix 2, where repetitive examples appear.

5.2 Translation strategies

The aim of this section is to present the strategies used when translating metaphors; for this purpose, a classification of strategies for translating metaphors has been established, with labels from previous research and after a critical reflection on the categories already established. These strategies were identified in the corpus of texts used in the present thesis. For a detailed description of the methodology used, see Chapter 3.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the translation process at the ECB is complex, with a variety of procedures to be followed, and several people are involved. A text may undergo several revisions. Thus, it is not certain that the texts analysed are the same as the ones done by the translators; they may have been revised on several occasions. Having in view the fact that the present research is product-oriented and that the texts represent the institution's voice, it is relevant to analyse the final versions (that are official on the website). Nevertheless, the process will also be taken into account (see Chapter 6 for the discussion of the questionnaires for translators at the ECB).

The translation strategies used by the ECB translators in respect of metaphors are difficult to classify. They often overlap and sometimes a combination of several strategies is used. In section 2.4.2 of the present thesis, several classifications of translation strategies for translating metaphors, provided by various scholars, had already been presented in more detail. For the purposes of this research, labels as suggested by researchers for metaphors specifically, as well as some labels which are used for translation strategies more generally and in different contexts were employed, using as reference various classifications set up by scholars (e.g. Al-Harrasi, 2001; Chesterman, 1997; Deignan, Gabrys and Solska, 1997; Kurth, 1997 Newmark, 1981; Toury, 1995). It has to be mentioned that sometimes the labels used in the classification will indicate a product perspective (it is particularly the case of Deignan's classification) and in other instances, some labels from the Translation Studies literature will be used (although some scholars' classifications are from a linguistic

perspective). However, since the labels used by scholars often overlap and are used with different meanings, a brief definition of each translation strategy, as it applies to the current research, shall be provided at the beginning of the presentation of each translation strategy.

It has been noticed that translators use different strategies, according to the nature of the metaphor. For instance, in case of new, innovative metaphors, there is a tendency to borrow the English metaphorical expression, or to add the English term in brackets (see section 5.2.7 below). If a metaphor is more-or-less conventional in English but unusual in Romanian, additional elements are inserted or it is explained in plain terms (i.e. paraphrased). Strategies like retaining the metaphor or replacing a metaphor in the source text with a different metaphor (different image or different level) in the target text are some of the most frequently encountered strategies, as illustrated in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2. The more detailed analysis is presented below. When providing examples, sometimes, beside the English and Romanian versions, the French and Spanish ones will also be provided, for illustration (when considered relevant to emphasise a certain translation strategy). However, the main focus shall be on the English-Romanian language pair, since this is the pair investigated in the present study.

5.2.1 Retaining the metaphor

The metaphorical expressions and the conceptual metaphor (the same concept) are retained in the target text. Different scholars provide different names for this strategy, from different perspectives. Al-Harrasi (2001: 195) calls it “keeping expressions of the same conceptual metaphor – the metaphor is reproduced in the English translation”. Jensen (2005: 193) refers to it in the following way: “use an equivalent of the original metaphor, which would express a similar conceptual mapping”. Newmark (1981: 87) speaks of “reproducing the same image in the TL”. Toury (1995: 82) calls this strategy “metaphor into ‘same’ metaphor (the metaphor is the same in the two languages)”. Kurth (1997) refers to it as “retention”. Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997: 354), in their classification, call this strategy “same conceptual metaphor and equivalent²³ linguistic expression”.

E.g. *liquidity* – *lichiditate*; *injection* – *injecție*; *economic crisis* – *criză economică*

²³ It has to be noted that within Translation Studies there is a debate about the concept of equivalence. There is common understanding within TS that translation cannot be defined as replacement of words by equivalent words, that translation cannot be reduced to transferring meaning accurately.

In the corpus of texts, this strategy is encountered very frequently. In the TT, the same conceptual metaphor is retained, at textual level, as well as the same linguistic expression as in the ST (see examples below).

The examples provided are concentrated around several conceptual metaphors. The most important ones are: MONEY IS A LIQUID; THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM; HEALTHY IS GOOD; INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS. Below the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID will be analysed, with examples from the texts.

MONEY IS A LIQUID

The word *liquidity* is one of the more prevalent metaphoric expressions. It is one of the most prominent examples of the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID, together with the metaphorical expressions that derive from this conceptual metaphor (for example, *flow*, *absorb*, *drain*, etc.).

In the majority of cases, with some minor exceptions, expressions related to this conceptual metaphor are retained in the TT – not only at individual word level (it is possible to talk about words here because the concept can be expressed in one word), but also when it comes to sentence level and the context of the words in the wider discourse (for example, expressions related to *absorbing liquidity* or *flowing* are often retained in the TT). This way, when the metaphorical expressions are retained in the target text, the conceptual metaphor also appears in the TT. However, this process can be understood in two ways: on the one hand, this indicates that the aforementioned conceptual metaphor is also present in the TT and the translator merely retains it; on the other hand, it can mean that the conceptual metaphor is introduced into the target text through literal translation.

The table below contains the most frequent collocations of the expression *liquidity* in both English and Romanian; the collocations also illustrate the specialised nature of the expression *liquidity* – the fact that it belongs to the specialised domain of banking and economics. The most salient expressions have been highlighted in bold. The numbers next to the words indicate the frequency of the expression in the corpus. The table and the examples provided below demonstrate that the metaphorical expression is often retained in the TT, the same concept is used, as well as a similar linguistic expression.

Table 5. Collocations of the metaphorical expressions *liquidity/lichidit in the English and Romanian sub-corpora.** Only more salient examples are shown. For the full table, see Appendix 3.

N	English		Romanian	
	Word	Total	Word	Total
1	LIQUIDITY	1139	DE	1008
2	THE	840	LICHIDITATE	738
4	AND	314	LICHIDITĂȚII	227
11	NEEDS	82	LICHIDITATEA	84
12	ABSORBING	79	PENTRU	83
16	EURO	66	BANCAR	63
18	BANKS	63	ȘI	61
20	ECB	60	AL	60
22	MONETARY	58	NECESARUL	57
24	BANKING	52	OPERAȚIUNI	50
38	RESERVE	39	BCE	31
39	4	38	VOLUMUL	31
40	THEIR	37	LICHIDITĂȚI	30
42	PROVIDE	35	BĂNCILOR	28
45	FROM	34	ABSORBȚIE	26
48	SWAP	31	ALE	26

Table 6. Word count for *liquidity/lichidit in the English and Romanian sub-corpora**

	General texts	Specialised texts
English (<i>liquidity</i>)	85	961
Romanian (<i>lichidit*</i>)	106	949

NB: Only the stem of the word is used in the Romanian search because of the possible inflections.

As it can be seen from the numerical data in Table 6 alone, the metaphorical expression *liquidity* is retained in the TT – *lichiditate*, with inflections: *lichiditatea* ('the liquidity'), *lichidități* ('liquidities'), *lichidităților* ('of the liquidity'). The examples below will include other expressions belonging to the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID. Regarding Table 6, there are 961 occurrences of *liquidity* in the English specialised corpus and 949 for *lichidit** in the Romanian one, which points out that in this case, the translation strategy is to reproduce the same image in the target text. However, literal translation at word level is not enough to show that the translator retains the conceptual metaphor in the target text and therefore, examples of translations in context are presented in the following extracts.

INJECT

The metaphorical expression *inject liquidity* reflects a blending or overlapping of two conceptual metaphors: MONEY IS A LIQUID and CRISIS IS SICKNESS / MONEY IS MEDICINE. However, the expression *inject* and its collocations in other texts from the specialised sub-corpus suggest that it is part of the LIQUID metaphor rather than the HEALTH one. The context in which the expression occurs refers mostly to *capital injections* and *injections of liquidity* (i.e. money). For illustration see the table and the examples presented below:

Table 7. Collocations of the metaphorical expression *inject in the English sub-corpus**

N	Word	With
1	INJECTIONS	Injections
2	CAPITAL	Injections
3	THE	Injected
4	AND	Injections
5	EQUITY	Injections
6	LIQUIDITY	Injected

The examples above show that the metaphorical expression *inject* is part of the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID because the source texts frequently mention *capital injections* and *liquidity injections*. The examples below help illustrate this claim and also demonstrate that the strategy for the aforementioned expression is retaining the metaphor. In all examples the analysed metaphorical expressions in both languages will be highlighted in bold.

Example 1

English version	Romanian version
<p>The increase in liquidity as a result of the bond purchases made in the context of the Securities Markets Programme is fully sterilised by means of specific operations to reabsorb it, as it is not the aim of the programme to inject additional liquidity into the banking system.</p> <p>(<i>Annual Report 2010</i>²⁴)</p>	<p>Volumul suplimentar de lichiditate generat de achizițiile de obligațiuni efectuate în cadrul Programului destinat piețelor titlurilor de valoare este sterilizat în totalitate prin operațiuni specifice de absorbție a lichidității, dat fiind faptul că programul nu are drept obiectiv injectarea de lichiditate suplimentară în sistemul bancar.</p>

Analysis

This first example is particularly interesting because, even if it is a short extract, it contains five instances of metaphorical expressions. This proves once again the fact that economic documents are replete with metaphors, as already suggested by scholars (see Chapter 2). In the example above, the metaphorical expressions, which belong to the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID, have been retained in the TT (*liquidity – lichiditate; sterilised – sterilizat; reabsorb – absorbție* and *inject – injectare*). In general, these are retained in the TT throughout the corpus, with some exceptions (*drain* translated as *absorb*, *absorb* as *sterilise* and *inject* as *provide*), which will be analysed and discussed in their respective sections (section 5.2.2 - image shift and 5.2.3 - demetaphorisation).

Example 2

English version	Romanian version
<p>However, the volume and use of liability guarantees in absolute figures are much higher than those of capital injections.</p> <p>(<i>Annual Report 2009</i>)</p>	<p>Cu toate acestea, în termeni absoluți, volumul și nivelul de utilizare a garanțiilor pentru pasive sunt mult mai ridicate decât în cazul injecțiilor de capital.</p>

²⁴ For the full title of all documents included in the corpus, see Appendix 1.

Example 3

English version	Romanian version
[...] the liquidity injected through the SMP is absorbed through the weekly collection of fixed-term deposits from the banking sector. (<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)	[...] lichiditatea injectată prin intermediul acestui program este absorbită prin operațiuni săptămânale de atragere de depozite pe termen fix de la sectorul bancar.

Analysis

As it can be seen from the examples above, the metaphorical expressions *capital injections* and *to inject liquidity* have been retained in the TT. The source text talks of injecting money into the economy and, since the substance that is being injected is normally a liquid, it is possible to view this expression as part of the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID. However, it could also be said that this expression sits on the borderline and can be considered a conceptual blending, which means a novel mental space formed by “the partial match between two input mental spaces” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003: 1-2): the word *to inject* has obvious medical connotations and it is not excluded that it could be part of the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS MEDICINE. However, for the purposes of this section alone, it can be concluded that when the word *inject* is used in a text, in the majority of cases, the metaphor is kept with the same image and same concept.

Moreover, it is important to note in the beginning that this strategy was not the only one chosen when translating this expression. In some cases, *to inject* was translated as *a furniza* (‘to provide’), and the strategy chosen was demetaphorisation. An in-depth discussion of paraphrase and demetaphorisation is provided in section 5.2.3.

ABSORB

The metaphorical expression *absorb* also belongs to the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID since the texts often speak about *absorbing liquidity* (i.e. removing an excess of money from a system). As it can be seen from the numerical data in tables 8 and 9, the latter of which shows collocations for the metaphorical expression *absorb*, the expression is

retained most of the time. However, there are some exceptions: sometimes in the target text *absorption* is translated as *draining*, retaining the conceptual metaphor but shifting the image. See section 5.2.2 for an in-depth discussion.

Table 8. Word count for *absorb/absorb in the English and Romanian sub-corpora**

	Word count
English (<i>absorb</i>)	117
Romanian (<i>absorb*</i>)	96

Table 9. Collocations of the metaphorical expression *absorb in the English and Romanian sub-corpora**

English keyword	Total	With		Romanian keyword	Total	With
LIQUIDITY	79	Absorbing		DE	75	absorbție
ABSORBING	74	Absorbing		ABSORBȚIE	45	absorbție
THE	48	Absorbing		LICHIDITATE	26	absorbție
OPERATIONS	41	Absorbing		A	24	absorbție
ABSORBED	23	Absorbed		ÎN	22	absorbție
PROVIDING	20	Absorbing		DE	20	absorbției
OF	18	Absorbing		OPERAȚIUNI	19	absorbție
THE	18	Absorbed		DE	18	absorbi
AND	17	Absorbing		LICHIDITĂȚII	15	absorbție
A	17	Absorbing		A	13	absorbi
TO	16	Absorb		ABSORBȚIEI	13	absorbției
TUNING	16	Absorbing		ABSORBI	12	absorbi
THE	16	Absorb		LICHIDITATE	12	absorbției
ABSORB	16	Absorb		ÎN	9	absorbției

OF	13	Absorption	LICHIDITATE	8	absorbi
FINE	13	Absorbing	OPERAȚIUNILOR	7	absorbție
FOR	11	Absorbing	LICHIDITATE	7	absorbția
LIQUIDITY	11	Absorption	CAZUL	7	absorbție
LIQUIDITY	11	Absorb	RATA	7	absorbție
ABSORPTION	11	Absorption	FURNIZARE	7	absorbție
IN	10	Absorb	ABSORBȚIA	7	absorbția
ECB	9	Absorbing	EXCEDENTUL	6	absorbi
FOREIGN	8	Absorbing	ABSORBIT	6	absorbit

Example 4

English version	Romanian version
<p>FTOs are not a regular tool for the provision or absorption of liquidity, but are rather conducted when needed. In order to allow such operations to be conducted flexibly and rapidly, their maturity and frequency are not standardised, but can be adapted to any particular situation. Given that these tenders need to be executed quickly (usually within 90 minutes from the announcement of the operation), only a limited number of banks can participate in those operations (currently around 130 banks). FTOs are aimed at smoothing the effects unexpected liquidity fluctuations in the banking sector have on interest rates.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin May 2008)</i></p>	<p>ORF nu constituie un instrument cu frecvență periodică în ceea ce privește furnizarea sau absorbția de lichiditate, aceste operațiuni fiind efectuate în funcție de necesități. Pentru a permite derulare flexibilă și rapidă a ORF, scadența și frecvența acestora nu sunt standardizate, dar pot fi adaptate oricărei situații. Ținând seama de faptul că aceste cereri de ofertă trebuie executate rapid (în general în decursul a 90 minute de la anunțarea operațiunii), numai un număr limitat de bănci pot participa la aceste operațiuni (în prezent, aproximativ 130). ORF vizează atenuarea efectelor asupra ratelor dobânzilor produse de fluctuațiile neprevăzute ale lichidității la nivelul sectorului bancar.</p>

Analysis

In this excerpt two strategies can be encountered: retaining the conceptual metaphor (*absorption of liquidity – absorbția de lichiditate; liquidity fluctuations – fluctuațiile lichidității*) and image shift (*smoothing – atenuare - ‘attenuation’*), the latter will be discussed in greater depth in section 5.2.2. The conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID has been retained. In general, the word *to absorb* and its derivatives do occur frequently both in the source and the target texts (see table above).

Example 5

English version	Romanian version
<p>Liquidity-absorbing outright and reverse open market operations are also based on underlying assets. For underlying assets used in liquidity-absorbing reverse open market operations, the eligibility criteria are identical to those applied for underlying assets used in liquidity-providing reverse open market operations. However, no valuation haircuts are applied in liquidity absorbing operations.</p> <p><i>(Implementation of Monetary Policy in the Euro Area)</i></p>	<p>Tranzacțiile simple și reversibile de piață monetară în vederea absorbției de lichiditate se bazează, de asemenea, pe active-garanție. Criteriile de eligibilitate pentru activele-garanție folosite în tranzacțiile reversibile de piață monetară în vederea absorbției de lichiditate sunt identice cu cele care se aplică activelor-garanție folosite în tranzacții reversibile de piață monetară în vederea furnizării de lichiditate. Totuși, în tranzacțiile de absorbție de lichiditate nu se aplică marje de ajustare a valorii.</p>

Analysis

In this example, the conceptual metaphor is also retained in the target text. However, the expression in Romanian is slightly modified: *liquidity-absorbing reverse open market operations* becomes *tranzacțiile reversibile de piață monetară în vederea absorbției de lichiditate* ('reversible monetary market transactions with a view to absorbing liquidity'). Therefore, elements are added at the level of the linguistic expression and the conceptual metaphor (MONEY IS A LIQUID) is retained in the TT.

FLOW

Example 6

English version	Romanian version
<p>They are indispensable for the efficient flow of payments for goods, services and financial assets, and their smooth functioning is crucial for the implementation of the central bank's monetary policy and for maintaining the stability of and confidence in the currency, the financial system and the economy in general.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2009)</i></p>	<p>Acestea sunt indispensabile pentru asigurarea eficienței fluxurilor de plăți aferente bunurilor, serviciilor și activelor financiare, iar funcționarea lor fără sincope este vitală atât pentru implementarea politicii monetare a băncii centrale, cât și pentru menținerea stabilității și a încrederii în monedă, în sistemul financiar și în economie în general.</p>

Example 7

English version	Romanian version
<p>The October data do not point to a disruption of the flow of credit to the private sector. Indeed, the monthly flows for loans to both non-financial corporations and households remain strong when the data for households are corrected for the effects of securitisation (which were positive in October).</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin December 2008)</i></p>	<p>Datele la nivelul lunii octombrie nu indică o eventuală perturbare a fluxului de credite către sectorul privat. Astfel, fluxurile lunare aferente împrumuturilor acordate societăților nefinanciare și populației se mențin robuste în cazul în care corectăm datele pentru gospodăriile populației cu efectele securitizării (datele au fost pozitive în luna octombrie).</p>

Example 8

English version	Romanian version
<p>The positive flow of loans in the second half of the year may have enabled firms to rebuild</p>	<p>Fluxul pozitiv al împrumuturilor din semestrul II 2010 a permis probabil firmelor</p>

their liquidity buffers towards the end of the year. (Annual Report 2010)	să își reînnoiască rezervele de lichiditate cu rol de tampon spre sfârșitul anului.
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Analysis

In Examples 6-8 above, it can be noticed that the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is retained in the target text, as well as the metaphorical expression *flow*: *flow of payments* – *flux de plăți*, *flow of credit* – *flux de credite*, *flow of loans* – *fluxul împrumuturilor*. Flow is related to fluidity, liquidity, the motion of fluids in a closed system. Sometimes in the Romanian TT there is a plural form (*fluxuri*, *credite*), when in the English ST the singular is used (*flow*, *credit*) because these are fixed phrases in Romanian.

DRAIN

Example 9

English version	Romanian version
<p>PUTTING EURO CASH INTO CIRCULATION</p> <p>The total amount of banknotes in circulation during the first days of the cash changeover exceeded forecasts. If the banknotes coming into circulation are likened to the water filling a bathtub, then the bathtub became increasingly full, and fuller than expected. This was caused by the high flow rate from the “euro tap”, which could be opened wide thanks to the large volumes of cash delivered before the changeover. But the “drainage pipe” for the National Banknotes was of a more limited capacity, which led to the slow removal of national currencies from circulation.</p> <p>(How the Euro Became Our Money)</p>	<p>PUNEREA ÎN CIRCULAȚIE A NUMERARULUI EURO</p> <p>În primele zile ale anului 2002, cantitatea totală a bancnotelor în circulație a întrecut așteptările. Comparând bancnotele puse în circulație cu apa care umple o cadă de baie, se poate afirma că aceasta din urmă a devenit tot mai plină, mult mai plină decât se anticipase. Aceasta s-a datorat ritmului rapid al fluxului de numerar al „robinetului de euro” care a putut fi deschis larg, grație volumelor semnificative de numerar livrate anterior momentului de introducere a bancnotelor și monedelor euro. Dar „canalul de scurgere” pentru bancnotele naționale a avut o capacitate mult mai limitată, ceea ce a făcut ca procesul de retragere din circulație a monedelor naționale să fie mult mai lent.</p>

Analysis

The metaphorical expressions in the excerpt above have been retained in the TT. They belong to the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID. There are two examples of novel metaphors in the text – “*euro tap*” and “*drainage pipe*”, which have been placed between inverted commas in the ST, an aspect which has been retained in the TT. The inverted commas denote the agreed novelty and inventiveness of the expressions. In section 5.3 on the meta-communicative elements that analyses, among others, expressions between inverted commas, the strategy used is generally addition, explanation and/or borrowing the English term (in case of documents targeted at the specialised public). However, as shown above, it is possible to both retain the metaphor and add meta-communicative elements. It has to be noted that this is a document for the general public and the terms being analysed denote concrete, palpable realities (*tap*, *drainage pipe*), which are very easy to visualise and comprehend in both language versions. However, *drainage* in English is a more specialised term than *scurgere* (‘dripping’) in Romanian. The metaphorical expressions *in circulation* and *flow rate* that also belong to the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID have also been retained in the TT.

FLOOD

Example 10

English version	Romanian version
Exchangeability allows for low stocks of banknotes at one NCB to be replenished by surplus stocks from another NCB, and does not create the impression that one country is “ flooding ” another country with “its” banknotes bearing its national symbols. (<i>Monthly Bulletin May 2008</i>)	Circulația neîngrădită face posibilă refacerea stocurilor scăzute de bancnote la una dintre BCN prin recurgerea la surplusul aflat în stocul altei BCN, fără a crea impresia că o țară o „ inundă ” pe o alta cu bancnotele purtând propriile simboluri naționale.

Analysis

This is another example of retaining the metaphor, as well as carrying over the meta-communicative element, the inverted commas (a more in-depth discussion on meta-communicative elements can be found in section 5.3). The metaphorical expression *is flooding* is retained – *inundă*. However, if in section 5.3 inverted commas mostly mean that a

metaphorical expression placed between them is novel, in this example, the word “its” between inverted commas suggests that it is a quotation – that someone might say that one country “floods” another with “its” banknotes. The word *impression* is further proof of that. Therefore, even when meta-communicative elements are disregarded, the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is retained in the TT, and so is the metaphorical expression.

ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM HEALTH

The metaphorical expression *health* belongs to another frequently occurring conceptual metaphor in the corpus – ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM. Many aspects of the economy can be healthy.

Example 11

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>To a large extent, these developments reflect increased market concerns about the health of the banking sector and the stability of the financial system.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin December 2008)</i></p>	<p>Aceste evoluții reflectă în mare măsură temerile sporite ale operatorilor în ceea ce privește sănătatea sectorului bancar și stabilitatea sistemului financiar.</p>

Analysis

The example above shows that the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM and the metaphorical expression are retained in the TT. However, throughout the corpus, this is not a frequent strategy when it comes to this particular metaphor (image shift is more frequent, as shown in section 5.2.2).

SOUND translated as SĂNĂȚOS ('HEALTHY')

In the set of examples presented below, the metaphorical expression *sound* is retained in the TT (*sănătos*, ‘healthy’). Therefore, the conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS / THE

ECONOMY ARE LIVING ORGANISMS is retained at macro-level because sometimes it is translated as *solid* (another aspect of health) and sometimes as *healthy*.

Example 12

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>This section recalls the importance of sound public finances. It also provides an overview of fiscal developments before and during Stage Three of EMU, the implementation of the Stability and Growth Pact, and medium to longer-term fiscal challenges [...].</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2008)</i></p>	<p>Această secțiune prezintă o nouă analiză a importanței politicilor fiscale sănătoase, oferind, de asemenea, o privire de ansamblu asupra evoluțiilor fiscale înainte și după încheierea celei de-a treia etape a UEM, asupra implementării Pactului de stabilitate și creștere, asupra dificultăților de natură fiscală pe termen lung [...].</p>

Example 13

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Sound policies are also of great importance for those countries aiming to join the euro area in the future. Euro area enlargement will be dealt with in the next section.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin May 2008)</i></p>	<p>Politicile sănătoase prezintă, de asemenea, o mare importanță pentru acele țări care urmează să adere la zona euro. Extinderea zonei euro este tratată în secțiunea următoare.</p>

Example 14

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>An appropriate restructuring and consolidation of the banking sector should also play an important role. Sound balance sheets, sound risk management, and transparent as well as robust business</p>	<p>De asemenea, procesul de restructurare și consolidare adecvată a sectorului bancar ar trebui să dețină un rol important. Poziții bilanțiere solide, un sistem funcțional de management al riscurilor și modele de</p>

models are key to strengthening the financial soundness of banks and their resilience to shocks, thereby laying the foundations for sustainable economic growth and financial stability. (<i>Monthly Bulletin October 2009</i>)	afaceri transparente și viabile sunt esențiale pentru consolidarea sănătății financiare a sistemului bancar și a rezistenței acestuia la șocuri, punând astfel bazele stabilității financiare și ale expansiunii economice sustenabile.
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Example 15

English Version	Romanian Version
Under Article 4 of the EC Treaty, the guiding principles with constitutional status to achieve these fundamental objectives are “stable prices, sound public finances and monetary conditions and a sustainable balance of payments” and the “principle of an open market economy with free competition”. (<i>ECB - History, Role and Functions</i>)	În conformitate cu articolul 4 din Tratatul CE, principiile directoare cu statut constituțional destinate atingerii acestor obiective fundamentale sunt „prețuri stabile, finanțe publice și condiții monetare sănătoase , precum și o balanță de plăți stabilă” și „principiul unei economii de piață deschise, în care concurența este liberă”.

For more examples containing this particular metaphorical expression, see Appendix 2.

Analysis

In English, soundness is an aspect of health, which involves being physically intact, which in the ST is exemplified by the metaphorical expressions *sound policies*, *sound growth*, *sound public finances* (see examples above). In the Romanian texts, retaining this particular metaphorical expression is not a frequent strategy, as *sound* is mostly translated as *solid* (see section 5.2.2 below). In examples 12-15 above, the conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS is present in both ST and TT. In Example 14 it can be noticed that *sound* is translated in three different ways: *solid* ('solid'), *funcțional* ('functional') and *soundness – sănătate* ('health'), which points out the lack of consistency. A

discussion of the different translation strategies employed within one particular conceptual metaphor is included in Chapter 6.

Retaining the conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression - Other examples

Other examples of this strategy, illustrating other conceptual metaphors, will be presented below.

SNAKE

Example 16

English version	Romanian version
<p>April 1972 – A system (the “snake”) for the progressive narrowing of the margins of fluctuation between the currencies of the Member States of the European Economic Community is established. (<i>ECB – History, Role and Functions</i>)</p>	<p>Aprilie 1972 – Se creează un sistem („șarpele”) pentru îngustarea progresivă a marjelor de fluctuație între monedele statelor membre ale Comunității Economice Europene.</p>
French version	Spanish version
<p>Avril 1972 – Mise en place d’un système (le « serpent monétaire ») de resserrement progressif des marges de fluctuation des monnaies des États membres de la Communauté économique européenne.</p>	<p>Abril de 1972 – Se articula un mecanismo (la «serpiente») para la reducción progresiva de los márgenes de fluctuación entre las monedas de los Estados miembros de la Comunidad Económica Europea.</p>

Analysis

The “snake” metaphor refers to the fact that European currencies are tied to one another, forming a metaphorical “line”. This metaphor was already common in French (*le serpent*) and in Romanian the same image is used. In other instances (see Example 83 in section 5.3.2), the Romanian term is *șarpe monetar* (‘monetary snake’), which includes an addition (just like in French) and points out the fact that it is a specialised, economic term. The inverted commas denote the novelty of the expression in all language versions (even if the term is not new, it was considered that it is not well-known to the target reader).

BASKET OF GOODS

Example 17

English version	Romanian version
<p>The total cost of the basket can then be calculated by multiplying the quantities by the respective prices and adding everything up.</p> <p><i>(ECB – History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Costul total al coșului poate fi apoi calculat prin înmulțirea cantităților cu prețurile respective și adunarea rezultatelor.</p>

Example 18

English version	Romanian version
<p>It is easy to see that between the first and second year, the cost of this basket of goods has risen from EUR 300 to EUR 330, or by 10 %.</p> <p><i>(ECB – History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Este ușor de observat că între primul și al doilea an, costul acestui coș de bunuri a crescut de la 300 EUR la 330 EUR, mai exact cu 10 %.</p>

Example 19

English version	Romanian version
<p>This means that a basket of goods is defined in the base period and the same basket is repriced again in each subsequent period. If the characteristics of the products change, statisticians try to quantify the quality change so that only the pure price change is reflected in the index.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin December 2008)</i></p>	<p>Acesta presupune stabilirea unui coș de bunuri în perioada de bază și ulterior reevaluarea periodică a aceluiași coș. În cazul în care caracteristicile produselor se modifică, statisticienii încearcă să cuantifice modificarea calității astfel încât numai schimbarea prețurilor să fie reflectată în indice.</p>

Analysis

The “basket of goods” metaphor refers to a set of consumer goods and services used to track inflation in a specific country. It is commonly conceptualised as a shopping basket full of different items of clothing, food, etc. The contents of the basket, as well as the value of the goods it contains, fluctuate every year. As it can be seen, all the terms presented above have been retained in the TT, and they are also very easy to visualise.

INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS

PILLAR

Example 20

English version	Romanian version
<p>The two-pillar framework allows the internal analysis to be well-structured and facilitates communication to the general public and financial markets.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin May 2008)</i></p>	<p>Cadrul format din doi piloni permite o bună structurare a analizei interne și facilitează comunicarea cu publicul larg și cu piețele financiare.</p>

Example 21

English version	Romanian version
<p>On 23 September the European Commission published legislative proposals on the setting up of a new institutional supervisory framework in the EU, composed of the following two pillars.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2009)</i></p>	<p>Pe 23 septembrie 2009, Comisia Europeană a publicat o serie de propuneri legislative cu privire la crearea unui nou cadru instituțional de supraveghere în UE, care se bazează pe următorii doi piloni.</p>

Example 22

English version	Romanian version
Moreover, the ECB welcomes the introduction of new instruments such as the EU-level thematic pillar . (<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)	De asemenea, BCE salută introducerea de noi instrumente, cum ar fi pilonul tematic la nivelul UE.

Analysis

These examples, too, reflect the same conceptual metaphor and same linguistic expression. The conceptual metaphor is INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS. *Pillar* is a prevalent term used in the EU discourse and it has been translated literally into Romanian – *pilon*. In Example 20, the BUILDING conceptual metaphor is illustrated by *framework*, *structured* (and they were retained in the TT), and in Example 21 by *setting up*, *framework*. It can be noticed that, even if the conceptual metaphors in both the ST and the TT are generally the same, in Example 21 *setting up* is translated as *crearea* ('creating'), which is a different conceptual metaphor (or may also be seen as a different level of the same metaphor, since building is an example of creating something), but later in the sentence the metaphor is compensated for, as *composed of* is translated *se bazează pe* ('is based on'), so, on the whole, the BUILDING conceptual metaphor is retained. In Example 22, three conceptual metaphors can be noticed: the personification of ECB (INSTITUTIONS ARE PEOPLE – *ECB welcomes*), INSTITUTIONS ARE MECHANISMS (*instrument*) and INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS (*pillar*). All metaphorical expressions and conceptual metaphors have been retained in the TT. The existence of these conceptual metaphors in both English and Romanian was previously shown in several studies (e.g. Pârlog, 2011; Pecican, 2007a, 2007b).

UP/DOWN

Example 23

English version	Romanian version
<p>The combination of moderate, but still positive, external financing flows and the slump in internal financing resulted in further increases and record high levels of non-financial corporate leverage ratios in terms of GDP and gross operating surplus. In the third quarter of 2009 the debt-to-GDP and debt to-gross operating surplus ratios rose to 83.1% and 441% respectively. This substantial amount of leverage in the non-financial corporate sector might explain the increased number of corporate defaults in 2009. At the same time, the significant declines in interest rates eased the net interest burden of non-financial firms in the course of 2009.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2009)</i></p>	<p>Deși situate încă în teritoriu pozitiv, fluxurile moderate de finanțare externă, coroborate cu reculul finanțării interne, au generat noi creșteri ale raportului datorie/PIB și ale raportului datorie/excedent brut de exploatare aferente societăților nefinanciare, acestea atingând niveluri record. Astfel, în trimestrul III 2009, raportul datorie/PIB și raportul datorie/excedent brut de exploatare s-au majorat la 83,1% și respectiv 441%. Gradul semnificativ de îndatorare al acestui sector ar putea constitui explicația pentru numărul în creștere al cazurilor de intrare în incapacitate de plată în anul 2009. Pe de altă parte, reducerile substanțiale operate la nivelul ratelor dobânzilor au diminuat povara sectorului corporativ nefinanciar asociată dobânzilor bancare nete.</p>

Example 24

English version	Romanian version
<p>As in previous quarters, profit developments seemed to be driven by improved efficiency in the form of declining operating expenses as a percentage of sales and robust cash flow developments, partly offset by increases in</p>	<p>Este posibil ca, similar trimestrelor anterioare, evoluțiile la nivelul rentabilității să fi fost determinate de creșterea eficienței, ca urmare a diminuării cheltuielilor de exploatare (ca pondere în cifra de afaceri totală) și robusteții</p>

<p>the interest burden of non-financial corporations as a result of both an accumulation of debt and higher interest rates.</p> <p>(<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2008</i>)</p>	<p>fluxurilor de numerar, compensate parțial de majorarea cheltuielilor cu dobânzile ale societăților nefinanciare generată, atât de creșterea datoriei, cât și de ratele de dobândă mai mari.</p>
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Analysis

Examples 23 and 24 reflect the MOVEMENT ALONG A VERTICAL LINE metaphor, which is very frequent in economic texts (UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD). In general, the conceptual metaphors and the metaphorical expressions have been retained in the TT. In both examples, the conceptual metaphor MOVEMENT ALONG A VERTICAL LINE is also present in the TT. However, at linguistic level, the metaphorical expressions differ: *slump* – *recul* ('rebound'), *declines* – *reduceri* ('reductions'). In Romanian, the metaphorical expressions denoting an upward movement (*rise, increase*) are rendered by the specialised term *a majora* ('to increase'); although there are other synonyms for *to increase* in Romanian (such as *a crește, a ridica*), *a majora* is preferred because it is more formal, while the others are more informal, less specialised terms. The table below shows the frequency of *a majora* in the Romanian texts of the corpus. The term *a majora* ('to increase') refers to *prețuri* ('prices'), *dobândă* ('interest'), *rată* ('rate'), *euro, costuri* ('costs'), *capital* ('capital'); other words included in the collocations are *considerabil* ('considerably') and *semnificativ* ('significantly').

Table 10. Collocations of the metaphorical expression *majora in the Romanian sub-corpus.** Only more salient examples are shown. For the full table, see Appendix 3.

Word	With	Total
MAJORAREA	majorarea	420
MAJORAT	majorat	238
MAJORARE	majorare	108
PREȚURILOR	majorarea	86
DOBÂNZII	majorarea	49
RATEI	majorarea	46
EURO	majorat	34

COSTURILOR	majorarea	25
RATELOR	majorarea	25
DOBÂNZILOR	majorarea	22
CONSIDERABIL	majorat	16
CAPITALULUI	majorarea	13
SEMNIFICATIVĂ	majorarea	13
RATA	majorat	13

5.2.2 Image shift

This strategy implies that the conceptual metaphor is retained throughout the text, but the metaphorical expression is different in the ST and TT (there is an “image shift”, according to the typology established by Kurth, 1997). In the typology used by Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997: 354), this strategy is referred to as “same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression”.

E.g. *healthy – solid* (‘solid’); *drain – absorbi* (‘absorb’)

INSTITUTIONS / THE ECONOMY AS LIVING ORGANISMS

HEALTH

The sub-corpus of English texts for the general public contains seven occurrences of the search string *health**. However, only in two instances the word is used metaphorically. The phrases *the health of other banks* and *healthy policy competition* reflect the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM. In the Romanian target texts, the metaphorical expression used is *soliditate* (‘solidity’), which could be understood in two ways. On the one hand, solidity can be understood as an aspect of health, i.e. the conceptual metaphor is the same but the image to illustrate it is different (the strategy is image shift). Solidity is an aspect of health because even in English the words *firm* and *infirm* can also mean “healthy” and “unhealthy” respectively. On the other hand, the metaphorical expression *solid* can be seen as an example of the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A STRUCTURE, implying the “solidity” of a building.

Example 25

English version	Romanian version
<p>However, this situation is not necessarily a flaw in the Community's economic policy framework. Allowing the Member States a large degree of autonomy in decision-making in important fields of economic policy provides vital room for manoeuvre and offers scope for the beneficial effects of healthy policy competition.</p> <p><i>(How Euro Became Our Money)</i></p>	<p>Totuși, aceasta nu reprezintă neapărat o deficiență a cadrului de politică economică al Comunității. Un grad înalt de autonomie decizională acordat statelor membre în domenii importante ale politicii economice le conferă acestora o marjă de manevră esențială și permite manifestarea efectelor benefice ale unei concurențe solide între politicile economice.</p>

Analysis

As it can be seen from the general texts, not only the economy can be healthy (or, in case of the Romanian examples, *solid*), but also the policies. The conceptual metaphor of SOLIDITY is consistent throughout almost all of the texts in both general and specialised corpora. However, in some cases there are instances when the word *health* is translated literally: *sănătate*. Sometimes, inconsistencies can occur in the same document; sometimes they are confined to one document produced in a particular period of time. There is no consistency in this, which shows that there is no set and widely applicable way to translate either economic terminology or economic metaphors.

In the corpus of texts for the specialised public, there are 61 occurrences of *health** (including *healthy*, *healthcare*, etc.), out of which seven are metaphors, referring to the health of the economy, companies, while the others are referring to healthcare.

Example 26

English version	Romanian version
<p>[...] renewed concerns about the health of some US financial institutions [...]</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2008)</i></p>	<p>[...] reintensificarea preocupărilor referitoare la soliditatea unor instituții financiare ale SUA [...]</p>

Example 27

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>At the same time, the worsening domestic and global macroeconomic conditions and renewed concerns about the health of some US financial institutions depressed global stock markets and triggered renewed flight-to safety flows that appeared to attenuate the upward pressure on long-term bond yields.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2009)</i></p>	<p>Totodată, deteriorarea condițiilor macroeconomice pe plan intern și internațional și reintensificarea preocupărilor referitoare la soliditatea unor instituții financiare ale SUA au afectat piețele de acțiuni la nivel mondial și au determinat reorientarea investitorilor către plasamente cu un grad mai înalt de siguranță (flight-to-safety), care par să fi atenuat presiunile în sensul creșterii la adresa randamentelor acestor obligațiuni.</p>

Example 28

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Heightened risk aversion among investors was triggered by bleak prospects for the global economy, as well as by renewed concerns about the health of the banking sector.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2009)</i></p>	<p>Sporirea aversiunii față de risc în rândul investitorilor a fost generată de deteriorarea perspectivelor asupra economiei mondiale, precum și de reintensificarea preocupărilor legate de soliditatea sectorului bancar.</p>

Example 29

English Version	Romanian Version
Subsequent concerns about potential further interventions in financial institutions as part of the Capital Assistance Program (CAP) raised uncertainty about the health of the financial system among investors, and pushed stock prices down to their 1997 levels. (<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2009</i>)	Temerile ulterioare privind posibilitatea altor intervenții vizând instituțiile financiare, în cadrul Programului de asistență financiară (Capital Assistance Program), au determinat investitorii să pună sub semnul îndoielii soliditatea sistemului financiar, împingând cotațiile bursiere către nivelurile înregistrate în 1997.

Analysis

The examples above (26-29) show that in the Romanian target texts a different conceptual metaphor is used: in the source texts the conceptual metaphor is INSTITUTIONS / THE ECONOMY ARE LIVING ORGANISMS (*health*), whereas in the target texts the conceptual metaphor is INSTITUTIONS / THE ECONOMY ARE BUILDINGS / PHYSICAL STRUCTURES (*soliditate*, 'solidity'). Being "healthy" does imply being "solid" and vigorous, but the term *solid* is more frequently used in relation to the stability of a physical structure.

SOUND (metaphorical expression relating to health)

The word *sound* often refers to health and well-being, either physical or mental, but it also means financial security. Therefore, this word is part of the HEALTH metaphor. As shown in the examples below, there is no consistency in translating this expression. As with the word *health*, sometimes *sound* is translated as *sănătos* ('healthy') and sometimes as *solid* ('solid'). Nevertheless, within the same conceptual metaphor (THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM) in the Romanian target texts there are more examples of the metaphorical expression related to *solidity* than of the metaphorical expression *health*: there are only 13 instances of *sănătate* ('health') or *sănătos* ('healthy') being used metaphorically. Only one of them is a literal translation of the English metaphorical expression *health*, which means that the other instances are literal translations of the metaphorical expression *sound*. However, there are around 50 instances of *soliditate* ('solidity') being used metaphorically in the Romanian texts.

SOUND translated as **SOLID** ('solid')

Example 30

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>The Treaty contains several provisions aimed at ensuring sound government finances in Stage Three of EMU, given that fiscal policy remains the responsibility of the national governments. One relates to the excessive deficit procedure, as defined in Article 104 and a protocol annexed to the Treaty. This procedure lays down the conditions that must prevail for a budgetary position to be judged sound.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Tratatul cuprinde o serie de dispoziții destinate asigurării unei situații solide a finanțelor publice în cursul celei de-a treia etape a UEM, având în vedere că politica fiscală rămâne în responsabilitatea guvernelor naționale. Una dintre acestea se referă la procedura de deficit excesiv, astfel cum este definită în articolul 104 și într-un protocol anexat la tratat. Această procedură prevede condițiile care trebuie să predominie pentru ca o poziție bugetară să fie considerată solidă.</p>

Example 31

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>In addition to increasing the incentives to pursue sound public finances and prudent fiscal policies, these provisions contribute to the credibility of the single monetary policy in the pursuit of price stability.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>În afara consolidării stimulentele pentru finanțe publice solide și politici fiscale prudente, aceste dispoziții contribuie la credibilitatea politicii monetare unice în urmărirea obiectivului stabilității prețurilor.</p>

Example 32

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>This provision ensures that EMU remains in line with its fundamental objectives and guiding principles, in particular stable prices, sound public finances and monetary conditions, and a sustainable balance of payments.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Această prevedere asigură că UEM rămâne în concordanță cu obiectivele sale fundamentale și cu principiile sale directoare, în special stabilitatea prețurilor, caracterul solid al finanțelor publice și al condițiilor monetare și o balanță de plăți durabilă.</p>

For more examples illustrating this particular metaphor, see Appendix 2.

Example 33

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>The ECB and national central banks may provide facilities, and the ECB may make regulations, to ensure efficient and sound clearing and payment systems within the Community and with other countries.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>BCE și băncile centrale naționale pot acorda facilități, iar BCE poate adopta regulamente în vederea asigurării eficienței și solidității sistemelor de compensare și de plăți în cadrul Comunității și în raporturile cu țările terțe.</p>

Analysis

As seen in the majority of the examples above, the conceptual metaphor is the same, but there is an image shift at the level of the metaphorical expression (solidity as an aspect of health). However, this can also be viewed as the conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS / THE ECONOMY ARE LIVING ORGANISMS in the English source texts being replaced by a different conceptual metaphor in the Romanian target texts: INSTITUTIONS / THE ECONOMY ARE BUILDINGS / PHYSICAL STRUCTURES.

It has to be mentioned that in case of these examples, the analysis was started in the target text (which proves the usefulness of corpus analysis, because the expressions with metaphoric potential are not found only by searching for them in the source text, but also the other way round). The examples were found in the concordance for the search string *sănăt** ('health*') in the Romanian sub-corpus. It was expected that they would correspond to the word *health(-y)* in the English sub-corpus but instead they corresponded to the word *sound*. This reinforces the claims that *health* and *sound* are parts of the same conceptual metaphor. Moreover, it can be seen once again that there is no consistency regarding translation in respect of this conceptual metaphor. This can be linked to Toury's (1995) findings, who said that metaphor had predominantly been treated as a translation problem identified in the source text, but that starting with the target text will reveal additional strategies (and he identified "non-metaphor into metaphor" and "0 into metaphor" as two more translation strategies, from a linguistic point of view).

As seen from the numerous examples provided above and in the appendices, *sound* is translated into Romanian as either *sănătos* ('healthy') or *solid* ('solid'). The two strategies employed are retaining the metaphor and image shift. No regularity has been found due to the lack of consistency in the Romanian economic terminology. No particular patterns have been found related to the nature of the texts (specialised/non-specialised). However, it has been found that there are more instances of image shift than retaining the metaphor.

MONEY IS A LIQUID

ABSORB – DRAIN

Example 34

English version	Romanian version
<p>Following the allotment of €10 billion above the benchmark in the last MRO of the maintenance period, the EONIA declined to a level significantly below the minimum bid rate, and on 7 December the ECB launched a liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operation for an amount of up to €8 billion with a maturity of five days. Subsequently,</p>	<p>În urma alocării unui volum de 10 miliarde EUR peste volumul de referință în cadrul ultimei OPR a perioadei de constituire a rezervelor minime obligatorii, EONIA a scăzut până la un nivel cu mult sub rata dobânzii minimă acceptată, iar la data de 7 decembrie BCE a lansat o operațiune de reglaj fin (ORF) cu scopul de a absorbi</p>

<p>the EONIA stabilised at a level closer to the minimum bid rate and stood at 3.857% on the penultimate day of the maintenance period. On the last day of the maintenance period, the ECB restored balanced liquidity conditions by conducting a liquidity-draining fine-tuning operation for an amount of €21 billion with a rate of 4.00%.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2008)</i></p>	<p>excedentul de lichiditate pentru o valoare de 8 miliarde EUR cu scadență de cinci zile. Ulterior acestei operațiuni, EONIA s-a stabilizat la un nivel apropiat ratei dobânzii minimă acceptată și s-a menținut la nivelul de 3,857% în penultima zi a perioadei de constituire a RMO. În ultima zi a perioadei de constituire, BCE a restabilit condiții relativ echilibrate de lichiditate prin efectuarea unei operațiuni de reglaj fin cu scopul de a absorbi excedentul de lichiditate pentru o valoare de 21 miliarde EUR și la o rată a dobânzii de 4,00%.</p>
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Analysis

In example 34 above, when it comes to the conceptual framework, the Romanian target text exhibits coherence at text level (the English expressions *absorb* and *drain* are translated as *absorb*). The conceptual framework (MONEY IS A LIQUID) is retained throughout the Romanian text and, as a whole, is present at macro-level. However, in the ST two different metaphorical expressions are used: *drain* and *absorb*, which in the TT are both rendered as *absorb* ('a absorbi'). Thus, at linguistic level, there is an image shift. The next examples, however, present a completely different picture: in them, the English metaphorical expression *absorb* is translated as *a drena* ('to drain').

Example 35

English version	Romanian version
<p>Over the next few days, the ECB absorbed around €150 billion on a daily basis through a series of liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operations.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2008)</i></p>	<p>În următoarele zile, BCE a drenat aproximativ 150 miliarde EUR zilnic prin intermediul unor operațiuni de reglaj fin cu scopul de a absorbi excedentul de lichiditate.</p>

Example 36

English version	Romanian version
On the last day of the maintenance period, the ECB absorbed €16 billion through a fine tuning operation. (<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2008</i>)	În ultima zi a perioadei de constituire a RMO, BCE a drenat 16 miliarde EUR prin efectuarea unei operațiuni de reglaj fin.

Example 37

English version	Romanian version
On the last day of the maintenance period the ECB launched a liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operation and absorbed €23.5 billion. (<i>Monthly Bulletin June 2008</i>)	BCE a inițiat o operațiune de reglaj fin pentru a drena excedentul de lichiditate, absorbind 23,5 miliarde EUR în ultima zi a perioadei de constituire a RMO.

Analysis

As it can be seen from examples 4 and 5 in section 5.2.1, as well as from the collocations table 9, the metaphorical expression *to absorb liquidity* is retained in the TT most of the time. However, examples 35-37 present a different translation strategy. It is encountered rarely, and was discovered by a reverse search (the target texts were analysed, searching for expressions with metaphoric potential and then corresponding expressions were sought in the source texts, just like with the expression *sound* in examples 12-15 and 30-32). This research method was suggested by a few occurrences of the metaphorical expression *drain* related to money. It was decided to search for forms of the verb *a drena* ('to drain') in the Romanian texts and the search yielded the results presented in the examples above. Where in the English version the metaphorical expression *absorb* is present, in the Romanian language version it is translated both as *absorb* and *drain* at the same time, often in the same sentence. Just like with the metaphorical expression *sound* that was translated as both

healthy and *solid*, this is an example of image shift – the conceptual metaphor remains the same (MONEY IS A LIQUID), but the metaphorical expressions seem to be “interchangeable” in the target text, not only in different texts, but also at the text level of the same document.

ABSORB translated as STERILIZA (‘sterilise’, ‘clean up’)

Example 38

English version	Romanian version
<p>In order to reabsorb the liquidity injected through the Securities Markets Programme, the ECB conducted liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operations to collect one-week fixed-term deposits for a weekly amount corresponding to the settled size of the SMP itself.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2010)</i></p>	<p>În vederea sterilizării lichidității injectate prin intermediul Programului destinat piețelor titlurilor de valoare, BCE a derulat operațiuni de reglaj fin prin atragerea de depozite pe termen fix cu scadența la o săptămână, pentru o valoare săptămânală corespunzătoare celei decontate chiar prin intermediul programului menționat.</p>

Example 39

English version	Romanian version
<p>On average, €154 billion was absorbed via these operations, with 136 counterparties participating.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2009)</i></p>	<p>Prin intermediul acestor operațiuni, la care au participat 136 contrapartide, a fost sterilizat un volum însumând, în medie, 154 miliarde EUR.</p>

Example 40

English version	Romanian version
<p>The credit institutions’ current accounts (column 11) are equal to the difference</p>	<p>Conturile curente ale instituțiilor de credit (coloana 11) sunt egale cu diferența dintre</p>

<p>between the sum of liquidity-providing factors (columns 1 to 5) and the sum of liquidity-absorbing factors (columns 6 to 10).</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2008, March 2009, December 2009, March 2010, June 2010, September 2010, December 2010)</i></p>	<p>suma factorilor care furnizează lichiditate (coloanele 1-5) și suma factorilor care sterilizează lichiditate (coloanele 6-10).</p>
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Analysis

In examples 38-40 there is an image shift at the level of the metaphorical expression (*reabsorb / absorb* is translated as *a steriliza* – ‘sterilise’, ‘clean up’). The conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is the same in both ST and TT. Although this strategy is used in only a few instances, it shows that the translation is not consistent at text level. However, this can be due to the use of synonyms. It also reflects that, while the Romanian economic vocabulary is not fully established yet, there are clues that efforts are being made to develop new terms and retain the metaphoric potential of the English ST.

5.2.3 Metaphor into non-metaphor / Demetaphorisation

This strategy consists in replacing the ST metaphor with a non-metaphoric phrase in the TT (the conceptual metaphor and metaphorical expressions are not retained) and using a paraphrase (a phrase without metaphoric potential). Different scholars employ different terms for this strategy. Van den Broeck (1981: 77) refers to it as “paraphrase, when the metaphor is rendered by a non-metaphorical expression in the TL”. The terminology “metaphor into non-metaphor” belongs to Toury (1995: 82). In Newmark’s (1981: 89) classification of translation strategies for metaphors, this strategy is called “conversion of metaphor to sense”. Al-Harrasi (2001), from a conceptual metaphor perspective, calls it demetaphorisation. This strategy will be illustrated with the examples below.

E.g. *health check* – *evaluare* (‘evaluation’); *fitness* – *calitate* (‘quality’); *liquidity injected* – *lichiditate furnizată* (‘liquidity provided’)

Example 41

English version	Romanian version
December 1990 - An Intergovernmental Conference to prepare for Stages Two and Three of EMU is launched . (<i>ECB – History, Role and Functions</i>)	Decembrie 1990 - Are loc o Conferință interguvernamentală în vederea pregătirii etapelor a doua și a treia ale UEM.

Analysis

In Example 41 above, the conceptual metaphor EVENTS ARE MECHANISMS IN MOTION is demetaphorised in the Romanian target text. In the English source text, there is movement (*is launched*) and also a personification (a conference is launched). The Romanian translation is *are loc* ('takes place'), which means that there is no movement and the metaphor is not retained at micro-level.

Example 42

English version	Romanian version
In order to sterilise the impact of the above interventions, specific operations will be conducted to reabsorb the liquidity injected through the Securities Markets Programme. (<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)	Impactul intervențiilor menționate va fi sterilizat prin derularea unor operațiuni specifice vizând reabsorbția lichidității furnizate prin intermediul programului destinat piețelor titlurilor de valoare.

Analysis

In the example provided above, there is one instance of non-retention of the metaphor – when the metaphorical expression *injected* is translated by *furnizate* ('provided'). In this particular instance, the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is not retained and the metaphorical expression is demetaphorised. However, at text level, it can be noticed that the conceptual framework is the same in the ST and the TT (reflected by the metaphorical

expressions *sterilise – steriliza, reabsorb – reabsorbție, liquidity – lichiditate*). Thus, it can be said that in only one instance the metaphor is demetaphorised, but only from a linguistic point of view, at micro-level.

INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS

Example 43

English version	Romanian version
The ongoing “ health check ” of the EU common agricultural policy [...] <i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2008)</i>	evaluarea politicii agricole comune a UE, aflată în prezent în plină desfășurare [...]
French version	Spanish version
« bilan de santé » en cours de la politique agricole commune de l’UE [...]	el « chequeo » al que está siendo sometida la política agrícola común de la UE [...]

Analysis

This excerpt reflects the conceptual metaphor POLICY (which is a part of the broader economy) IS A PERSON or HEALTHY IS GOOD. In the example above, the Romanian translation is the only one that does not have inverted commas around the expression, because the metaphor is demetaphorised. The English *health* metaphor is simply replaced by the word *evaluarea* (‘evaluation’). To compare the French and the Spanish language versions, in the French and the Spanish target texts there is the same image as in English and the metaphor is retained (in Spanish *chequeo* means ‘check’ and is used especially in the medical context). In the Romanian target text a non-metaphorical solution was adopted because in this case, if the metaphor were retained, it would not be perceived as belonging to the economic field in Romanian and the figurative language is not deemed appropriate in this context.

Example 44

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>As in preceding quarters, the development of earnings seemed to have been driven, against the backdrop of healthy total non-financial corporations macroeconomic performance, by the sound manufacturing wholesale and retail trade pace of sales growth, coupled with a subdued transportation and communications construction dynamics of operating expenses, thus leading utilities to continued robust cash flows.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2008)</i></p>	<p>Este posibil ca, similar trimestrelor anterioare, evoluția rentabilității să fi fost determinată de dinamica accentuată a cifrei de afaceri, asociată creșterii moderate a cheltuielilor de exploatare, ceea ce a condus la persistența robusteții fluxurilor de numerar, în condițiile realizării unor performanțe în plan macroeconomic.</p>

Analysis

In Example 44, the expression *against the backdrop of **healthy** total non-financial corporations macroeconomic performance* was translated as *în condițiile realizării unor **performanțe** în plan macroeconomic* ('under the conditions of achieving performance in the economic field'). The conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression have been demetaphorised in the TT. At sentence level, neither the metaphorical expression *health*, nor the underlying conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM has been retained in the TT.

Example 45

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Sound financial management of the Eurosystem is a matter of public concern; after all, the ECB and the NCBs exercise a public function that ultimately involves the taxpayer's money.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Gestionarea financiară temeinică a Eurosistemului este o chestiune de interes public; în fapt, BCE și BCN exercită o funcție publică implicând, în ultimă instanță, banii contribuabililor.</p>

Analysis

The example above (45) is a special one because *sound* is translated as *temeinic* ('thorough'), not *solid*. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS is not retained at micro-level and the expression is translated non-metaphorically.

FITNESS

One of the most prominent examples of demetaphorisation in the translation of the ECB documents is the expression *fitness*. Unlike the related word *health* (see above), where either the same metaphor and same image are preserved or one conceptual metaphorical expression is replaced with another and thus image shift occurs, the word *fitness* is paraphrased and/or elements are added and the metaphor is not retained in the Romanian language version. The analysis below and Appendix 2 present this strategy in greater detail.

In general texts, among 34 occurrences of *fitness*, there are 12 occurrences of *fitness check*.

Example 46

English version	Romanian version
After being checked for “fitness” , i.e. that they are physically sound , and for authenticity, used banknotes can be re-issued. (<i>How Euro Became Our Money</i>)	După ce sunt verificate pentru a vedea dacă acestea corespund din punct de vedere fizic , dar și din punct de vedere al autenticității, bancnotele folosite sunt repuse in circuit.
French version	Spanish version
Après une vérification de leur qualité (afin de savoir s'ils sont en bon état) et de leur authenticité, les billets usagés peuvent être remis en circulation.	Una vez comprobadas su autenticidad y aptitud para volver a la circulación (es decir, si son físicamente validos) , los billetes usados pueden redistribuirse.

Analysis

This example also comprises French and Spanish excerpts, which are mainly used when the metaphor is not retained in the Romanian TT, in order to check if the translators of the other Romance target texts have adopted the same strategy. In the example above (46), in the English version *fitness* is between inverted commas, accompanied by an explanation, and in the Romanian target text it is explained even further (*pentru a vedea dacă acestea corespund din punct de vedere fizic* – ‘to check if they correspond from a physical point of view’) and the expression *fitness* is not retained, and neither are the inverted commas. In the French and Spanish target texts, the explanation is provided in brackets. In the Romanian target text the metaphor is explained because otherwise it would not have been clear for the Romanian reader. The English word *fitness* is used in Romanian only in the meaning of “physical exercise”, so it was already borrowed into Romanian in another context; in English *fitness* as typically used in sports is metaphorically extended to the field of economy – a person is fit which means healthy (you can get fit by doing sports). This, however, is the only instance of the word *fitness* being placed between inverted commas in the source text. This means that the metaphorical expression is recognised as “novel” and its non-literality is acknowledged. In all the other instances of use in the texts for the general public, *fitness* is not placed between inverted commas anymore and it is mostly translated as *calitate* (‘*quality*’), as demonstrated in the examples below.

Example 47

English version	Romanian version
Banknote recycling is only allowed if banknotes are authenticated and fitness-checked by cash-recycling machines. (<i>Recycling of Euro Banknotes</i>)	Reciclarea bancnotelor este permisă numai dacă bancnotele sunt autentificate și sortate calitativ cu ajutorul aparatelor de reciclare a numerarului.
French version	Spanish version
Le recyclage des billets est autorisé seulement si l’authentification et le tri qualitatif des billets sont effectués à l’aide de caisses recyclantes.	Sólo se permite el reciclado de los billetes si su autenticidad y aptitud para volver a circular se han comprobado mediante máquinas recicladoras de efectivo.

Example 48

English version	Romanian version
<p>[...] common rules for the detection of counterfeits and minimum standards for fitness checks of euro banknotes.</p> <p><i>(How Euro Became Our Money)</i></p>	<p>[...] reguli comune privind detectarea bancnotelor falsificate și standarde minime pentru verificarea calității bancnotelor euro.</p>
French version	Spanish version
<p>[...] règles communes concernant la détection des contrefaçons et des normes minimales pour la vérification de la qualité des billets en euros.</p>	<p>[...] un conjunto de normas comunes para la detección de billetes falsos y unos criterios mínimos para comprobar si los billetes en euros son aptos para retornar a la circulación.</p>

More examples are presented below in order to illustrate more cases of demetaphorisation. It must also be noted that all the examples from the texts for the general public come from a single text – *Recycling of Euro Banknotes* (code REB-2005, available online at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/recyclingeurobanknotes2005en.pdf>). The topic of the text (recycling of the banknotes) determined the content: banknotes that are not appropriate (“unfit”) are recycled.

Example 49

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>The genuine banknotes should be checked for fitness and unfit banknotes should be separated from the fit ones.</p> <p><i>(Recycling of Euro Banknotes)</i></p>	<p>Bancnotele autentice trebuie verificate din punct de vedere al calității, iar bancnotele deteriorate trebuie separate de cele care se află în stare bună.</p>

Example 50

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Machines which do not check deposited banknotes for fitness and do not recycle fit banknotes, for example cash-in machines, do not need to distinguish between category 4a and category 4b.</p> <p><i>(Recycling of Euro Banknotes)</i></p>	<p>Aparatele care nu verifică calitatea bancnotelor depuse și care nu reciclează bancnotele aflate în stare bună (de exemplu, aparatele de tip cash-in) nu trebuie să facă în mod obligatoriu distincția între categoria 4a și categoria 4b.</p>

Example 51

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Banknotes which have been checked for authenticity by trained staff members, either manually or without the use of successfully tested banknote handling equipment, shall not be returned to circulation via ATMs or other customer-operated devices, but can only be re-issued over the counter after being checked for fitness.</p> <p><i>(Recycling of Euro Banknotes)</i></p>	<p>Bancnotele a căror autenticitate a fost verificată de personalul calificat, manual sau fără ajutorul aparaturii de procesare a bancnotelor, testată cu succes de BCN, sunt repuse în circulație numai la ghișeu, și nu prin intermediul ATM sau al altor aparate utilizate de clienți, după verificarea calității acestora.</p>

Example 52

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>2.3 DETECTION OF UNFIT BANKNOTES</p> <p>The fitness checks of the banknotes that should be re-issued shall be undertaken in</p>	<p>2.3 DETECTAREA BANCNOTELOR DETERIORATE</p> <p>Controlul calității bancnotelor care ar trebui</p>

<p>accordance with the Eurosystem's common minimum sorting standards which are set out in the Annex to this document and which form an integral part of this framework.</p> <p>(<i>Recycling of Euro Banknotes</i>)</p>	<p>repuse în circulație se efectuează în conformitate cu standardele minime commune ale Eurosistemului privind sortarea, care sunt prevăzute în anexa la prezentul document și care fac parte integrantă din acest cadru.</p>
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More examples are provided in Appendix 2.

Analysis

From these examples (48-52) it can be noticed that the Romanian target texts seem closer to other Romance language versions (French, Spanish) when it comes to translating *fitness-checked*: the Romanian version *sortate calitativ* ('qualitatively sorted') is closer to the French *tri qualitatif* ('qualitative sorting') than to the English version.

In Example 48, once again it can be noticed that the Romanian version is very close to the French one: *verificarea calității – vérification de la qualité*. In the Spanish target text the metaphor is explicitated (*aptos para retornar a la circulación – 'fit to return into circulation'*). Just like in many other examples (see below), the metaphor is replaced by a non-metaphoric expression. This could be explained by the fact that the majority of the examples talk about the fitness of banknotes. Since the word *fitness* has very specific connotations in Romanian, the Romanian translators referred to the *quality* of banknotes as a physical property. Thus, fitness has been translated in the following way: *fitness check – controlul calității* ('quality check'); *fitness – calitate* ('quality'); *fitness-checked – sortate calitativ* ('qualitatively classified').

In the examples above (48-52), words belonging to the family of the word *fitness* can be found: *fit* and *unfit*. *Fitness* is replaced with *calitate* ('quality'). However, the related expressions are translated in a way that presents no pattern or linguistic link between the expressions in the target language. The expression *fit* is translated as *în stare bună* ('in good state/good condition'). The expression *unfit* is translated as *deteriorat* ('deteriorated'). This is consistent within the texts of the Romanian target corpus. All of the expressions are systematically demetaphorised.

BUILDING metaphor

Example 53

English Version	Romanian Version
The new framework will comprise the following building blocks . <i>(Annual Report 2010)</i>	Noul cadru va cuprinde următoarele secțiuni .

Example 54

English Version	Romanian Version
Moreover, they endorsed the outcomes of a number of important work streams that had been reached in preparation for this summit, notably a reform of IMF quotas and governance, as well as key building blocks for transforming the financial system by addressing the root causes of the crisis (one of the building blocks is the work of the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision). <i>(Annual Report 2010)</i>	De asemenea, aceștia au aprobat rezultatele obținute în pregătirea acestui summit de mai multe echipe de lucru interdisciplinare, în special cu privire la reforma guvernancei și a cotelor FMI, precum și la principalele elemente de bază destinate transformării sistemului financiar prin abordarea cauzelor profunde ale crizei (unul dintre elementele de bază este activitatea Comitetului de supraveghere bancară de la Basel).

Example 55

English Version	Romanian Version
The institutional framework for banking supervision established by Community legislation relies on two building blocks . <i>(ECB – History, Role and Functions)</i>	Cadrul instituțional al supravegherii bancare, instituit de legislația comunitară, se întemeiază pe două aspecte fundamentale .

Example 56

English Version	Romanian Version
This programme, which constituted a building block of the ECB's enhanced credit support approach, was launched with the aim of contributing to the revival of the covered bond market. (Annual Report 2009)	Acest program, care a constituit fundamentul pentru abordarea conduitei susținute de sprijinire a BCE, a fost lansat în vederea contribuiri la revigorarea pieței de obligațiuni garantate.

Analysis

The BUILDING metaphor is a predominant one in economic discourse. In the examples presented above, it can be noticed that the translation of *building block* into Romanian is not always metaphoric: *secțiune* ('section'), *element* ('element'), *aspect* ('aspect'). Sometimes, the metaphoric nature is retained: *fundament* ('base'). *Building blocks* imply the presence of many elements grouped together to form a whole. When this metaphorical expression is translated as *secțiuni* ('sections'), *elemente* ('elements'), *aspecte* ('aspects') in the target text, the semantic association (parts of a whole) is retained, but the metaphoricity and the concept (the building, structure element) are not retained and the metaphor is demetaphorised. Koskinen (2008), in her study on the Finnish translators at the European Commission, also reports that the metaphor *building blocks* was demetaphorised in the Finnish translations.

As far as the BUILDING metaphor is concerned, in some instances it is not retained in Romanian at sentence level, but demetaphorised. However, at textual level, the conceptual metaphor is partially retained (as seen above in examples 54, 55, 56) and the metaphorical expression is paraphrased (example 55). The *building blocks* become fundamental (basic) parts that form a whole. The expressions *basic* and *fundamental* belong to the BUILDING conceptual metaphor.

5.2.4 Non-metaphor into metaphor

This strategy refers to instances when a metaphor is employed in the TT where there is no metaphor present in the ST. It is the opposite of demetaphorisation (or metaphor into

non-metaphor). This is one of the strategies identified by Toury (1995). Ennis (1998) cited in Pecican (2007a: 6) refers to both strategies as: “L1 metaphorical expression rendered non metaphorically in L2 and vice versa”.

E.g. *withdraw* – *steriliza* ('sterilise'), *drena* ('drain')

Example 57

English version	Romanian version
<p>In the last few months, the government has introduced a wide range of administrative measures targeted at cooling down residential prices and has raised the reserve requirements for commercial banks to withdraw excess domestic liquidity.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2010)</i></p>	<p>În ultimele luni, guvernul a introdus o gamă largă de măsuri administrative care vizează reducerea prețurilor locuințelor și a majorat cerințele privind rezervele minime obligatorii aplicabile băncilor comerciale pentru drenarea excedentului de lichiditate de pe piața internă.</p>

Example 58

English version	Romanian version
<p>The monetary authorities have begun to withdraw excess domestic liquidity by raising the banks' reserve requirement ratio twice since the beginning of the year, by 50 basis points on each occasion.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2010)</i></p>	<p>Autoritățile monetare au început să sterilizeze excedentul de lichiditate pe plan intern, majorând de două ori, cu câte 50 puncte de bază, rata rezervelor minime obligatorii.</p>

Analysis

These two examples reflect a less frequently encountered strategy: a non metaphorical expression in the ST is translated by a metaphorical expression in the TT. The English non-metaphorical expression in both texts is *withdraw*, which in the Romanian TT is

translated by *drenare* ('draining') in Example 57 and *steriliza* ('sterilise', 'clean up') in Example 58. At text level it can be noticed that the conceptual framework is the same in the two texts, reflected by the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID (*liquidity – lichiditate*). This strategy reflects coherence at macro-level and the fact that metaphorical expressions trigger others, within the same conceptual framework.

5.2.5 Addition

This strategy implies retaining the metaphor and adding elements to it, in order to provide a further explanation. It has been referred to with many different terms by scholars. Newmark (1981: 91), from a linguistic perspective, calls it "same metaphor combined with sense". Kurth (1997), classifying strategies at text level, speaks of elaboration or explanation. Chesterman (1997: 30) mentions "addition" as a pragmatic strategy.

E.g. *bad banks – așa-numitele bad banks* ('so called bad banks')

Example 59

English version	Romanian version
<p>In addition, in the current business cycle, the impact of "bad banks" on the dynamics of MFI loans to non-financial corporations needs to be taken into account.</p> <p>(<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2010</i>)</p>	<p>Totodată, în etapa actuală a ciclului de afaceri, trebuie să se țină seama și de impactul așa-numitelor „bad banks” asupra dinamicii împrumuturilor IFM acordate societăților nefinanciare.</p>
French version	Spanish version
<p>En outre, dans le cycle d'activité actuel, il convient de prendre en compte l'incidence des structures de défaisance (bad banks) sur la dynamique des prêts consentis par les IFM aux sociétés non financières.</p>	<p>Además, en el ciclo económico actual, hay que tener en cuenta el impacto de los «bancos malos» sobre la evolución de los préstamos de las IFM a las sociedades no financieras.</p>

Analysis

As far as conceptual metaphors are concerned, in this excerpt the same conceptual metaphor and expression are encountered. In the Romanian target text the English term is kept and a metalinguistic comment has been added: *așa-numitelor* ('so-called'). This is a new metaphor in English, which is illustrated by the use of the inverted commas. In the Romanian target text both inverted commas and italics have been used, to emphasise even more that it is a new metaphor and that in Romanian the English term has been borrowed. In the other language versions, it can be noticed that the only target text where the term *bad bank* is fully translated is the Spanish one (*bancos malos*), without any further explanation, but the inverted commas were retained. In the French target text it is paraphrased (*structures de défaisance*), but the English term is kept in italics, between brackets, possibly because it is a new metaphor. Thus, even in the French version, where normally the English concepts are translated by French equivalents, the translation strategy is to borrow the English metaphor (just like in Romanian), which points out that in Romance languages, in case of economic novel metaphors, sometimes the chosen strategy is to borrow the English term.

Example 60

English version	Romanian version
<p>The annual average growth rate of real GDP for a given year is determined both by the growth dynamics in that particular year and in the previous year, the so-called “carry-over effect”.</p> <p>(<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2010</i>)</p>	<p>Ritmul mediu anual de creștere a PIB real pentru un anumit an este determinat de dinamica din acel an și de cea din anul anterior, fenomen cunoscut sub denumirea de efect de report.</p>
French version	Spanish version
<p>Pour une année donnée, le taux de croissance annuel moyen du PIB en volume est déterminé par la dynamique de croissance de l'année considérée mais également par celle de l'année précédente, on parle alors d'« acquis de croissance ».</p>	<p>La tasa media de crecimiento anual del PIB real para un año dado viene determinada por la dinámica de crecimiento en ese año concreto y en el año anterior, lo que se denomina «efecto arrastre».</p>

Analysis

In these economic texts, particularly when the contents is highly specialised, some terms are explained, including in English. This is highlighted by the presence of words such as *so-called*, *i.e.* etc. Moreover, inverted commas are used in the four versions. In the Romanian target text, the English *so-called* is rendered by *fenomen cunoscut sub denumirea de* ('phenomenon known by the name of'), which is meant to explain, to a certain extent, the unfamiliar term (adding that it is an economic phenomenon) or it can also be seen as an explicitation of *so-called*. In the French target text, *so-called* is translated by *on parle alors de* (literal translation: 'now we are talking of') and in the Spanish target text by *lo que se denomina* ('which is called'). The meta-communicative element is present even in the ST (*so-called*), which already shows the unfamiliar nature of the term, also highlighted by the presence of the inverted commas (also present in the French and Spanish versions). It is a new, less well-known concept and the metalinguistic elements reduce, to a certain extent, its novelty.

Example 61

English version	Romanian version
The positive flow of loans in the second half of the year may have enabled firms to rebuild their liquidity buffers towards the end of the year. (<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)	Fluxul pozitiv al împrumuturilor din semestrul II 2010 a permis probabil firmelor să își reînnoiască rezervele de lichiditate cu rol de tampon spre sfârșitul anului.

Analysis

In this excerpt two conceptual metaphors are present: MONEY IS A LIQUID and INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS. The former is kept in Romanian (*lichiditate*), but there is an addition: *liquidity buffers* – *rezerve de lichiditate cu rol de tampon* ('liquidity reserves with a buffer role'). The additions are *rezerve* ('reserves') and *cu rol de* ('with the role of'). An explanation for the use of this strategy is that in the target culture the word *tampon* has negative connotations which would make it sound inappropriate without additional information

(especially if used in the plural), so it has to be accompanied by another term in order to sound adequate for the specific context (this is why *rezerve* and *cu rol de* have been added).

Example 62

English version	Romanian version
<p>Private domestic spending remained subdued in the first half of 2009 in the context of tight credit conditions, the efforts of households to rebuild their net wealth and scale down debt accumulated over previous years, and deteriorating labour market conditions; over 8.4 million jobs were lost in 2008 and 2009.</p> <p>(<i>Annual Report 2009</i>)</p>	<p>Cheltuielile interne private s-au menținut la un nivel scăzut în prima jumătate a anului 2009 în contextul unor condiții de creditare restrictive, al eforturilor populației de a-și reface averea netă și de a-și reduce datoriile acumulate în anii anteriori, și al deteriorării condițiilor de pe piața forței de muncă; peste 8,4 milioane de locuri de muncă au fost eliminate în 2008 și 2009.</p>

Analysis

In this example the MOVEMENT metaphor is present. In the Romanian text, there is an addition: *subdued* is translated as *la un nivel scăzut* ('at a low level'). At text level, the conceptual metaphor is present in the two language versions. It can be noticed that the Romanian metaphorical expression is a more "conservative" one, as in Romanian there are not many new ways to express this reality (e.g. phrasal verbs), like in English. Whereas in English there are a wide variety of synonyms for *to increase* and *to decrease* (which are often metaphorical expressions), and new terms are being created every day, in Romanian the resources are limited, the potential for creating new metaphors is not as developed and sometimes the strategy used in translation is demetaphorisation or addition (see Pecican, 2007a and 2007b, who reports similar findings).

Example 63

English version	Romanian version
<p>The new framework will comprise the following building blocks: i) tools for the effective</p>	<p>Noul cadru va cuprinde următoarele secțiuni: i) instrumente pentru soluționarea eficientă a</p>

<p>resolution of SIFIs, ii) more intensive and effective supervision and oversight, iii) robust core financial market infrastructures to reduce contagion risk, and iv) supplementary prudential and other requirements to enhance loss absorbency.</p> <p>(<i>Annual Report 2009</i>)</p>	<p>problemelor apărute în cazul instituțiilor financiare de importanță sistemică, ii) supraveghere și monitorizare mai intensă și mai eficientă, iii) infrastructură mai robustă a principalelor piețe financiare, în vederea limitării riscului de contagiune și iv) cerințe prudențiale și alte cerințe suplimentare pentru sporirea capacității de absorbție a pierderilor.</p>
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Analysis

In this example the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is present. In the Romanian text, the word *capacitatea* is added: *loss absorbency – capacitatea de absorbție a pierderilor* ('loss absorbency capacity'), since in Romanian the phrase *enhance loss absorbency* would be grammatically incorrect if translated literally.

5.2.6 Different conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions

The conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression are not retained; they are translated by different metaphorical expressions, resulting in (or due to) different conceptual metaphors. This strategy also received different names in the literature. Van den Broeck (1981) and Toury (1995) call it "substitution"; Toury (1995: 82) also refers to it as "metaphor into 'different' metaphor". Newmark (1981: 87) speaks of "replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image". Jensen (2005: 193), in her classification, calls this strategy to "replace a metaphor of the original with a metaphor based on a different conceptual metaphor". Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997: 354) refer to this strategy as "different conceptual metaphors and, consequently, different linguistic expressions". This strategy is illustrated with the examples below.

E.g. *helicopter money – bani-cadou* ('gift money')

Example 64

English version	Romanian version
Suppose that a central bank drops a certain amount of “ helicopter money ” (i. e. money distributed evenly to everyone), thus increasing the quantity of money in circulation in the economy. (<i>Monthly Bulletin September 2009</i>)	Să presupunem că o bancă centrală injectează pe piață o anumită sumă de „ bani-cadou ” (adică bani distribuiți în mod egal tuturor), majorând, astfel, cantitatea de numerar în circulație în cadrul economiei.

Analysis

This metaphorical expression *helicopter money* is new in English as well (it is also explained in English and placed between inverted commas). The translator used a different image (*bani-cadou* – ‘gift money’, ‘money offered as a gift’). The translator opted for a particular expression which led to a change in the conceptual metaphor – not necessarily because the two languages/cultures conceptualise things differently, but because a literal translation would not trigger the same associations as the metaphor triggers in the ST for the source readers. Thus, in the TT another image was used, that better renders the meaning and connotations of the metaphorical expression in the ST. Another metaphor that can be noticed in this extract is MONEY IS AN OBJECT (**drops a certain amount of money**), which in the TT is replaced by another conceptual metaphor, MONEY IS A LIQUID (**injectează pe piață o anumită sumă de bani** – ‘injects on the market a certain amount of money’). A reason for adopting this strategy is that, according to Dagut (1976), a metaphor that is effective in a language can become unusual, even unintelligible in another language if it is translated literally and not adapted to the target culture. Moreover, it can be observed that MONEY IS A LIQUID is a prevalent metaphor in the corpus of texts and operates at text level.

Example 65

English version	Romanian version
During 2010 banking regulation followed the agenda set by the G20 at the London and	În anul 2010 reglementarea bancară a respectat agenda stabilită de Grupul celor

<p>Pittsburgh summits in 2009 with the final objective of building a more resilient financial system that supports strong and stable economic growth.</p> <p>(<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)</p>	<p>douăzeci (G20) la summit-urile de la Londra și Pittsburgh din anul 2009, având ca obiectiv final crearea unui sistem financiar mai rezistent, care să susțină o creștere economică robustă și stabilă.</p>
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Analysis

In this example, the BUILDING (INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS) metaphor is rendered by another similar conceptual metaphor: INSTITUTIONS ARE WORKS OF ART. In this case, the financial system is a building, a structure (*building*) in the ST and a work of art in the TT (*crearea* – ‘creating’). Another way to consider this metaphor is to view it as different levels of the metaphor (*building* – *creating*).

MONEY IS A LIQUID DRAIN

Example 66

English version	Romanian version
<p>Net foreign reserve assets are calculated as official reserve assets excluding the net, marked-to-market value of foreign currency swaps, plus deposits in foreign currency with residents, minus future predetermined net drains on foreign currency holdings owing to repurchase and forward transactions. For detailed information on the data sources, see the ECB’s website.</p> <p>(<i>Annual Report 2009</i>)</p>	<p>Activele externe nete de rezervă sunt calculate ca active oficiale de rezervă, după eliminarea valorii nete rezultate din evaluarea la prețul pieței a <i>swap</i>-urilor valutare, plus depozitele în valută ale rezidenților, minus tragerile nete viitoare din deținerile în valută datorate operațiunilor reversibile și <i>forward</i>. Pentru informații suplimentare privind sursa datelor, a se vedea website-ul BCE.</p>

Example 67

English version	Romanian version
The recovery was supported mainly by exports, on the back of robust external demand, and the rebuilding of inventories after a significant drain on inventory levels in 2009. <i>(Annual Report 2010)</i>	Revirimentul a fost susținut în principal de exporturi, datorită cererii externe robuste, și de refacerea stocurilor după scăderea substanțială a acestora în anul 2009.

Analysis

In Examples 66 and 67 above the metaphorical expression *drain*, with the underlying conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID, is not retained at sentence level. It is replaced by a different conceptual metaphor: MOVEMENT ALONG A VERTICAL LINE. In Example 66 *drain* is translated as *trageri* ('drawings') and in Example 67 as *scădere* ('decrease'). These are two different meanings of the term *drain* and both metaphorical expressions reflect the underlying conceptual metaphor related to MOVEMENT (UP/DOWN).

Example 68

English version	Romanian version
At the same time, the significant declines in interest rates eased the net interest burden of non-financial firms in the course of 2009. <i>(Annual Report 2009)</i>	Pe de altă parte, reducerile substanțiale operate la nivelul ratelor dobânzilor au diminuat povara sectorului corporativ nefinanciar asociată dobânzilor bancare nete.

Analysis

In Example 68 above, the conceptual metaphors in the ST and TT are different: in the ST the conceptual metaphor is PAYMENTS ARE A BURDEN (SURPLUS IS EASY, LACK IS

DIFFICULT), while in the ST it is MOVEMENT ALONG A VERTICAL LINE (MORE IS GOOD, LESS IS BAD). The metaphorical expressions underlying these conceptual metaphors are *ease* and *a diminua* ('to diminish'). The images related to *increase* and *decrease* are very common in economic texts – generally the conceptual metaphors are the same in the ST and TT, but occasionally they can differ.

5.2.7 Borrowing the English term

It has to be noted that borrowing is not a specific strategy for translating metaphors and it involves retaining the metaphor. However, for illustration purposes and since it is a frequently-encountered phenomenon in the texts under analysis, it was decided to include it as a separate strategy. The translation strategies that involve borrowing English words are presented below. It has been noticed that there are several sub-types of borrowing (they are often combined with other strategies):

a. Keeping the English term in the TT. Sometimes a Romanian ending is added and the term is in italics.

E.g. *swaps* – *swap-urile*, *spreads* – *spread-urile*

Example 69

English version	Romanian version
<p>This was reflected in significant declines in money market rates and money market spreads. More specifically, spreads between secured and unsecured money market rates declined considerably from their peaks in October 2008, albeit remaining elevated by historical standards.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2009)</i></p>	<p>Evoluția s-a manifestat prin diminuări semnificative ale ratelor dobânzilor pe piața monetară și ale spreadurilor aferente. Astfel, spread-urile dintre ratele dobânzilor garantate și cele negarantate s-au îngustat considerabil față de nivelurile record consemnate în luna octombrie 2008, deși s-au menținut ridicate din perspectivă istorică.</p>

Analysis

In this excerpt, the conceptual metaphor is THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRICES IS A PHYSICAL DISTANCE BETWEEN TWO ENDS OF A SPREAD OBJECT. The economic term *spreads* is borrowed in Romanian, possibly due to the lack of a well-established economic vocabulary in Romanian. The term was adapted to the language, by adding the definite article: *spread-urile* ('the spreads'). However, it can be noticed that, even in a short extract like the one above, there is a lack of consistency regarding the spelling of the word because once the word is spelt with a hyphen and once without it: *spreadurilor* (with the definite article, Genitive case), *spread-urile* (with the definite article, Nominative case). This indicates that the term is so new in the Romanian economic vocabulary that there is no consistent, established way of using it in writing. In Romanian, the rules of spelling foreign words are the following: if the final part of the word is pronounced the way it is written, no hyphen is added when the word has a definite article (*bossul, linkul, weekendul*); if the final part of the word is pronounced differently than how it is written (according to the rules of phonetic writing), a hyphen is added (*mouse-ul, site-ul*).

The table below provides a quantitative analysis of the expressions *swap* and *spread* in the Romanian versions of the specialised texts. The tables below serve to illustrate the frequency of the English terms *swap* and *spread*, as well as their inconsistency in terms of hyphenation. Both *spread* and *swap* are specialised terms and are not present in the texts aimed at the general public.

Table 11. Total count for *swap* and *spread* in the Romanian sub-corpus

Swap	
Total count in Specialised Documents (potentially including English words, for example as part of a document name)	362
Of which hyphenated forms (<i>swap-uri, swap-urile, swap-urilor</i>)	25 (6.9%)
Modified (e.g. cases) but not hyphenated forms	None
<i>Swaps</i> as an English word (e.g. as part of a document name or a term)	5

Spread	
Total count in Specialised Documents (potentially including English words, for example as part of a document name)	388
Of which hyphenated forms (<i>spread-ul, spread-ului, spread-uri, spread-urile, spread-urilor</i>)	331 (85.3%)
Modified (e.g. cases) but not hyphenated forms (<i>spreadul, spreaduri, spreadurile, spreadurilor</i>)	13 (3.3%)
<i>Spreads</i> as an English word (e.g. as part of a document name or a term)	11 (2.8%)

Based on the data presented in the tables above, it can be said that adopting English words into the economic terminology is a common practice in the Romanian texts. For instance, in case of *spread* the preferred way to translate the term is using hyphenation (85.3%). However, the very presence of the inconsistency indicates that the term is new and there are no rules governing its spelling in Romanian.

b. Retaining the metaphor + borrowing the English term

This usually occurs when the English metaphor is new in the ST. Sometimes the term in the ST and TT is between inverted commas.

E.g. “*shoe leather costs*” – “*costurile de pingelire a pantofilor*” (în engleză, shoe-leather costs)

Example 70

English version	Romanian version
Consequently, if people hold a lower amount of cash, they must make more frequent visits to the bank to withdraw money. These inconveniences and costs caused by reduced cash holdings are often metaphorically described as the “shoe-leather costs” of inflation, because walking to the bank causes one’s shoes to wear out more quickly. (<i>Price Stability: Why Is It Important for You?</i>)	În consecință, dacă dețin un volum mai redus de numerar, oamenii trebuie să meargă mai des la bancă pentru a retrage bani. Aceste inconveniente și costuri determinate de deținerea unui volum redus de numerar sunt denumite adesea metaforic „ costurile de pingelire a pantofilor ” (în engleză, shoe-leather costs) ale inflației, deoarece drumurile până la bancă provoacă uzura mai rapidă a încălțăminteii.

Analysis

This is a very interesting example, as translators not only explained the metaphor and used inverted commas, but they also preserved the English term in brackets, in italics, mentioning the language (în engleză, *shoe-leather costs* – în English, *shoe-leather costs*). This illustrates the novelty of the metaphor in both ST and TT. The specific reference to the term “metaphor” can also be noticed: “are often metaphorically described as”, which denotes the fact that the drafter of the document was aware of the metaphorical nature of the term. In Romanian, *pingelire* means replacing the worn out sole of the shoe (an action), whereas in English *leather* refers to the material of the shoes that is worn out through walking (an object), so in Romanian there is a tendency to give further explanation in this particular extract. It can also be noticed that in this text there is an explanation of metaphor within text: *because walking to the bank causes one’s shoes to wear out more quickly (deoarece drumurile până la bancă provoacă uzura mai rapidă a încălțămintei)*, which also reflects the innovative nature of the metaphor.

Example 71

English version	Romanian version
The introduction of the SCT and SDD schemes has laid foundations on which further innovations can be built, e.g. pan European online payment solutions, mobile payments and <i>e-invoicing</i> . (<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)	Introducerea schemelor de transfer credit și debitare directă a pus bazele inovațiilor viitoare, și anume soluții de plată online aplicabile la nivel european, modalități de plată mobile și <i>facturarea electronică (e-invoicing)</i> .

Analysis

In this example, the metaphorical expression is retained in the TT (*e-invoicing – facturarea electronică*), but the English term is kept between brackets, in italics. Since the concept is new and comes from English, it has been decided to retain the English term, so that it can be easily recognisable as a specialised term.

c. Keeping part of the English term

E.g. *carry-trade return* – *tranzacții de tip carry trade*

forward premium puzzle – *dilemă a primei forward*

Example 72

English version	Romanian version
<p>As a result, the carry-trade return arising from the interest rate differential is often augmented, rather than offset, for a prolonged period by the appreciation of the target currency vis-à-vis the funding currency.</p> <p>(<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2010</i>)</p>	<p>În consecință, randamentul tranzacțiilor de tip carry trade care provine din diferențialul de dobândă este adeseori amplificat, nu anulat, pentru o perioadă prelungită de timp de aprecierea monedei țintă în raport cu moneda de finanțare.</p>
French version	Spanish version
<p>Dès lors, le rendement des opérations de portage lié à l'écart de taux d'intérêt est souvent durablement accru plutôt qu'annulé par l'appréciation de la monnaie-cible vis-à-vis de la monnaie de financement.</p>	<p>Como resultado, la rentabilidad de las operaciones de carry trade atribuible al diferencial de tipos de interés suele verse incrementada, y no contrarrestada, durante un período prolongado por la apreciación de la moneda objetivo frente a la moneda de financiación.</p>

Analysis

The term *carry trade return* is partially kept in the Romanian TT: *tranzacții de tip carry trade* ('transactions of carry-trade type'). *Carry trade* is in italics. This points out the novelty of the metaphor. The translator made the metaphor sound less "foreign" by adding *tranzacții de tip*. The term *carry trade* is translated fully only in French, the other languages versions keeping the English term: *tranzacții de tip carry trade* in Romanian ('transactions of carry-trade type') and *operaciones de carry trade* in Spanish ('carry trade operations').

As it can be noticed in the concordances listed below, there is no consistency in translating the term *carry trade return* – it can be rendered as either *tranzacții de tip carry trade* or *operațiuni de tip carry trade*. In Romanian there is no law on preserving language purity (see section 5.2.7.1 below) and many English loan words can be encountered in the texts:

Figure 7. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *carry trade* in the Romanian sub-corpus

e a tranzacțiilor de tip **carry-trade**. În plus, este posibil
 rea la operațiuni de tip **carry-trade**. În cadrul acestor oper
 ții tranzacțiilor de tip **carry-trade** între principalele pere
 ă a tranzacțiilor de tip **carry-trade**, respectiv acele tranza
 e a operațiunilor de tip **carry-trade** a fost unul dintre fact
 ă a tranzacțiilor de tip **carry-trade**, respectiv acele tranza
 e a tranzacțiilor de tip **carry-trade**, respectiv a tranzacții
 rii la operațiuni de tip **carry-trade**, dat fiind faptul că, a
 zul tranzacțiilor de tip **carry-trade**, operațiunile financiar
 a unor tranzacții de tip **carry trade** (respectiv tranzacții c
 rea tranzacțiilor de tip **carry trade** favorizată, probabil, d
 ul tranzacțiilor de tip **carry-trade**. De asemenea, francul e

Example 73

English version	Romanian version
Currencies associated with higher yielding assets often appreciate vis-à-vis low-interest-rate currencies for prolonged periods of time (the so-called “forward premium puzzle”). (<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2010</i>)	Monedele asociate cu active cu randament mai mare se apreciază adeseori în raport cu monedele cu randament scăzut pe perioade prelungite de timp (așa-numita „dilemă a primei forward”).
French version	Spanish version
Il est fréquent que des monnaies associées à des actifs à plus haut rendement s’apprécient durablement vis-à-vis des monnaies faiblement rémunérées (anomalie de marché qualifiée d’énigme de la prime anticipée ou <i>forward premium puzzle</i>).	Las monedas asociadas a activos con rendimientos más elevados suelen apreciarse durante períodos prolongados frente a las monedas de tipo de interés bajo (la denominada paradoja de la prima <i>forward</i>, o <i>forward premium puzzle</i>).

Analysis

In this excerpt, the conceptual metaphor is AN INEXPLICABLE ECONOMIC PHENOMENON IS A PUZZLE (*forward premium puzzle*). In Romanian *the puzzle* is referred to as a ‘dilemma’ (*dilemă*), in French it is an anomaly (*anomalie*) and in Spanish a paradox (*paradoja*). In Romanian, the words *premium* and *puzzle* were translated (*dilemă a primei*) but the word *forward* was left in English – possibly as an explanatory term referring to the type of the premium puzzle. The latter translation choice combines both languages because the term *premium puzzle (dilemă a primei)* exists in Romanian but the terms for the type (e.g. *forward*) have not yet been developed and established. It can also be noticed that the collocation is accompanied by *so-called (așa-numita)*, which emphasises once again the novelty of the metaphor.

Sometimes, explanations for specialised terms are given in brackets, accompanied by the use of the word *so-called* (‘*așa-numita*’ in Romanian, ‘*la denominada*’ in Spanish). In French, a supplementary explanation is given (*anomalie de marché*). It is also to be noticed that in all target texts at least a part of the English term is kept: ‘*dilemă a primei forward*’ in Romanian (the English term is in italics), ‘*prime anticipée ou forward premium puzzle*’ in French (the term is translated, but the English version is also kept in the text), ‘*paradoja de la prima forward, o forward premium puzzle*’ in Spanish (keeps one term in English and also adds the whole English expression). So in this case there is variation between the language versions.

The paragraphs below will discuss the main bodies regulating the Romanian language and the status of loan words in Romanian – their frequency/rarity and acceptance/regulation, since they are very frequent in the texts analysed and in Romanian economic texts in general.

5.2.7.1 Bodies and dictionaries regulating the Romanian language

The Romanian Academy (“*Academia Română*”) is the highest Romanian scientific and cultural forum, created in 1866. One of its main roles is to establish the compulsory spelling rules for the Romanian language. Among its most representative academic works are *Dicționarul limbii române (The Dictionary of the Romanian language)* and *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române (The Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language)*.

The “Iorgu Iordan - Alexandru Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics (Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan - Alexandru Rosetti”) of Bucharest is a philology institute subordinated to the Romanian Academy. It published the main reference work in the field of Romanian linguistics, *The Romanian Spelling and Morphologic Dictionary (Dicționarul ortografic, ortoepic și*

morfologic al limbii române). The revised version dates from 2005. This is a normative and corrective dictionary, whose objective is to apply to the words of the Romanian language the official current spelling rules and the orthoepic and morphologic rules, mainly enshrined in the literary use – the most polished aspect of the Romanian language. The dictionary is aimed at all the persons who want to use the language correctly, according to the current linguistic and literary norms.

However, not all publications observe the rules laid down in this dictionary and often the spelling of the words does not correspond to the one used in *The Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language*, which gives rise to many inconsistencies and doubts about which forms are correct and which are not.

5.2.7.2 English loan words in Romanian

For about 150 years, many words borrowed from English have entered the Romanian language, such as *gem* ('jam'), *interviu* ('interview'), *meci* ('match'), *tramvai* ('tramway'), *manager* ('manager'). These words receive a grammatical gender and are used according to the rules of the Romanian language. However, since the 1990s, despite the recommendations of the Romanian Academy, the English words entering Romanian have not received a grammatical gender, but they have been used by the media and by the people in their original form: *mall*, *service*, *computer*, *forward* or *attach*. Linguists have criticised the refusal to adopt Romanian endings for foreign words, considering it a form of snobbery.

According to Trăistaru (2008), the number of terms borrowed from English is increasing, especially in fields like economy, administration, commerce and IT. Trăistaru (2008: 721-722) classifies English loan words in the following categories, according to the field:

1. Economic, financial, commercial terminology: *staff*, *management*, *lobby*, *discount*, *dumping*, *brand*, *broker*, *dealer*, *manager*.
2. IT terminology: *mouse*, *chat*, *software*, *e-mail*, *online*.
3. Music terminology: *playback*, *hit*, *single*.
4. Sport terminology: *baseball*, *bungee jumping*, *fitness*.
5. Food terminology: *hamburger*, *fast-food*, *hot dog*.
6. Fashion and cosmetics terminology: *look*, *lifting*, *make-up*.

Trăistaru (2008: 724) makes a distinction between loan words that are necessary because there is no corresponding equivalent in Romanian and abusive loan words, used in order to

be “in fashion”. The author concludes that “each people has to fight to defend and cultivate its language both by creating new words with internal means, and by borrowing words from other languages and by optimally integrating them in its system” (Trăistaru, 2008: 724). Thus, there should be a balance between borrowing foreign terms, which should be integrated in the language, and using the means that already exist in the language in order to create new words.

Rus (2005: 267-268) also mentions different fields in which many English loan words can be found: among others, she mentions the technical and economic field (*lap-top, site, walkman, pager, sponsor, hard, soft*). Rus (2005: 271) argues that there are advantages and disadvantages related to borrowing English terms. The disadvantages are the following: lack of consistency and certainty when it comes to adapting the words, creating incorrect or hyper-correct forms, the risk of redundant expressions (e.g. *snacksuri*, which receives a Romanian plural form, although it is already in the plural in English). There are also many advantages of borrowing English terms. They contribute to the renewal and reconstruction of the language, to its semantic and stylistic enrichment, to the modernisation of the vocabulary. According to Rus, the influence of English should not be considered a negative phenomenon, as long as the use of English words is not exaggerated. Loan words are necessary to designate new realities and the English loan words have an international nature, which facilitates the exchange of information (Rus, 2005: 268). Other reasons why loan words enter the Romanian language are: accuracy of meaning, brevity and conciseness of the expression (*mass-media vs. mijloace de comunicare în masă*). As can be noticed, both authors mention the field of economics as being rich in English loan words.

It has been observed that the Romanian sub-corpus of texts analysed in the present study contains a large number of loan words and sometimes inconsistencies have been found regarding the use of loan words. Loan words are useful to designate new realities, especially when these do not exist in the language; however, they should be adapted to the target language, their meaning should be clearly established (sometimes there can be differences in meaning) and their use should not be exaggerated.

5.2.8 Omitting the metaphor

Omission is a translation strategy which consists in omitting or deleting the metaphor altogether. From a linguistic perspective, Newmark (1981) refers to this strategy as “deletion” and Toury (1995: 82) calls it “metaphor into 0 (omission of the metaphor)”. Al-Harrasi

(2001: 197), from a cognitive perspective, speaks of “deletion of references to the conceptual metaphor”.

E.g. *promote consensus-building* – *promovarea unui consens* ('promote consensus')

Example 74

English version	Romanian version
<p>Some features of the EMS were similar to the “snake”, for example the EMS was also built around a grid of fixed but adjustable central rates among the participating Community currencies.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Roles and Function)</i></p>	<p>De exemplu, SME era, de asemenea, constituit în jurul unei grile de parități fixe, dar ajustabile, între monedele țărilor participante.</p>

Analysis

This strategy is not very frequently encountered. It is more frequent to demetaphorise the concept or to add elements, but the cases of omission are rare. In this example, the metaphorical expression from the ST (“*snake*”) is omitted in the Romanian TT. There is no reference to the “*snake*” in the Romanian version, because this may be an unfamiliar and surprising term for the target audience and it was decided that the meaning of the texts would not change too much if this metaphor was omitted.

Example 75

English version	Romanian version
<p>It aims to facilitate an open exchange of views on those matters and thus promote consensus-building on issues discussed by the relevant decision-making bodies, such as the IMF and the World Bank.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Roles and Function)</i></p>	<p>Obiectivul acestuia constă în facilitarea unui schimb de opinii deschis cu privire la aceste aspecte și, prin aceasta, în promovarea unui consens asupra problemelor dezbătute de organismele decizionale competente, precum FMI și Banca Mondială.</p>

Example 76

English version	Romanian version
The introduction of the SCT and SDD schemes has laid foundations on which further innovations can be built , e.g. pan European online payment solutions, mobile payments and e-invoicing. (<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)	Introducerea schemelor de transfer credit și debitare directă a pus bazele inovațiilor viitoare , și anume soluții de plată online aplicabile la nivel european, modalități de plată mobile și facturarea electronică (e-invoicing).

Example 77

English version	Romanian version
Concerns about labour market developments and the financial turbulence are likely to have heightened households' uncertainty about the economic outlook and led them to reduce spending and build up savings as a buffer against possible fluctuations in future incomes. (<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2009</i>)	Preocupările privind evoluțiile pe piața forței de muncă și criza financiară pot conduce la creșterea incertitudinilor gospodăriilor populației privind perspectivele economice și le-a determinat pe acestea să își diminueze cheltuielile și să economisească pentru a se proteja împotriva posibilelor fluctuații la nivelul veniturilor viitoare.

Analysis

These three examples (75-77) reflect the conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS/PHYSICAL STRUCTURES in the ST. In Example 75, the BUILDING metaphor is not present at all in the Romanian ST. *Promote consensus-building* is translated as *promovarea unui consens* ('promoting a consensus'), with no reference to *building* in Romanian. In Example 76, the conceptual metaphor is only partially retained: *has laid foundations on which further innovations can be built* is rendered as *a pus bazele inovațiilor viitoare* ('has provided bases for future innovations'). In example 77, the BUILDING metaphor is not retained: *build up savings – să economisească* ('save').

Example 78

English Version	Romanian Version
The data used in the estimate are AAA-rated euro area concerns among investors about the health of government bond yields. (<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2009</i>)	Datele utilizate la realizarea estimărilor sunt determinate pe baza obligațiunilor guvernamentale de rating AAA.

Analysis

In this example, in the ST the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM is present. However, the TT lacks any reference to *health* or *solidity*: *about the **health** of government bond yields – **pe baza obligațiunilor** guvernamentale* ('on the basis of government bonds'). In this example, the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM was omitted at sentence level, as well as the metaphorical expression *health*. However, it is an exception and not the rule.

5.2.9 Combination of strategies

Sometimes, several strategies are combined when translating a conceptual metaphor. For example, the English term is borrowed in the target text and there is also an addition.

E.g. *exchangeability – circulația neîngrădită* ('unimpeded circulation'); *credit default swaps – operațiuni de credit default swap* ('credit default swap operations')

Example 79 (a part of Example 10 in section 5.2.1)

English version	Romanian version
Exchangeability allows for low stocks of banknotes at one NCB to be replenished by surplus stocks from another NCB [...]. (<i>Monthly Bulletin May 2008</i>)	Circulația neîngrădită face posibilă refacerea stocurilor scăzute de bancnote la una dintre BCN prin recurgerea la surplusul aflat în stocul altei BCN [...].

Analysis

In this example, a specialised English term (*exchangeability*) becomes a non-specialised paraphrase in the TT (*circulația neîngrădită* – ‘unimpeded circulation’). The technical term may not have been introduced in Romanian yet and thus, it has been decided to use a paraphrase. Another translation strategy that can be noticed is non-metaphor into metaphor, since *circulația* (‘circulation’) belongs to the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID. Therefore, this demonstrates once again that, most of the time, the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is present in both source and target texts. Its use in the extract above suggests that the conceptual framework is the same at macro-level in the two language versions.

Example 80

English version	Romanian version
<p>Credit default swaps (CDSs) for ten-year US Treasuries, for instance, have risen by about 25 basis points since the beginning of 2009.</p> <p>(<i>Annual Report 2009</i>)</p>	<p>Spre exemplificare, operațiunile de credit default swap (CDS) aferente obligațiunilor lansate de Trezoreria SUA pe 10 ani au sporit cu aproximativ 25 puncte de bază de la începutul anului.</p>
French version	Spanish version
<p>Les primes sur les contrats dérivés de défaut des titres à dix ans du Trésor américain ont progressé de quelque 25 points de base depuis début 2009.</p>	<p>Los seguros de riesgo de crédito para bonos a diez años del Tesoro estadounidense han subido unos 25 puntos básicos desde el inicio del 2009.</p>

Analysis

The two strategies that have been combined are borrowing and addition: the English term is borrowed and placed in italics, but there is also an addition in the TT: *operațiuni* (‘operations’), so that the target reader would know it is an economic activity. In the Romanian version *credit default swap* is borrowed from English (*operațiunile de credit default swap*). This shows once again that Romanian might not have a well-established economic

vocabulary yet, and that English terms are introduced in the language. This fact is proven by the analysis of the present corpus and also argued by scholars referred to in Chapter 2: Pecican (2007a and 2007b) and Dobrotă & Maftei (2002). Despite the fact that the aforementioned studies employ different methods and data sets (the former analyses authentic economic texts in English and Romanian and the latter focuses on translating economic texts in the two languages), the two authors conclude that English has a considerable influence over the Romanian economic vocabulary, as English vocabulary is more developed, which leads to the presence of many loan words in Romanian. In the present study, which employs a different data set, examples of such influence have also been found (see section 5.2.7 above on loan words).

In the other Romance languages, French and Spanish, the terms have been translated (*les primes sur les contrats dérivés de défaut, los seguros de riesgo de crédito para bonos*), which shows that, unlike in the Romanian version, in these language versions the metaphorical expressions were not borrowed. However, they imply an addition, which might be one of the reasons why in the Romanian version the strategy of borrowing was chosen (if paraphrased, the metaphorical expression that would render all the connotations of the ST may have been too long).

5.3 Meta-communicative elements and specific reference to the term “metaphor”

This section analyses the meta-communicative elements in the source text, e.g. when in the source text there is explicit use of *metaphor(ical[ly])*, *so-called*, *i.e.* etc and aims at identifying such metalinguistic phrases in the target text (or if they are present only in the TT).

5.3.1 Retaining the same image, but in the target text the metaphor is placed between inverted commas

Example : *snowball effect* - *efectul de „bulgăre de zăpadă”*

Example 81

English version	Romanian version
Second, the interest rate growth rate differential, known as the snowball effect , indicating that a debt ratio tends to rise (decline) if the GDP growth rate is lower (higher) than the interest rate paid on	Al doilea este diferențialul de dinamică a dobânzii, cunoscut ca efectul de „ bulgăre de zăpadă ”, care indică o tendință de creștere (reducere) a ponderii datoriei în cazul în care ritmul de creștere a PIB este mai mic (mai

government debt. (<i>Monthly Bulletin September 2009</i>)	mare) decât rata dobânzii bonificată la datoria publică.
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Analysis

The fact that the term in the Romanian TT is placed between inverted commas denotes that the metaphor is new in the Romanian language. However, even the metaphoric image of the *snowball* may be clear enough for the readers and it was not replaced with non-metaphoric language, an element was added to it, for clarity purposes: *efectul de* ('the effect of').

5.3.2 So-called / așa-numit

Example 82

English version	Romanian version
<p>An initial step, in 1972, which was called the “snake”, sought to stabilise exchange rates among some European currencies, but it fell victim to further currency unrest and the international recession that followed the first oil crisis in 1973.</p> <p>(<i>Monthly Bulletin June 2008</i>)</p>	<p>Primul pas a fost făcut în 1972, odată cu crearea așa-numitului „șarpe monetar”, care avea drept scop stabilizarea cursurilor de schimb pentru mai multe monede europene, dar care a devenit curând victima unor noi tulburări monetare și a recesiunii internaționale care a urmat primei crize petroliere din anul 1973.</p>

Analysis

In this example, there is a meta-communicative reference in both ST and TT (*which was called – așa-numitului*) and the metaphorical expression is placed between inverted commas both in the English and in the Romanian language version (“snake” – „șarpe monetar”), which denotes that the metaphor is perceived as new in both texts. It can be noticed that there is an addition in the Romanian language version – „șarpe monetar” ('monetary snake'), which makes it more explicit that the image belongs to the economic field (since the readers might consider it new, surprising and unfamiliar).

Example 83

English version	Romanian version
<p>The first model to describe the euro area economy at the aggregate level was the area-wide model (AWM).</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2008)</i></p>	<p>Primul model care descria economia zonei euro la nivel agregat a fost așa-numitul area-wide model (AWM).</p>

Example 84

English version	Romanian version
<p>To comply with the strict Chinese wall in place at the ECB, the implementation of the CBPP and the SMP led to a partial freeze in the investment activities related to the ECB's own funds portfolio in 2010.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2010)</i></p>	<p>Cu scopul de a respecta cerințele impuse de așa-numitul „zid chinezesc” instituit de BCE, punerea în aplicare a CBPP și a SMP a condus, pe parcursul anului 2010, la înghețarea parțială a activităților de plasament asociate portofoliului de fonduri proprii al BCE.</p>

Analysis

In Examples 83 and 84, the meta-communicative elements (added to the metaphorical expression) are only present in the target text. In Example 83, the term is accompanied by *so-called* and the English term is also borrowed and placed in italics: “așa-numitul *area-wide model*” (‘the so-called *area-wide model*’). In Example 84, the term is accompanied by *so-called*, translated literally and placed between inverted commas: *așa-numitul „zid chinezesc”* (‘the so-called “Chinese wall”’). The fact that in the first case the English term is borrowed and in the second one the metaphor is placed between inverted commas denotes the innovative nature of these metaphors: the first one is a specialised term, which is borrowed in the TT due to its novelty and the second is placed between inverted commas to reflect the figurative language. They are both accompanied by *so-called* (which is not present

in the English version, where they may be more well-known), to emphasise the fact that they are metaphorical expressions.

5.3.3 Specific reference to “metaphor”

Example 85

English version	Romanian version
<p>On the reverse of each banknote, bridges ranging from early constructions to the sophisticated suspension bridges of the modern era were used as a metaphor for communication among the people of Europe and between Europe and the rest of the world.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Reversul fiecărei bancnote reprezintă poduri, de la construcțiile timpurii până la sofisticatele poduri suspendate ale perioadei moderne, utilizate ca metaforă pentru comunicarea dintre popoarele europene și dintre Europa și restul lumii.</p>

Analysis

An interesting phenomenon in the economic documents translated at the European Central Bank is that in some instances there is a specific reference to the term “metaphor” in the source text, which points out that the people who draft these documents are aware of the metaphoric nature of economic terms and presume that those who read them also have some knowledge about what a metaphor implies. However, this example is somehow different to the other examples, since here it does not explain a metaphorical concept or highlight a metaphor.

Example 86 (part of Example 70 in section 5.2.7)

English version	Romanian version
<p>These inconveniences and costs caused by reduced cash holdings are often metaphorically described as the “shoe-leather costs” of inflation, because walking to</p>	<p>Aceste inconveniente și costuri determinate de deținerea unui volum redus de numerar sunt denumite adesea metaforic „costurile de pingelire a pantofilor” (în engleză, <i>shoe-</i></p>

<p>the bank causes one's shoes to wear out more quickly.</p> <p>(<i>Price Stability: Why Is It Important for You?</i>)</p>	<p>leather costs) ale inflației, deoarece drumurile până la bancă provoacă uzura mai rapidă a încălțăminteii.</p>
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Analysis

In the example above, there is a specific reference to the term *metaphor*, both in the ST and in the TT. Moreover, as already discussed, the metaphor “*shoe-leather costs*” is placed between inverted commas in the ST and in the TT the English term is also kept, in brackets, besides the Romanian term, which is also between inverted commas. It is a new metaphor and the reference to metaphor denotes an awareness of the metaphoric potential of economic texts. The fact that this excerpt is from a brochure for the general public outlines that things can become clearer for the public if it is specifically mentioned that we are dealing with a metaphor, if the term is between inverted commas, if some elements are added to it. It also becomes easier to remember and recognise the term in other contexts.

5.4 Conclusions

As seen above, when analysing how translators have dealt with metaphors, several translation strategies can be encountered. Economic metaphors can be dealt with in many different ways and translation strategies often overlap or they are combined. Thus, it has been decided to categorise translation strategies, in order to better illustrate what translators have done, with concrete examples from the texts. Loan words were also mentioned, since they are frequent in Romanian in the economic field and the main conceptual metaphors encountered in the corpus of texts were presented (e.g. MONEY IS A LIQUID, THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM, INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS, etc).

The most frequently encountered strategies for translating metaphor in the corpus of texts analysed are: retaining the metaphor, image shift, different conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions, and demetaphorisation. In many instances, if a metaphorical expression belonging to the same conceptual metaphor is translated literally, other metaphorical expressions in the same group are also translated literally (e.g. MONEY IS A LIQUID: *liquidity, flow, absorb, injection*). If the metaphorical expression is new in the TT, the strategies most frequently encountered are image shift, demetaphorisation, borrowing the

English term and/or meta-communicative elements added in the text (such as inverted commas, or the words *so-called*, etc). Sometimes, a combination of these strategies is used (e.g. *credit default swap* – *operațiuni de credit default swap*). It was found that in case of another major conceptual metaphor, ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM, the translation of metaphorical expressions related to *health* is inconsistent (*health of the economy* is translated as *solidity*, but *sound economic policies* can be either *healthy* or *solid*). Sometimes, the metaphorical expression is only partially retained (for instance, in case of *building blocks*, which are rendered as *fundamental parts* or *basic elements*). In other cases there are different levels of metaphor in the ST and TT: *building* – *creation*, *rebuilding* – *remaking*. On the whole, it can be concluded that in the majority of cases the conceptual framework is mainly the same in the source and target texts; however, in the TT the conceptual metaphor might be at a different level, attenuated or there may be an image shift, a paraphrase, an addition or metalinguistic elements.

To sum up, in the present chapter, the following classification of translation strategies was established on the basis of the analysis:

1. Retaining the metaphor: the same conceptual metaphor and linguistic expression are used in both the source and the target text. This normally happens when the source and target culture share the same concept – e.g. MONEY IS A LIQUID: *liquidity* – *lichiditate*; *flow* – *flux*; *liquidity-absorbing operations* – *operațiuni de absorbție a lichidității*, etc. In other words, the expression at text level is the same and the metaphor is retained.
2. The conceptual metaphor is retained, but there is an image shift at the level of the metaphorical expression (same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression): a conceptual metaphor is retained throughout the text, but the image in the source text is replaced by another one in the target text – e.g. HEALTH metaphor: *Health* is translated as *solidity* in the target texts, which can be seen as an aspect of *health*: *health of institutions/banks* – *soliditatea instituțiilor/băncilor*, *sound finances* – *finanțe solide*, *absorb* – *a drena* ('drain').
3. Metaphor into non-metaphor / Demetaphorisation: Many expressions can be related to a particular conceptual metaphor; however, not all of them are translated using the same strategy. In some expressions, the metaphor is not retained and a paraphrase is used. E.g. *health check of the policy* – *evaluarea politicii* ('evaluation of the policy');

injects liquidity – furnizează lichiditate ('provides liquidity'); *unfit banknotes – bancnote deteriorate* ('deteriorated banknotes'); *building blocks – aspecte* ('aspects'), *elemente* ('elements'), *secțiuni* ('sections').

4. Non-metaphor into metaphor: There are few instances in which a non-metaphorical expression in the ST is rendered by a metaphorical expression in the TT. E.g. *money – lichiditate* ('liquidity'); *withdraw liquidity – drenarea lichidității* ('drain liquidity').
5. Addition: Sometimes, in case of new/less clear terms, an explanation is added in the target text, in order to clarify certain new terms or remove the possible negative connotations. *so-called "carry-over effect" – fenomen cunoscut sub denumirea de efect de report* ('phenomenon known by the name of carry over effect'); *liquidity buffers – rezervele de lichiditate cu rol de tampon* ('liquidity reserves with a buffer role').
6. The conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression are not retained; they are translated by different expressions: Sometimes, when the source and the target cultures do not share a conceptual domain, the metaphor is rendered by another metaphor in the target text, but both the conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression are different from the ones in the source text. E.g. *"helicopter money" – „bani cadou"* ('gift money'); *building – crearea* ('creating'). Another example is *health – soliditate* ('solidity'), where viewing the economy/institutions as an organism is replaced with viewing it as a structure.
7. Borrowing the English term, which is (part of) a metaphor – Borrowing is a very common translation strategy. In Romanian there are many loan words, due to the influence of the English terminology (in this case, economic).
 - a. Keeping the English term in the TT. Sometimes a Romanian ending is added and the term is in italics: the English term is borrowed in the target text, but it receives a Romanian ending (the definite article). E.g. *swaps – swap-urile*, *spreads – spread-urile*.
 - b. Retaining the metaphor + borrowing the English term: the metaphor is retained in the target text. The English term is also kept, usually between brackets. E.g. *"shoe leather costs" – „costurile de pingelire a pantofilor"* (în engleză, shoe-leather costs); *e-invoicing – facturare electronică (e-invoicing)*.

- c. Keeping part of the English term: Sometimes, the English term is borrowed in the target text, but only partially, the rest of it being translated. E.g. *carry-trade return* – *tranzacții de tip carry trade*; “*forward premium puzzle*” – „dilemă a primei forward”.
8. Omitting the metaphor: In the target text, both the conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression are omitted altogether. E.g. *about the health of government bond yields* – *pe baza obligațiunilor guvernamentale de rating AAA* (‘on the basis of government AAA bonds’).
9. Combination of strategies: Sometimes, several translation strategies are combined: in case of *credit default swap* – *operațiuni de credit default swap*, the English term is borrowed in the target text and there is also an addition (*operațiuni* – ‘operations’); In case of *exchangeability* – *circulație neîngrădită* (‘unimpeded circulation’), the strategies are non-metaphor into metaphor and addition.
10. Adding meta-communicative elements:
 - a. Retaining the same image, but in the TT the metaphor is placed between inverted commas: the conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression are retained in the target text, but the metaphorical expression is placed between inverted commas in the target text, denoting the innovative nature of the metaphor. E.g. *snowball effect* – *efectul de „bulgăre de zăpadă”*.
 - b. Adding ‘so-called’: Sometimes, when the metaphor is new, *so called* may be added in the TT: *area-wide model* – *așa-numitul area-wide model* (‘the so-called area-wide model’)
11. Specific reference to the term “metaphor”: There are instances where the term “metaphor” or similar expressions are specifically mentioned in the source text. In this case, it is retained in the target text. E.g. *the metaphor of “flooding”* – *metafora „inundare”*.

The next Chapter (Chapter 6) will provide links between the textual profiles and the conditions and policies in the specific institution, as well as references to the questionnaires distributed to ECB translators. More detailed conclusions, as well as links to the Theoretical framework, will be provided in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6

Explaining Links between Textual Profiles and Institutional Conditions

In the previous chapter, the main conceptual metaphors and translation strategies used for dealing with them were presented and discussed. In other chapters of this thesis (the Introduction and Chapter 4), the institutional context of the institution under investigation (the European Central Bank) was presented. Thus, the previous chapters described specific aspects and settings. The present chapter aims at identifying and explaining the links between this particular institutional setting and the profiles of the texts and the translation strategies identified. Its purpose is to go beyond the description of textual features to an explanation of their potential underlying reasons.

Scholars have reflected on the usefulness of causal models in the discipline of Translation Studies. Chesterman (2000) argues that, since the main objective of any science lies in explaining and possibly understanding the phenomenon it studies, a causal model would be as important in Translation Studies as in any other science. As stated by Chesterman (2000: 21), it is useful for Translation Studies scholars to establish links because this can “allow us to make statements and hypotheses about causes and effects”. A causal model “encourages us to make specific explanatory and predictive hypotheses” and provides “a comprehensive empirical research programme for translation studies”, which can help design translation theories (p. 25). Explanatory hypotheses refer to “the relation between the target text and the causal conditions” and “to the relation between effects and translation” (Chesterman, 2000: 24). The present thesis also aims at establishing links between causal conditions and translation profile features, in order to better understand the context in which these specific translations take place and the conditions that can influence translators’ choices. Chesterman (2000) states that there is a relation between demonstrating these links and improving translation, since the circumstances in which translators work and the quality of the translation are closely related.

This chapter will be organised as follows: first (in section 6.1), the main findings from the previous chapters will be briefly summarised, in order to establish a link between the institutional procedures and the translation strategies. In section 6.2, the questionnaires distributed to the ECB translators will be presented and discussed, since what translators say about metaphors is linked to the institutional context and the translation strategies encountered in the texts.

6.1 Institutional procedures and translation strategies: an overview

This section aims at briefly summarising the institutional procedures and translation strategies presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively.

Mossop (1988: 65) argues that the institution (and, hence, the context) in which a translation takes place can influence the nature of the translation, including the way metaphors are translated. As already mentioned in Chapter 4, although the ECB does have documents that regulate the translation process, there are no rules or guidelines specifying how to deal with metaphoric, figurative language. There are no prescribed methods that can be analysed. Koskinen (2008: 146) also reports that, in EU translation, “there are few guidelines as to preferred translation strategies”. However, on the descriptive side, several factors that do influence the translator’s choice, apart from the institutional context, need to be taken into account: the translator’s individual informed decision (see section 6.2 for the analysis of the questionnaires sent to translators working at the ECB); the influence of the target culture (Romanian in this case), as well as the appropriateness of certain translation strategies in the Romanian language version; the ideological potential of a certain metaphorical expression and conceptual metaphor; the awareness of the translator’s limited role and power as an actor subordinated to the institutional policy. All these aspects can influence the translation of metaphor and can lead to adopting translation strategies such as demetaphorisation, since translators cannot be too creative and have to follow certain pre-established procedures (the translators’ agency was discussed in section 2.1.2). Thus, institutional constraints are likely to have an influence on both the process and the final product.

The statements above can be backed up by references from the literature. For example, Toury (1995: 84) mentions that the translation of metaphors can be influenced by certain norms: “the use of metaphors in a target text may be reduced or even blocked by certain target norms”. Koskinen (2008: 137) also mentions the translation of metaphors: “The reduced use of metaphors in target texts is motivated by target norms or by favouring

accuracy over appropriateness”. Koskinen’s remark is especially relevant since her work concerns documents translated in the EU institutions, more precisely in the European Commission. Analysing this particular context with regards to the Finnish language, she found that many metaphors were demetaphorised. The effects, she states, are “overall monotonizing of the text, making it more tiresome to read and consequently, harder to comprehend” (Koskinen, 2008: 138). In Finnish, just like in other EU languages, new concepts emerged with the EU accession and there are differences between terms used at national and supranational level, which poses considerable challenges to translators, similarly to the situation investigated in the present study.

In the paragraphs below, the rules governing the translation process in the European Central Bank, which have been discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, will be outlined; after that, the influence of the target culture and the ideological potential of metaphor will be discussed.

In the European Central Bank, the institution investigated in the present thesis, translators have to follow specific institutional regulations and guidelines. The translation process is subject to several constraints and only the observance of rules determines the acceptability of the target text in the particular institutional setting (ECB/EU policies). Gambier (2010: 418) reports that, in such cases, the global translation strategies must “take into account economic, cultural, political, ideological, linguistic factors and technical constraints” and should “construct and legitimize a certain type of text and a certain type of identity and power relationship between languages/cultures”. He gives the example of the EU institutions, where sometimes interlinear or line-by-line translation is preferred to fluent communicative translation (e.g. EU directives; “documents of the European Central Bank where ambiguities are deliberately retained”), according to Gambier (2010: 418). This can point to the fact that at the ECB, sometimes translators have to provide a translation closer to the ST, due to the institutional constraints and the nature of the texts.

As previously stated, at the ECB translators are required to use the translation memory for all texts they translate and to choose the translation suggested by the memory (usually, the most recent one). If no translation is available in the memory or in the MultiTerm glossary (the text/term had not been translated before), translators have to refer to the ECB’s official publications (on the ECB’s or the National Bank’s website). As demonstrated in Chapter 5, as well as in the appendices, where extracts containing metaphorical expressions are presented and analysed, many texts translated at the ECB are repetitive and mainly contain the same formulations. Therefore, consistency has to be ensured and there is not much room for

creativity and new solutions when it comes to translation in the institution. Since the official documents will be published on both the ECB's and the National Bank's website, the terminology has to be consistent.

In case of new terms (to be added in the MultiTerm glossary, for instance), these also have to be researched in previous official publications and validated by the experts from the National Bank (for details, see Chapter 4). Since the structure and use of the economic vocabulary in Romanian is formal and inflexible (e.g. *health – soliditate* ('solidity'), not *sănătate* ('health')), the National Bank has to be consulted and can sometimes have a say when it comes to introducing new, expressive language, precisely in order to keep the formal nature of the texts. There are certain established customs and translators are used to employing certain terms. In repetitive, formal documents (especially the Annual Report, the Monthly Bulletin), certain terms are fossilised, and there is a degree of formality which might exclude figurative language and creativity. For examples of the above, see Chapter 5 and the appendices.

The aforementioned phenomena also partially occur due to the evolution of Romanian society in the past decades: there are new realities, which have to be described by using new terms. This explains the presence of many borrowings and calques from English in the economic field (e.g. *swap, spread*). Two historical events influenced to a great extent the Romanian economic vocabulary (and not only the economic field which is the focus of the present thesis): the fact that Romania became a democracy in 1989 and the country joining the European Union in 2007.

Another constraint for translators is represented by the revision process, since complex and strict procedures are in place, according to the type of document translated. Internally, all translations are revised by another translator who has the same mother tongue. Usually, a more experienced translator would revise the translations of others. Some documents have to be revised by the National Central Bank: official publications (the Editorials, the projections, chapters of the Annual report or the Convergence report) or other documents that the National Central Bank wants to publish on its website (e.g. brochures). For a detailed description of the main documents translated and the revision process, see Chapter 4.

As already pointed out by many researchers (see Chapter 2), the European Union has a language of its own, sometimes different from the one used at national level. This is why there are clashes between the terms used in EU documents and the ones used in national documents, which also poses challenges to translators. Regarding this aspect, Koskinen

(2000: 55) states that in the EU context, “each national language is forced into an unnatural format”. The ECB is a unique case of institutional translation, as there is a close collaboration between the European institution and the national one. The other EU institutions have also established connections with the national experts, but the collaboration is less frequent, less consistent and translated documents are revised internally (e.g. at the European Commission). Experts are contacted only in case of doubts over certain terms. The fact that the National Bank translators revise the documents translated at the ECB on a regular basis and that some documents are also revised by experts in the field (economists) makes the translation process at the European Central Bank unique and interesting, worth being further explored (also with regard to other language pairs and other linguistic aspects that can pose a challenge to translators). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the facts above. First of all, if translators are required to use the translation memory software that returns a source-target match on repetitive texts, then once a term is established (or using it becomes a habit), introducing a new term involves additional conscious effort and there should be a reason for such changes. Yet, some examples of such changes can be found. For example, as part of the HEALTH conceptual metaphor, the expressions *soliditate* (‘solidity’) and *sănătate* (‘health’) are both used to mean *health* (e.g. of the banks, policies and institutions); also, *solid* (‘solid’), and *sănătos* (‘healthy’) are used in the target texts for the expression *sound* (e.g. policies). Their use changes with time, a fact that can also be related to the evolution of the Romanian economic vocabulary. It must be noted that the change is from retaining the metaphor to image shift (*solid*, *solidity* is preferred in texts that were produced later). The image moves away from the association with human beings (*health*) to an association with inanimate objects (*solidity*), from an anthropomorphic metaphor to a metaphor that translates abstract experience into concrete terms (according to the classification provided by Dobrotă & Maftei, 2002: 314 – see Chapter 2).

Moreover, such an approach also indicates that in the target texts, figurative language is not as frequently encountered as in the source texts (for researchers who found the same results, see Chapter 2). In line with the discussion of rules and translation guidelines, the changes described in the paragraph above happen precisely due to the target culture and the evolution of the target language and terminology. Although it is not known whether the translation product is the result of the translator’s conscious choice or the reviser’s decision (having in view the complex procedures in place), the questionnaire analysis indicates that translators are aware of the challenges posed by the use of metaphors in the source text,

particularly in specialised texts. This is pointed out in the examples given by translators in the questionnaires (see section 6.2 below).

In Chapter 5, the translation strategies identified in the corpus of texts were presented and discussed. The analysis of the translation strategies points out that, as outlined in the previous chapter, different metaphors were translated in different ways. Even metaphorical expressions belonging to the same conceptual domains were not translated the same way (i.e. not the same strategy was used, such as, for instance, all of them demetaphorised, or the same image retained in all of them, or the metaphor was retained but a different image was used, etc.). In other words, there is no uniformity and translation strategies are varied and imply multi-faceted aspects. Koskinen (2008), analysing documents translated at the European Commission by Finnish translators, also reports that it is difficult to find regularities in terms of metaphor translation. She states that “there is no standard system of translating metaphor by metaphor, nor is there any pattern of always translating metaphor by non-metaphor” (Koskinen, 2008: 135). Regarding the corpus of texts analysed in the present study, this aspect will be illustrated below with the conceptual metaphors MONEY IS A LIQUID and INSTITUTIONS / THE ECONOMY ARE LIVING ORGANISMS, in case of which several translation strategies were noticed:

The conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID is generally present in the Romanian target texts. However, sometimes the conceptual metaphor is not retained in the Romanian target texts, and image shift occurs. Nevertheless, this occurs predominantly at micro-level, as it was noticed that at text level, the conceptual framework is similar in the source texts and the target texts. Among the expressions found in the texts analysed, four translation strategies can be identified:

1. Metaphorical expressions that are retained:

- the right **amount** of **liquidity** (i.e. money) – un **volum** corespunzător de **lichiditate** (respectiv numerar)
- the Eurosystem “**injects**” **liquidity** – Eurosistemul “**injectează**” **lichiditate**
- **capital injections** – **injecții de capital**; to **inject additional liquidity into the banking system** – **injectarea de lichiditate suplimentară în sistemul bancar**
- lending to **illiquid** banks (i.e. banks that are temporarily **short of cash**) and lending to **insolvent** banks – creditele acordate băncilor **nelichide** (respectiv bănci care se confruntă temporar cu o **criză de numerar**) și cele acordate băncilor **insolvente**

- lead to **higher amounts of money circulating** in the broader economy – **creșterea volumului de numerar în circulație** în economie pe ansamblu
2. The conceptual metaphor is partially retained or replaced with a different one:
- Normally, the Eurosystem **injects** an **amount of liquidity** – În mod normal, Eurosistemul **furnizează** un **volum de lichiditate**
 - First, the Eurosystem **drains liquidity** – În primul rând, Eurosistemul **sterilizează lichiditatea**
3. The conceptual metaphor is partially retained, with some elements added and/or translated non-metaphorically
- hoard the **liquidity** that they acquire. Because the **flow** of funds between banks was not as **fluid** as in normal times – de a tezauriza **lichiditatea** dobândită. Deoarece **fluxul** transferurilor de fonduri interbancare a fost mai puțin **constant** decât în mod obișnuit
 - This caused the money markets to **dry up**, because banks hoarded their own **liquidity** – Pe piețele monetare au început să apară **constrângeri**, deoarece băncile au preferat să își tezaurizeze **lichiditățile**
 - The other side is that the **liquidity** provided by the central bank system **flows back** to the central bank, mainly via two channels. – Celălalt se referă la faptul că **lichiditatea** furnizată de sistemul băncilor centrale **revine** la banca centrală, în principal prin intermediul a două canale.
4. A non-metaphoric expression in the source text is metaphorised in the target text:
- A higher amount of **money** provided by the central bank – Un volum mai însemnat de **lichiditate** furnizat de banca centrală
 - which means that it offers exceptionally to **take the surplus liquidity** – acesta este dispus să **dreneze excesul de lichiditate**

The potential reason for such translation choices is that (1) the term (as a financial term) has been present in the language for a long time and is included in dictionaries and reference books, or (2) that the term is relatively new in the target language, (3) there is no established equivalent, and as a consequence (of 2 and 3), a term could be misunderstood or misinterpreted when translated literally. In case of metaphorising a non-metaphoric expression (4), the Romanian version follows what could be called the “reverse pattern”, where the Romanian translator’s choice is the English metaphoric expression used elsewhere in the text (this could also be seen as a case of metaphor elaboration/extenuation). Therefore, in the examples presented under the second and the third strategies, the more

obvious choice for the translator is to choose a less metaphoric, more straightforward equivalent in the target language. The fact that there are instances where a non-metaphoric expression is metaphorised in the target text demonstrates that the conceptual framework is retained (see the example above, *money – lichiditate*).

As seen in the examples presented in Chapter 5, the conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS/THE ECONOMY ARE LIVING ORGANISMS is dealt with using two translation strategies: replacing it with another conceptual metaphor (INSTITUTIONS / THE ECONOMY ARE BUILDINGS / PHYSICAL STRUCTURES) and demetaphorisation. Sometimes, very rarely, the metaphor is retained, but this is an exception rather than the rule. In the majority of cases, the Romanian texts refer to the *solidity* of the economy and its policies as the solidity of physical structures. In the instances where the word *health* is translated literally, this happens because there is no consistency in case of translating this term (possibly also due to the fact that it is not perceived as a highly specialised term) and because there was no established way to translate the term in the institution. It was also noticed that *health* is translated as *sănătate* ('health') in older documents, whereas the other ones, where *health* becomes *soliditate* ('solidity'), were produced later. Thus, terminology has evolved in time and specific terms became standardised (for a discussion of rules governing terminology at the ECB, see Chapter 4). The same applies to the expression *sound*. In English, soundness is a characteristic of health, but in the Romanian texts, literal translation in case of the metaphorical expression *health* is rare, and the concept of soundness is mostly translated as *solidity*, though there are some examples of it being translated as *health* (as illustrated in section 5.2.1). In English these metaphorical expressions belong to the INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS conceptual metaphor, whereas in the Romanian TT the expressions can be understood in two ways: as part of the conceptual metaphor INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS, with a different metaphorical expression (*health* is understood as *solidity*) or a different conceptual metaphor altogether (INSTITUTIONS ARE STRUCTURES).

Even if the translation strategies may vary, sometimes within the same conceptual metaphor, some patterns and regularities can be noticed. For instance, there is a tendency to explicitate and/or borrow the English terms in case of new metaphors (in some cases the English term is kept alongside the Romanian one, translated or explained). Moreover, when translating new metaphors, they may be accompanied by meta-communicative features such as inverted commas, or the word *so-called*. In case of novel or obscure metaphors, there is also a

tendency to use paraphrase or to add explanatory elements (especially in documents targeted at the general public, who may not be familiar with highly-specialised economic terms). Furthermore, the way a term is translated changes with time, since Romanian is a new language in the EU and its economic vocabulary is constantly evolving. One of the examples is the inconsistency in translating *sound* as either *sănătos* or *solid*. It has also been noticed that retaining the metaphor is a common translation strategy, especially when it comes to well-established and frequently occurring terms (e.g. *liquidity*). Researchers have already reported the more reduced presence of metaphors in Romanian texts (see Chapter 2). *Liquidity* is translated as *lichiditate* possibly because it is a stable term, an expression that has long been established in the language. However, sometimes new terms that are derivatives of the old ones are not translated metaphorically because the Romanian language is not as flexible and receptive towards new terms as English is (as pointed out by Dobrotă and Maftai, 2002; Pecican, 2007b). The new term may be perceived as too literal and may make little sense to the reader. This is why in this case the translators do not retain the metaphorical expression in the target text or opt for addition as a translation strategy. Drawing a link with the theoretical framework, it must be noted that the translation strategies overlap and the same action of the translator can be described and defined using different terms. During the course of the research, it was discovered that the three primary translation strategies used in the corpora were also mentioned by many researchers (see section 2.4.2): retaining the conceptual metaphor and the metaphorical expression in the TT; replacing the metaphorical expression of the ST with another one in the TT, and demetaphorisation (not retaining the metaphor in the TT).

Since all translators have to use the translation memory, it is obvious that the translation process is influenced by the institutional setting, although it is difficult to prove that a particular translation strategy is determined by a particular policy. The reason is that there are several complex factors that impact the translation process, apart from using the translation memory (revisers, experts, the specificity of the source text) and it is difficult to get an insight into the exact steps of this process. Moreover, there are multiple factors that determine the choice of strategies (avoidance of strategy, preference for one over the other). For instance, translators are not allowed to use another option than the one offered by the translation memory and they may be reluctant to do so, especially in view of the requirement to retain the consistency of terminology. Also, they may tend to translate more closely to the ST if they are not sure of the TL conceptual metaphor. Other factors are the wish to opt for synonymy or to avoid the same word in an immediate context or, on the contrary, not to employ synonyms

in view of the specialised nature of the texts and in order to ensure consistency and reduce the degree of ambiguity (see the discussion on the verb *a majora – to increase* in section 5.2.1). Pym (2005) introduces the concept of “risk aversion”, which refers to the fact that translators often employ certain translation strategies (especially generalisation, explicitation and omission) in order to avoid taking risks. Another cause may be the translators’ awareness that they are part of an institution (“institutional voice”) and them focusing on ST in content and form because they think of the importance of the political message that the institution has to transmit. Brownlie (2003) mentions the multiple causality in translation, identifying several causes that can influence translation: individual situations (the context of production of a particular translation and the translators’ attitudes); textuality (the conditions governing textuality); translators’ norms. Thus, since multiple factors may influence the translators’ decision, it is difficult to establish a direct and precise link between a specific strategy and a specific condition.

The next section will present and discuss the questionnaires distributed to the ECB translators, aiming at identifying practices of professionals regarding the translation of metaphors in the institution under consideration, the ECB. By providing an insight into translators’ work, questionnaires can offer useful information about the institutional procedures and the way the institutional setting influences the translation process, particularly the translation of metaphors.

6.2 Questionnaires for translators

This section comprises four parts. First, the background and a justification of the use of questionnaires will be provided, in the context of the methodology of the thesis as a whole. Secondly, the 2009 questionnaires will be presented and analysed, followed by an analysis of the 2011 questionnaires. Finally, results will be discussed and linked to other aspects presented in the thesis.

The methodology used in the present study combines quantitative (but to a lesser extent – involving collecting texts, identifying word frequency, identifying occurrences of metaphorical expressions) and qualitative (text analysis, observation, analysis of documents describing procedures, questionnaires) methods. The methods used, as well as the reasons for employing them were described in more detail in Chapter 3.

As far as researching European Union translation is concerned, Koskinen (2008: 35) states that it is important to combine three factors: the institutional setting, the actual translated texts and a discussion with the people (the translators) in the institutional context and in order to do this, she uses questionnaires. Wagner (2002: 117) uses interviews of translators from the European Commission in order to “show the living context of the facts [...]”. Other researchers also advocate this research method (see Chapter 3).

Two series of questionnaires were distributed to professional translators working at the European Central Bank; the questionnaires contain questions regarding the translation of metaphors in economic texts and translation strategies (for the questionnaires, see Appendix 4). The first batch consists of responses collected from four Romanian translators in 2009; it was a pilot study designed to collect preliminary data. This time the questionnaires were sent by e-mail. The second batch of questionnaires was distributed in September 2011. The questionnaires were sent to all ECB translators: two translators for each EU language (about 50 translators – sometimes there are freelancers/experts from the National Bank); in total, 11 translators filled them in and returned them (the questionnaires were anonymous). The questionnaires contain more questions (some of them more detailed) than the first ones and, as a result of the analysis, detailed sociological profiles of the participants were obtained. This time, the process was more complicated, as questionnaires had to be first approved by the head of language group. The assistants of the ECB sent them by e-mail to the translators (they were not sent directly by the researcher) and the exact number of translators who received them is not known.

This first batch of questionnaires was used as a pilot study, meant to test this research method, and the second one used modified questions based on the experience with the pilot study. The first series of questionnaires was addressed to Romanian translators and aimed at finding out whether attitudes/practices of Romanian translators are specific to them or whether they are the same for all translators independent of language. The answers provided by the translators highlight the fact that, while for Romanian, as a new language in the EU, there are certain challenges (translating new metaphors, translation strategies such as paraphrase and borrowing), these aspects are in fact valid for other languages and the translation practices are applicable to all translators (since they all have to follow institutional procedures and use the translation memory), which points to the fact that institutional policies and conditions determine translation strategies. Baker (1994), cited in Van Teijlingen & Hundley (2001) advocates the use of pilot studies for this purpose. Despite the fact that it is a

supplementary research method (the main one being corpus analysis), questionnaires give an insight into the translators' working methods. Van Teijlingen & Hundley (2001) also state that a pilot study can help improve the bigger study because it helps the researcher understand the potential limitations of the research design. For instance, the second series of questionnaires contains questions about the participants' profiles, as well as more open-ended questions than the first one, because this type of questions allows more freedom for translators to talk about their work and give examples.

The two batches of questionnaires will be described below and the results will be analysed and discussed. The justification for the choice of questions and wording will be provided in case of each question. It has to be said that the opinions expressed in the questionnaires and the terminology used are those of the translators, and do not necessarily correspond, for instance, with the theoretical framework in which the present study operates (i.e. the conceptual view of metaphor). However, the questionnaires provide useful data, since they were designed to identify individual professional practices and the translators' awareness regarding metaphors.

6.2.1 Questionnaires for Romanian translators

In 2009, a questionnaire was sent to the Romanian translators working at the European Central Bank (at that time, a full-time translator, a short-term contract translator, a freelancer and a lawyer-linguist trainee). It has to be mentioned that at the ECB there are normally two translators in the Romanian language team. Apart from the full-time permanent translator, the Romanian team can also have a trainee, a freelancer, a short-term contract translator or an expert from the National Bank (see Chapter 4 for more details).

The questionnaire consists of three questions formulated in Romanian²⁵ about translating metaphors: a yes/no question, an open question and a multiple choice question (for the questionnaire, see Appendix 4). The respondents were not only encouraged to answer the questions by selecting one option, but they were also invited to elaborate and give examples of metaphors, if they could think of any from their daily work. The answers received are quite comprehensive, with many explanations and examples. They are varied and sometimes not very consistent with one another.

²⁵ They were translated into English by the author of this thesis.

The first question was: “Do you encounter metaphors in economic/financial/banking texts?” This question was chosen in order to identify if translators are aware of the presence of metaphors in specialised texts, as a lack of awareness can have implications for the translation process. A definition of metaphors was not provided at this stage in order to find out what translators understand by metaphor. In other words, the objective was to find out if translators are aware that figurative language can be encountered not only in literary texts and also to see what they think metaphors are. One translator said yes, arguing that there are many metaphors in English texts, sometimes in order to make things more expressive, one said that there may be metaphors in such texts, but it is not a characteristic of the respective fields, the lawyer linguist trainee said that he came across very few metaphors, and another translator said that she does come across metaphors in translations, but not “usually”.

The second question – “Were metaphors previously translated into Romanian by a metaphor or is there a tendency to explicitate the concept?” – aimed at identifying translation trends and regularities in translating metaphors into the specific target language analysed in the present thesis – Romanian and at finding out whether translators tend to focus on individual words or whether they report with reference to complete texts/internal coherence. The purpose was to identify what translation strategies had been used before in the process of translating (that the translators found in the translation memory while translating). In order to reduce the degree of subjectivity, the translators were not asked at this point how they themselves translate metaphors. The translation memory and previously translated texts are very important at the ECB, as they are the reference tools with which translators operate on a daily basis and they have to be taken into account when translating new texts. Two of the translators answered that in general, the metaphor is kept in the Romanian target texts, one said that translating them by a metaphor seems rather risky (“there aren’t very many situations where in the new metaphors, of the target language, the meaning and implications of those in the source language are preserved” and thus, an “explanation/clarification/simplification may be the best solution”) and another translator stated that it depends on the context. Three translators mentioned the importance of the context as a crucial factor in choosing the appropriate translation strategy when translating metaphors.

According to one translator, sometimes in Romanian translators need to use another image than in the source text because English is much more prone to using expressive images and sometimes literal translation would have no meaning to the target audience; however, when it

comes to well-established metaphors, translators keep them (see Chapter 2 for scholars who reported the same results); even when it comes to new metaphors, the tendency is to try to preserve the same image (e.g. the monetary term *snake in the tunnel* – *șarpele în tunel*). Two translators would consult other language versions (e.g. French) to check if the metaphor was kept. One of them stated that if in all other languages the metaphor is kept, in most cases it is also preserved in Romanian. According to this translator, “there are situations when a metaphor is translated in a more technical, precise and clear language, in an attempt to explain to the general audience the concept contained by the metaphor”. Another translator answered that, usually, metaphors are translated by metaphors and they are very seldom explained – only in case of newly-created concepts or concepts which are specific to another culture than the Romanian one, in order to be better understood by the target audience. During the course of the research, it was found that one of the main translation strategies for translating metaphors from English into Romanian is retaining the metaphor, but in case of new metaphors, there is a tendency to paraphrase or explain, in order to make it clearer for the target readers.

One translator gave a very comprehensive answer, supported by examples: S/he said that if in Romanian there is a similar concept that can take the connotations assigned to the English concept (e.g. *flooding, draining*), the metaphor is kept. The examples provided show that translators understand what a metaphor is, at least in the linguistic sense. According to the translator, in some cases, if another metaphor (which is more frequently used and having the same meaning) already exists, it may be preferred or it can be chosen in order to avoid repetitions. Translators might resort to a synonymous metaphor, or to explicitation if transposing the English metaphor into Romanian is difficult or would lead to hilarious turns of phrase (e.g. *off the commercial banks' hands* or *to park money* – a literal translation would be inappropriate and would break the rules regarding the idiomaticity and the formal style of the Romanian language), the translator stated. The same translator argued that things become more complicated when there is no similar concept in Romanian, when the ground is unexplored, for instance in case of the metaphor *shoe-leather costs*. As stated by the translator, in this case translators may explicitate or even mention between brackets the English term [e.g. “costurile de pingelire a pantofilor” (în engleză, *shoe-leather costs*) in the document entitled *Price stability: why is it important for you?*]. This metaphor was also analysed in the present study (see section 5.2.7 for a discussion of it).

The third question in the questionnaire was “If you had to translate a metaphor, what would the general tendency be?”, with three choices: “1. You would find an equivalent metaphor in the target language, in order to keep the style and the connotations of the text. 2. You would not keep the metaphor, but you would try to compensate somewhere else in the text. 3. You would not keep the English metaphor at all”. The purpose of this question was to identify the individual practices of the translators when it comes to translating metaphors, i.e. which strategy they would adopt for translating metaphors. Even if the way the options are formulated may point towards a traditional understanding of metaphor and also to a narrow understanding of translation as reproduction of meaning, the questions were phrased this way for the translators to better understand them. This question contains three possible options, but translators were always encouraged to express their views, provide examples, expand, etc.

One translator stated that, depending on the context, there are (rare) cases when the metaphor may be omitted, because the text would be clearer, or when the metaphor would be compensated for by rephrasing the sentence so that at least some of the English metaphor is preserved in Romanian. According to another translator, acceptable metaphors can be created only when the realities of the two cultures are similar. The meaning is the most important and metaphors should not be created only to keep the style and the connotations. This translator sees no point in compensating for the metaphor somewhere else in the text and would probably not keep the metaphor if there is no equivalent metaphor in the target language. According to this translator, “For safety reasons regarding the message, I would prefer a non-poetic, but viable translation, to a figurative one, which is not viable”. This statement can be linked to the concept of “risk aversion” (Pym, 2005), to the multiple causality in the translation process (Brownlie, 2003), as well as to the “institutional voice” of the translating institution (Koskinen, 2008).

Another translator said that first, the meaning of the metaphor has to be carefully considered – the intention, if the metaphor was meant to enhance clarity, or if a language that is too technical was inappropriate; then, it should be checked if the metaphor had been previously translated in other Romanian documents and how it has been translated into other EU languages, which points towards the common practices and procedures and an awareness of normal procedures which have to be adhered to. S/he comments as follows: “The most important aspect is that the meaning of the Romanian text should not be different from the other language versions and the legislator’s intent should be preserved. These comments

specifically refer to legal documents. No universal recipe can be given, but each case should be analysed separately”. Finally, the other translator said that personally, s/he would choose to translate a metaphor by another metaphor in order to keep the style and the connotations of the text.

Another example of metaphor given by a translator is “helicopter money”, which was translated as “bani din elicopter” (according to the translator, it can be considered as translating word-for-word or rendering the metaphor in the same way in Romanian, having in view the fact that the reality referred to exists as such in Romania, so we can directly understand the meaning of the metaphor) or, according to the definition on the internet, as “bani-cadou” (‘gift money’). Or it was rephrased, according to the possibilities, in an attempt to preserve the metaphor.

In the questionnaires distributed in 2009, even if translators may have slightly diverging opinions on the number of metaphors encountered in economic texts or on the strategies to translate them, they all agree that context and the target audience play an important part in choosing the way to translate metaphors. Translators believe that for Romanian, it is also useful to consult other language versions, particularly in case of legislation. According to the translators, when possible, metaphors were kept in Romanian, but sometimes they were paraphrased, explicitated, especially in case of new concepts and there is even a tendency to add the English term, in italics, inverted commas or in brackets, when the newly-coined metaphor is too obscure for the target reader. These statements largely correspond to the findings of the present study, following the analysis of the corpus.

6.2.2 Questionnaires for all ECB translators

This second batch of questionnaires (see Appendix 4), sent to all ECB translators, consists of 12 questions, formulated in English: six background questions (age, gender, qualifications, native language, years of experience as a translator, how long they have been working at the ECB) and six questions related to the translation of metaphors (two multiple choice questions and four open questions). At the beginning of the questionnaire, some brief information about the purpose of the research was provided. Eleven questionnaires filled in by translators were received: three for Romanian, two for Polish, one for Italian, one for French, one for Maltese, one for Greek and two for unspecified languages, because the translators did not mention it (one of them might be German, according to the answers provided by the translator). The

response rate is around 25%, since generally there are two translators per EU language (46 translators), but some translators might have been absent. The questionnaires are anonymous and even the researcher does not know who filled them in; in a sense, this method can be compared to launching a survey via an online tool. This questionnaire only targeted in-house translators, since the present study mainly focuses on exploring if and how institutional policies and practices influence translation strategies at the ECB.

As for gender, seven out of 11 of the respondents are women. Regarding the age bracket, six of the respondents are between 30 and 40 years old, three are between 40 and 50 years old and two are between 50 and 60 years old. The questionnaire also includes a question about the respondent's qualifications: seven of them have a Master's degree in translation, two have a Master's degree in languages, one has a PhD and one has a Bachelor in languages and another qualification in translation; the fact that 64% of them have a Master's in translation shows that they have the academic training required for the profession. Most of them (64%) are experienced translators, with over 10 years' experience working as a translator. This information is summarised in the table below:

Table 12. The translators' profiles (the 2011 questionnaires)

Age	30-40	40-50	50-60
	6	3	2
Gender	Male		Female
	4		7
Qualification	MA Translation	MA Languages	Other
	7	2	2
Experience (as a translator)	Less than 5 years	5-10 years	More than 10 years
	1	3	7
Experience (at the ECB)	Less than 5 years	5-10 years	More than 10 years
	5	2	4

As it can be noticed from the table and considerations above, the profiles of respondents are varied (in terms of language, age, qualifications, experience), which allows for a better representation of the answers.

In order to find out about the professionals' awareness of metaphors in economic texts, the first question asked was "Do you encounter metaphors in economic/financial/banking texts?". The translators were also encouraged to provide more details. Most of the respondents acknowledge the presence of a large number of metaphors in economic texts: nine of the respondents answered "yes", one said "sometimes" and one said "rarely". One translator mentioned that there are fewer metaphors in technical texts. The fact that professionals of the field (at least those who were surveyed during the course of this study) are aware of the presence of metaphors and the challenges that they pose is consistent with the results of the 2009 survey. The translators' responses show that they are aware of both the technical part of the original text (i.e. the terminology) and the linguistic elements (i.e. are able to recognise metaphorical expressions even in relatively "dry" texts, such as economic and financial reports).

The next question was "If you come across metaphors in a text you are to translate, how do you normally deal with this?" and its aim is to identify professional practices of translating metaphors. Translators had three options to choose from, in order to systematise, to a certain degree, the responses and to avoid interpretation. The questions were formulated from a traditional view of metaphor, since the translators might not be acquainted with the conceptual metaphor theory. Six translators chose the answer "I would attempt to find an equivalent metaphor in the target language, in order to keep the style and the connotations of the text", three chose both this answer and "I would not translate the metaphor at all but use a paraphrase" (one explained that the former solution would apply for educational texts, whereas the latter would work for more formal texts). Two translators chose the answer "I would not keep the metaphor in the same position if it is not possible, but would try to compensate for the loss somewhere else in the text".

The next question was "If you encounter metaphors in the translation memory, were they previously translated by a metaphor or is there a tendency to paraphrase, explain the concept?". This question is open-ended in order to allow translators more freedom to illustrate the answer with strategies and examples. A common way of dealing with metaphors, as noticed by the translators, is to paraphrase them (according to four respondents). Among these, one translator said that it is "considered safer to paraphrase than to find an equivalent metaphor" (this is consistent with what translators surveyed in 2009 answered). The French and Italian translators answered that usually, they were translated by metaphors ("where it is possible to keep it", according to the French translator). According to four other translators, it

depends: the Greek translator said that they are paraphrased or explained when there is no equivalent in Greek; a Polish translator said that both tendencies are visible, depending on the metaphor; another Polish translator answered that one could not speak of a tendency – some translators find equivalent metaphors and others paraphrase; a Romanian translator said that “Sometimes, they were translated by a metaphor. Some other times, they were taken as such from English and put in italics. In other cases, a paraphrase was used”. According to another Romanian translator, “the metaphor is retained, to the extent possible”. These aspects are consistent with the results of the present study, since it was found that among the most common translation strategies in the corpus of texts were retaining the metaphor, replacing the metaphor with a different one in the TT, demetaphorisation, borrowing the English terms (see section 6.1).

The next question, also open-ended, was “How would you deal with a new metaphor (e.g. “helicopter money”, “shoe-leather costs”, “haircut”), which has not been previously translated?”. The purpose of this question was to identify how translators deal with new metaphors (examples were provided because some translators may not know what “new metaphor” means in this context). Respondents gave interesting and varied answers. Two translators said they would ask for the opinion of an expert (an economist, a financial expert). Four translators mentioned adding the original metaphor in brackets or in italics, if needed (e.g. “if it sounds unusual in the target language” or “if the metaphor is established financial jargon, I would put the original in brackets” or if the metaphor is not so clear to the general public, “depending on the text, I would maybe add some explanation in the vicinity of the metaphor”). Four translators would paraphrase the metaphor, four would find an equivalent metaphor and two said that they would try either of the two methods, depending on the metaphor. As it can be noticed, the strategies identified in the corpus are also mentioned in the answers provided by the translators in the questionnaires. The fact that a translator mentioned consulting an expert in the field shows an awareness of the highly-specialised nature of the texts, as well as the influence of the institutional setting (at the ECB it is a common practice for economists to revise translations and it is an asset that they are working at the ECB and are readily available).

The question “Can you think of any metaphor which had caused you specific translation problems? How did you solve this problem eventually?” aimed at identifying particular examples of metaphors and finding out how translators have dealt with them. Three of the translators did not answer this question. The seven respondents gave a variety of interesting

answers and provided many examples of metaphorical expressions: “blue chip stock” (one Romanian translator said s/he translated only the word “stock” and left “blue chip” in English); “tail event” (according to the translator, if they had translated it word for word it would have sounded improper, even obscene, “tail” being a slang word for “penis” in their mother tongue, so they opted for the paraphrase “extreme event” and added the English term in brackets); “helicopter money” (the Italian translator mentioned that it was translated as something like “make money rain down from above”); “short position”, “long position” (one Romanian translator wrote that s/he did some research in order to understand the concepts and s/he paraphrased them). The Maltese translator said that metaphors are always a source of “problems”, which can be solved by trying to understand the concept, through research and by looking at other familiar languages and then by paraphrasing in simple terms. Both Polish translators mentioned the metaphor “anchoring inflation expectations”, which was first avoided in Polish, by paraphrasing it, but, as the translator states, “we eventually started to use a direct equivalent as the term is already fixed in the economic jargon. The main problem is that the Polish economic language is, on the one hand, very official, and on the other, very immature terminologically because of the direct use of English terms. We have briefly analysed this problem (the richness of English terms versus the scarcity of Polish economic language) in an article for the bulletin of Polish translation community at the EU institutions”. This answer is interesting, because it points out the fact that the context of this country is similar to the one in Romania – same political background, political changes, same linguistic problems. This also corresponds to the findings of the present study – the Romanian language is immature terminologically, the scarcity of economic terms, many English loan words. Another Romanian translator said that generally, there is the tendency to retain the metaphor, where it is possible. However, the institutional constraints also have to be taken into account (particularly the National Bank’s opinion, in case of official publications). When it comes to a new or different concept, it is usually paraphrased or the English term is borrowed. According to the translator, since this economic language is very dry, it has to be coloured with figurative language.

6.2.3 Discussion

Drawing a link between the theoretical framework and the real-life situations that translators encounter, the data in the questionnaires shows that translators’ views can differ from each other, but there are also common points. Some translators say they do not encounter metaphors in economic texts, or that there are not too many; others state that economic texts

are replete with metaphors; some provide only brief answers; others give more thought to describing their work around metaphors. However, many translators acknowledge the presence of metaphors and the challenges they pose, which shows that they are aware of what they are doing and reflect on the translation process. It was noticed that, in general, more experienced translators give more comprehensive answers and more examples.

Translators think of metaphors in terms of linguistic expressions, which is not compatible to what the conceptual theory argues. However, translators are aware of what translation is and they know what is expected in the institutional context (rules, regulations, procedures) and what their role and power are. For example, in case of new metaphors they can use their creativity and they have a certain power to find original solutions. However, they are aware of the institutional practices and policies. In case of previously translated or repetitive texts, consistency has to be ensured and the translation memory often dictates the solution to be adopted. There are certain shared values and practices and translators are part of the institutional mechanism. These aspects can be linked back to the discussion of institutional translation, agency and *habitus* in Chapter 2.

The two data sets have their respective advantages and provide useful insights into the practices of professionals in the institution under investigation. The 2009 respondents are more focussed around the target language (Romanian) and thus, provided specific examples related to the language pair investigated in the present thesis. The 2011 respondents are more diverse and therefore provided a more generalist view. This allows a cross-cultural and cross-language comparison, with the institution in the focus. If the respondents give similar responses to the questions, or use similar strategies, one could presume that it is dictated by the institutional context, namely using the translation memory to keep the terms uniform, by always translating them in the same way (for institutional procedures, see Chapter 4). However, using a translation memory tool is not the only constraint. Translators also have to take into account the databases, glossaries, previously translated documents, opinions of experts and revisers, etc. If the strategies and approaches are diverse, then one can make a more confident supposition about the translator's agency and freedom to choose any strategies they deem appropriate. Therefore, the translators' choices can be restricted by the target culture, the appropriateness of using certain terms, the institutional constraints. This is one of the reasons why demetaphorisation is a common translation strategy: even if the language is dry (as stated by a translator), translators are not always free to choose any strategy and use their creativity (for a discussion of agency, see section 2.1.1).

In general, translators are aware of the presence of metaphors in economic texts, even if there is no evidence that they have in view the conceptual framework (the terminology used in the questionnaires mostly reflects the linguistic view of metaphor). There are some institutional constraints, as all translators use the central translation memory and if they encounter a metaphor that has been previously translated, the general rule is to take it as such from the memory, in order to ensure consistency (for instance, in case of *helicopter money*, *haircut*, *monetary snake*, etc). However, to a certain extent, there is a degree of creativity and agency (for a definition of agency, see Chapter 2), because sometimes, especially in case of new metaphors, translators are free to use their imagination and develop new metaphors in the target language; one of the translation strategies in the Romanian target texts can be to borrow totally or partially the English term or explicitate the term. These aspects are very important because, by creating new metaphors (or, on the contrary, by demetaphorising the concept), translators contribute to the development of the national language.

As pointed out by the translators in the questionnaires (especially the Romanian translators), when encountering new metaphors, translators often consult other similar language versions (Romance languages – French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese) to look for a solution that is closer to the structure of the Romanian language. For instance, in case of the metaphor *snake*, the translator said that they took over the French term and kept the same image. In the corpus of texts analysed in the present study, this was also noticed, for instance, in case of *fitness-checked*, which was translated as *sortate calitativ* ('qualitatively sorted'). The translator probably consulted the French version – *tri qualitatif* ('qualitative sorting'). Another example is the metaphor *helicopter money*. Many translators refer to this metaphor as an example of a "new" metaphor, posing translation problems. The Romanian translators considered this translation as a challenge, taking time to think about the possible choices (as a literal translation *bani din elicopter* – 'money from the helicopter' would not make much sense to the target reader). Thus, certain translation strategies are in line with what translators write in the questionnaires, which shows, as already pointed out by researchers (see Webb, 1966, quoted in Chapter 3, section 3.2.6), that using several research methods implies a greater degree of validity than using only one method.

The limited nature of the data has to be acknowledged for several reasons. Firstly, because the number of translators working at the ECB is not high; secondly, because only a certain number of translators have responded; thirdly, because of the difficulty of getting inside

information on practices and policies. In spite of this, the questionnaires distributed to translators provide useful and interesting results; some of these answers can be linked to what has been found while performing text analysis and discussing how translators have dealt with metaphors in various excerpts of texts. For instance, the fact that new metaphors are paraphrased, explicitated or the English terms are borrowed can be linked to what translators said, namely that these are the solutions adopted in case of such metaphors. Thus, the approach adopted by the present study is more holistic, providing a global picture of the situation investigated (and thus analysing the institution, the texts and, to a lesser extent, the people).

6.3 Conclusions

The aim of the present chapter was to establish links between the texts being analysed (including the translation strategies identified) and the institutional conditions and procedures. The main trends identified in translating metaphors were outlined, linking them to the specific institutional setting. Multiple and complex factors can influence the translators' choices: the requirement to use the translation memory, the revision process, the norms of the target language, different usage at national level, etc. From the questionnaires distributed to the ECB translators, it results that the strategies identified in the corpus of texts used in this study are mostly the same as the ones mentioned by translators. In case of new metaphors, the strategy adopted may be addition, paraphrase or borrowing. However, in many instances translators try to keep the source text metaphor, if possible. In view of the complexity and multiplicity of factors, it is difficult to establish straightforward and precise one-to-one links between the textual profiles and the institutional conditions and procedures.

The next chapter will contain general conclusions related to the whole thesis, an evaluation of results, limitations of the present study and directions for further research.

Chapter 7

Evaluation, Implications and Directions for Further Research

7.1 Evaluation of results

The objective of the present study was to investigate the institutional context of the European Central Bank and to illustrate translation practices. The main focus was on the translation strategies used when translating economic metaphors. Conceptual metaphors were chosen to illustrate how translators deal with the texts since they include a wide range of expressions that can be used to identify recurring patterns of translation strategies.

The three research questions of the study were: 1. What are the policies and procedures regarding translation at the ECB? 2. What translation strategies are used for translating metaphors in the ECB documents? and 3. How is translation influenced by the institutional procedures?

The theoretical framework chapter (Chapter 2) gave an overview of metaphor theories, focusing specifically on the conceptual metaphor theory, the importance of it in discourse, metaphor in political and economic texts and translating metaphor. Strategies used in metaphor translation, addressed in Translation Studies, were also outlined. This chapter also addressed institutional translation and sociological concepts such as agency and *habitus*. The corpus and methodology were presented and justified in Chapter 3. Then, the translation process in the European Union was explored, with particular emphasis on the institutional context and policies of the European Central Bank (Chapter 4). Using corpus analysis software, word frequencies and main potential candidates for metaphors were identified (a method described in more detail in Chapter 3) and in Chapter 5 the translation strategies employed by the translators were presented and analysed, with examples from the corpus of texts. The translation of the main conceptual metaphors was described and analysed. Chapter 6 presented the links between textual profiles and institutional conditions and analysed the questionnaires filled in by translators.

As illustrated in previous chapters, metaphors can pose some rather tricky translation issues, particularly since there are naturally occurring discrepancies between the source and target languages and cultures. Since the translators in the institution (in the current case – the European Central Bank) are not “agents of change” but are rather constrained by either the institutional requirements (translation memory, glossaries, revisers, experts) or by the norms and conventions of the target language, it can be inferred that they are not free to adopt any translation strategy and translate in whatever way, and translation (including the translation of metaphors) is influenced by the institutional setting. However, even if the translators’ agency and power is reduced due to the principles that organise practices (the translators’ *habitus*), translators may feel that they participate in sending out a particular institutional message and that they represent an important institution.

During the course of this research, documents describing procedures and policies at the ECB were analysed and the data was also gathered by observation in the institution and by collecting information (via anonymous questionnaires) from the professional translators working at the ECB. It was found that, while there are some similarities between the ECB and the other EU institutions, there are also differences. In all EU institutions there are specific procedures and constraints regarding the translation process: the translators have to work with a translation memory, databases, glossaries and there are specific requirements depending on the type of document. However, the types of documents produced and translated in the EU institutions differ. At the ECB, the documents translated are specialised (belonging to the economic field). There is a tight collaboration between translators and experts and between the ECB and the National Banks of the EU countries (also in terms of translation, since the translators of the National Bank often revise the documents translated at the ECB). The size of the translation department in the EU institutions also differs, as well as the percentage of freelancers used. At the ECB there are one or two translators for every language, sometimes a translator from the National Bank can come for an exchange, sometimes there are freelancers and/or trainees, which can have an impact on the consistency of the translations.

Although it is difficult to generalise the results and to identify regularities in all instances in view of the complexity of the procedures at the ECB, the corpus used for this study provides a lot of useful data and some conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the texts included in the corpus.

First of all, due to the fact that some economic metaphors are much newer in Romanian than in English, they are not always translated as metaphors (for comparison, see Dobrotă & Maftai, 2002; Pârlog, 2001, Pecican, 2007a and 2007b, who report similar findings). This might also happen due to the fact that what is acceptable as conceptual metaphor in an English text might be uncommon, unnatural or just “out of place” in the Romanian one. Secondly, in the Romanian language version, English economic metaphors are often explicitated, explained, rephrased, and/or have elements added to them. However, retaining the metaphor is also a common translation strategy.

Since Romanian is a new language in the European Union and its specialised terminology is not fully-developed yet, sometimes the translation of terms is not very consistent. Especially when it comes to new terms, reflecting new realities, one of the most common translation strategies is to borrow the English term (either totally or partially, sometimes adding an explanation), or to use a non-metaphoric expression in the target text. It seems that plainness and straightforwardness is the best policy when it comes to a figurative expression that could have undesired connotations in the target language. As explained in Chapter 6, this can be due to the fact that translators are aware of the institutional procedures and follow them (especially the use of the translation memory, previous translations and terminology), they are avoiding risks (cf. the concept of risk aversion, used by Pym, 2005) and they feel part of the translating institution, which has to send a certain message (the causes can be multiple and complex). Another strategy is to place the term in the target language between inverted commas, especially in case of new concepts or concepts that are not well-known. A combination of several strategies was also encountered: keeping the English term and adding an explanation.

There are also instances where there is a different conceptual metaphor in the two languages but it is more common to have the same conceptual metaphor, but different linguistic expressions (such as in the case of *health / soundness – soliditate*).

Sometimes, similarities were noticed between Romanian and French and a common practice for translators, as found from the questionnaires distributed to ECB translators, is to have a look at other language versions (more specifically the French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish ones, as they are all Romance languages and their structure is closer to that of the Romanian language). This happens particularly when the metaphor to translate is a new one, when the concept does not exist in Romanian – the English term is either kept or the

translators have a look at other language versions (as reported by a respondent when answering the questions in the questionnaire).

For instance, when it comes to the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A LIQUID, one of the most prevalent conceptual metaphors in the corpus of texts used in the present thesis, several translation strategies were noticed, the most common one being to retain the same conceptual metaphor in the target text (particularly when the term is already established in the language). Another strategy is to partially retain the conceptual metaphor or to replace it with another image or to use a non-metaphoric image, especially when the concepts are new in the target language and may be misinterpreted or misunderstood if translated literally. The few instances where a non-metaphoric expression is metaphorised in the target text reflect the fact that the conceptual framework operates at text level in the ST and TT.

As illustrated in Chapter 6, these strategies were also identified by translators in their responses to the questionnaires.

7.2 Limitations of the present research

The aim of the present thesis has been to present and analyse a particular aspect of institutional translation (the translation process in a particular institution – the European Central Bank), for a particular language combination (translation from English into Romanian), with reference to a particular aspect of the language (metaphors).

However, as any other research, the present study contains some subjective elements and has a number of limitations. The limitations of the data have to be mentioned. Regarding the institutional conditions and the translation process, there was not too much information available from the ECB or the National Bank, as sometimes the researcher as an outsider can only have access to a limited amount of data. Moreover, it has to be acknowledged that some information is confidential, since the ECB works with sensitive documents. At the ECB there are no written documents regarding translation and the data was collected through observation and the analysis of the available documents describing policies and procedures at the ECB. Moreover, there was only a limited number of respondents to questionnaires, due to the small number of translators working at the ECB and the fact that only some translators filled in the questionnaires. The corpus is also limited in size and it is difficult to make generalisations and to establish direct links between the translation strategies and the institutional procedures due to the complexity of factors. Another limitation might be the fact that, due to the size of the corpus and of the texts, as well as due to the way the data is

presented in the study, the texts are mostly analysed at micro-level. A more clear-cut distinction between the macro-level and the micro-level and a more thorough macro-level analysis might provide more insights into the way metaphors were dealt with at a more global, macro level and possibly into the precise links between the textual profiles and the institutional procedures.

The present study has explored how translation takes place in a particular institutional setting and what strategies are employed for translating metaphor. It used mainly qualitative methods – corpus analysis, textual analysis, observation, description. It provides insights into the translation process in a less explored institution (the European Central Bank) and a less explored language (Romanian) in the discipline of Translation Studies. It also uses a limited number of questionnaires, in order to obtain information on translators' work and the strategies they use. More insights and relevant information might be gained by analysing a larger number of questionnaires (however, it has to be acknowledged that the number of translators working for the ECB is not so high). Thus, the part of the study involving human subjects has its limitations; more information about how translators think while they are translating might be obtained by other methods – think-aloud protocol, keystroke logging. These are increasingly used by researchers in Translation Studies and could provide more insights into the way translators think, emphasising what motivates their choices for a particular translation strategy.

7.3 Contributions and directions for further research

The present thesis aims at bringing a contribution to Translation Studies, particularly to institutional translation and metaphor translation, by investigating the way metaphors have been dealt with when translating economic documents of the European Central Bank. By analysing documents related to policies and procedures, by observing practices in the institution and by talking to translators, the main contribution of this study is to Translation Studies, particularly to institutional translation (the way the institutional procedures and constraints impact the translation process). This is also related to sociological aspects and translators' agency because translators working in a specific institution are bound by its institutional practices and policies and their agency may be affected. These aspects were only investigated up to a certain extent, having in view the complex procedures and the limited access to translators' daily work, the exact steps that they follow, etc. This thesis also brings a contribution to metaphor translation (economic metaphors in particular), as a classification of translation strategies for metaphors has been established on the basis of the

analysis of the texts. Since it uses corpus analysis, this thesis also contributes to corpus-based Translation Studies, although only to a certain extent, as other research methods were also employed in the study. The application of corpora in Translation Studies to investigate a variety of topics is an area where further research could be conducted. Another contribution of this study is to translating into Romanian, which is a less explored language in Translation Studies and especially in institutional translation.

From a social and theoretical point of view, the present study could be of use to the ECB, to the translators working there, for professional awareness. It could also be used for continuous professional development, by translators interested in the EU context, by Romanian translators and by any other translators, students or anybody interested in the particular aspects investigated.

As identified by Koskinen and other researchers, there is definitely a gap in the research on institutional translation, and in particular on European Union translation, especially regarding the new languages. As far as the ECB is concerned, the revision process and the collaboration between the ECB and the National Bank are aspects that can be explored in more detail. However, as already mentioned in section 7.2, it has to be noted that some documents are confidential in the translation stage and thus, the translation and revision process could not be investigated by an outside researcher. Other types of texts (e.g. legal texts) are another topic worth analysing. Regarding EU institutions in general, further directions of research would be an investigation of the translation process in other institutions, with different languages, different types of texts and different aspects of the language. The concept of agency and the status of translators could also be further explored, by gaining more insights into their work. The translation practices are different in each institution and the policies in the European Union institutions, by their specificity and diversity, offer a wide array of aspects to be investigated.

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Internet resources

Directorate General for Translation of the European Commission:
http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/index_en.htm

EUR-LEX website containing European Union legislation: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

EUROPA Glossary containing terms relating to European integration and the institutions and activities of the EU: http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/index_en.htm

European Central Bank: <http://www.ecb.int/home/html/index.en.html>

Interinstitutional Style Guide: EUROPA, Publications Office:
<http://publications.europa.eu/code/ro/ro-000500.htm>

Official Journal of the European Union: <http://www.europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/JOIndex.do>

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

List of all documents included in the corpus

English source texts

Annual Report 2009 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/annrep/ar2009en.pdf>

Annual Report 2010 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/annrep/ar2010en.pdf>

ECB Staff Macroeconomic Projections for the Euro Area, March 2010 (2010) European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbstaffprojections201003en.pdf>

ECB Staff Macroeconomic Projections for the Euro Area, June 2010 (2010) European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/eurosystemstaffprojections201006en.pdf>

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ECB Staff Macroeconomic Projections for the Euro Area, March 2011 (2011) European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbstaffprojections201103en.pdf>

Editorial, July 2009 (2009), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/mobu/mb200907en.pdf>

Editorial, October 2009 (2009), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2009/html/mb091015.en.html>

Editorial, January 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100121.en.html>

Editorial, February 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100211.en.html>

Editorial, March 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100311.en.html>

Editorial, April 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100415.en.html>

Editorial, May 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100513.en.html>

Editorial, June 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100617.en.html>

Editorial, July 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100715.en.html>

Editorial, August 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100812.en.html>

Editorial, September 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100909.en.html>

Editorial, October 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb101014.en.html>

Editorial, November 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb101111.en.html>

Editorial, December 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb101209.en.html>

Editorial, January 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb110120.en.html>

Editorial, February 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb110210.en.html>

Editorial, March 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb110310.en.html>

Editorial, April 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb110414.en.html>

Editorial, May 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb110512.en.html>

Editorial, June 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb110616.en.html>

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Editorial, October 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb111013.en.html>

Editorial, November 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb111110.en.html>

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How the Euro Became Our Money. A Short History of the Euro Banknotes and Coins (2007), European Central Bank, available at http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/euro_became_our_moneyen.pdf?d44ef3581ce67ba0c51de618eff2a2a6

Monthly Bulletin, March 2008 (2008), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/mobu/mb200803en.pdf>

Monthly Bulletin, June 2008 (2008), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/mobu/mb200806en.pdf>

Monthly Bulletin, September 2008 (2008), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/mobu/mb200809en.pdf>

Monthly Bulletin, December 2008 (2008), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/mobu/mb200812en.pdf>

Monthly Bulletin, March 2009 (2009), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/mobu/mb200903en.pdf>

Price stability : Why is it important for you? (2011) European Central Bank, available at http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/price_stability_web_2011en.pdf?c933ce99c34a8505eb88e5058d9efca2

Recycling of euro banknotes: framework for the detection of counterfeits and fitness sorting by credit institutions and other professional cash handlers (2005), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/recyclingeurobanknotes2005en.pdf>

Special edition of the Monthly Bulletin: 10th Anniversary of the ECB, May 2008 (2008) European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/10thanniversaryoftheecbmb200806en.pdf?1b5a1f4066e62df3043c73184b51014d>

The European Central Bank, the Eurosystem, the European System of Central Banks (Edition 2011), European Central Bank, available at http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/escb_web_2011en.pdf?8ccf9e69c6b4ebff29b72a49d1c55636

The implementation of monetary policy in the euro area: General Documentation on Eurosystem monetary policy instruments and procedures (2011), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/gendoc201109en.pdf?0f322ad32be27c2098e38833fe34ade7>

The Single Euro Payments Area (SEPA): an integrated retail payments market (2009), European Central Bank, available at

http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/sepa_brochure_2009en.pdf

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Banca Centrală Europeană, Eurosistemul, Sistemul European al Băncilor Centrale (2011), European Central Bank, available at

http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/escb_web_2011ro.pdf?81813e022f177f72c41638ea59609717

Cum a devenit euro moneda noastră. Scurt istoric al bancnotelor și monedelor euro (2007), European Central Bank, available at

http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/euro_became_our_moneyro.pdf?3836d841f3ccb665c166632301864bb4

Buletin lunar: a 10-a aniversare a BCE (2008) European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/a10aaniversareabce200806ro.pdf?5b41bbe13b479a7e9ac5a7e4fb02ede6>

Buletin lunar, martie 2008 (2008), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.bnro.ro/Buletinul-lunar-al-BCE-3222.aspx>

Buletin lunar, septembrie 2008 (2008), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.bnro.ro/Buletinul-lunar-al-BCE-3222.aspx>

Buletin lunar, decembrie 2008 (2008), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.bnro.ro/Buletinul-lunar-al-BCE-3222.aspx>

Buletin lunar, martie 2009 (2009), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.bnro.ro/Buletinul-lunar-al-BCE-3222.aspx>

Editorial, octombrie 2009 (2009), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2009/html/mb091015.ro.html>

Editorial, iulie 2009 (2009), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2009/html/mb090709.ro.html>

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Editorial, iulie 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100715.ro.html>

Editorial, august 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100812.ro.html>

Editorial, septembrie 2010 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2010/html/mb100909.ro.html>

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Editorial, februarie 2011 (2011), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/mb/editorials/2011/html/mb110210.ro.html>

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Implementarea politicii monetare în zona euro: Documentația generală privind instrumentele și procedurile de politică monetară ale eurosistemului (2011), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/gendoc201109ro.pdf?c02ad30cebbb94a73151751c75dbcd7a>

Proiecțiile macroeconomice pentru zona euro ale experților BCE, March 2010 (2010) European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbstaffprojections201003ro.pdf>

Proiecțiile macroeconomice pentru zona euro ale experților BCE, June 2010 (2010) European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/eurosystemstaffprojections201006ro.pdf>

Proiecțiile macroeconomice pentru zona euro ale experților BCE, September 2010 (2010) European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbstaffprojections201009ro.pdf>

Proiecțiile macroeconomice pentru zona euro ale experților BCE, December 2010 (2010) European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/eurosystemstaffprojections201012ro.pdf>

Proiecțiile macroeconomice pentru zona euro ale experților BCE, March 2011 (2011) European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbstaffprojections201103ro.pdf>

Raport anual 2009 (2010), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/annrep/ar2009ro.pdf>

Raport anual 2010 (2011), European Central Bank, available at

<http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/annrep/ar2010ro.pdf>

Reciclarea bancnotelor euro: Cadrul pentru detectarea bancnotelor falsificate și sortarea calitativă a bancnotelor de către instituțiile de credit și alți agenți specializați care operează cu

numerar (2005), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/recyclingeurobanknotes2005ro.pdf>

Stabilitatea prețurilor: de ce este importantă? (2011) European Central Bank, available at http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/price_stability_web_2011ro.pdf?0be58cfd23614432e248a85e612e75d

Zona unică de plăți în euro (SEPA): o piață integrată de plăți de mică valoare (2009), European Central Bank, available at http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/sepa_brochure_2009ro.pdf

French target texts (only the ones included in the thesis are mentioned; the others are all available on the European Central Bank's website²⁶; the respective language version has to be selected)

Bulletin mensuel, juin 2008 (2008) European Central Bank, available at http://www.banque-france.fr/uploads/tx_bdfgrandesdates/bm062008.pdf

Bulletin mensuel, mars 2010 (2010) European Central Bank, available at http://www.banque-france.fr/uploads/tx_bdfgrandesdates/bulletin-mensuel-BCE-mars-2010.pdf

Hanspeter K. Scheller (2006) *La banque centrale européenne: histoire, rôle et fonctions*, European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbhistoryrolefonctions2006fr.pdf?ccf5fc358ad2c19f5508d73702591f03>

L'avenement de l'euro, notre monnaie. Un bref historique des billets et des pièces en euro (2007), European Central Bank, available at http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/euro_became_our_moneyfr.pdf?d44ef3581ce67ba0c51de618eff2a2a6

Rapport annuel 2009 (2010), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/annrep/ar2009fr.pdf>

²⁶ <http://www.ecb.int/pub/html/index.en.html>. The Monthly Bulletins can be found on the respective national banks' websites; a link is provided on the ECB's website.

Recyclage des billets en euros: cadre pour la détection des contrefaçons et le tri qualitatif des billets par les établissements de crédit et les autres professionnels appelés à manipuler des espèces (2005), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/recyclingeurobanknotes2005fr.pdf>

Spanish target texts (only the ones included in the thesis are mentioned; the others are all available on the European Central Bank's website)

Boletín mensual, junio de 2008 (2008) European Central Bank, available at <http://www.bde.es/f/webbde/Secciones/Publicaciones/PublicacionesBCE/BoletinMensualBCE/08/Fic/bm0806.pdf>

Boletín mensual, marzo de 2008 (2008) European Central Bank, available at <http://www.bde.es/f/webbde/SES/Secciones/Publicaciones/PublicacionesBCE/BoletinMensualBCE/10/Fich/bm1003.pdf>

Cómo el euro se convirtió en nuestra moneda. Breve historia de los billetes y monedas en euro (2007), European Central Bank, available at http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/euro_became_our_moneyes.pdf?d44ef3581ce67ba0c51de618eff2a2a6

Hanspeter K. Scheller (2006) *El banco central europeo: historia, misión y funciones*, European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/ecbhistoryrolefunctions2006es.pdf?ccf5fc358ad2c19f5508d73702591f03>

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Reciclaje de billetes en euros: marco para la detección de billetes falsos y la selección de billetes aptos para la circulación por parte de las entidades de crédito y otras entidades que participan a título profesional en el manejo de efectivo (2005), European Central Bank, available at <http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/recyclingeurobanknotes2005es.pdf>

Appendix 2

More excerpts with examples of metaphors from the corpus

Translation strategy: Retaining the metaphor

ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM: *sound* – *sănătos* ('healthy')

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>These activities of the Member States and the Community shall entail compliance with the following guiding principles: stable prices, sound public finances and monetary conditions and a sustainable balance of payments.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Această acțiune a statelor membre și a Comunității implică respectarea următoarelor principii directoare: prețuri stabile, finanțe publice și condiții monetare sănătoase, precum și o balanță de plăți stabilă.</p>

MOVEMENT METAPHOR

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Consumer prices increased further in most countries in the region, driven by food and other commodity prices. Most recent data suggest that price pressures may remain strong in the coming months. In China, growth remained robust at the end of 2007.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2008)</i></p>	<p>Prețurile de consum au continuat să crească în majoritatea țărilor din regiune, datorită scumpirii alimentelor și altor materii prime. Majoritatea datelor recente indică posibilitatea ca presiunile asupra prețurilor să se mențină puternice în lunile următoare. În China, creșterea economică s-a menținut robustă la sfârșitul anului 2007.</p>

ECONOMY IS A MACHINE; CONTAINER METAPHOR

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Exports contracted significantly in the first quarter of 2009; the main engine behind the rebound in economic growth was strong public investment growth, boosted by the fiscal package approved in November 2008. (<i>Monthly Bulletin June 2009</i>)</p>	<p>Exporturile s-au redus semnificativ în trimestrul I 2009; principalul motor al redresării creșterii economice a fost expansiunea puternică a investițiilor publice, susținută de pachetul fiscal aprobat în luna noiembrie 2008.</p>

ECONOMY IS A MACHINE

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Payment instruments also fall within the scope of the Eurosystem's oversight, which focuses in particular on their safety and efficiency. As a consequence of both the creation of SEPA and the increasing harmonisation of the European legal framework, the retail payment landscape is changing significantly, and the importance of a consistent approach with regard to the oversight of payment instruments is increasing. The Eurosystem has therefore developed a "Harmonised oversight approach and oversight standards for payment instruments", published in February 2009. These standards create a common ground for all payment instrument frameworks, representing foundations on which the oversight of payment instruments in general can be built. (<i>Annual Report 2009</i>)</p>	<p>Instrumentele de plată se încadrează și ele în sfera de supraveghere a Eurosistemului, care se axează, în principal, pe asigurarea siguranței și eficienței acestora. În urma creării SEPA și a creșterii gradului de armonizare a cadrului juridic european, condițiile privind plățile de mică valoare se modifică semnificativ, iar importanța unei abordări consistente aferente supravegherii instrumentelor de plată este și ea în creștere. În acest scop, Eurosistemul a elaborat „Abordarea armonizată privind supravegherea și standardele de supraveghere pentru instrumentele de plată”, publicată în luna februarie 2009. Aceste standarde creează o bază comună pentru toate tipurile de instrumente de plată, reprezentând baza procesului de supraveghere a instrumentelor de plată în general.</p>

CONTAINER METAPHOR; ECONOMY IS A MACHINE

English version	Romanian version
<p>SEPA will allow customers to make non-cash euro payments to any beneficiary located anywhere in the euro area using a single bank account and a single set of payment instruments.</p> <p><i>(The Single Euro Payments Area)</i></p>	<p>SEPA va permite clienților efectuarea de plăți în euro fără numerar către orice beneficiar, oriunde în zona euro, prin utilizarea unui singur cont bancar și a unui singur set de instrumente de plată.</p>

ECONOMY IS A BUILDING/STRUCTURE

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>This approach has built on and further developed the existing institutional framework (avoiding the establishment of separate institutions) and greatly facilitated the setting-up of the ECB as an organisation which is independent vis-à-vis the Member States and the Community bodies.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Această abordare s-a bazat pe cadrul instituțional existent, dezvoltându-l (și evitând crearea unor instituții separate), și a facilitat semnificativ înființarea BCE ca organizație independentă față de statele membre și organismele Comunității.</p>

Translation strategy: Image shift

INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS; ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

SOUND - SOLID ('solid')

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Whether the Member State in question has achieved a high degree of sustainable convergence is assessed on the basis of four</p>	<p>Atingerea unui grad înalt de convergență durabilă de către statul membru respectiv este evaluată pe baza a patru criterii:</p>

<p>criteria: price stability, sound fiscal position, exchange rate stability and converging interest rates.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>stabilitatea prețurilor, situația fiscală solidă, stabilitatea cursului de schimb și convergența ratelor dobânzilor.</p>
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English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Assigning to the Eurosystem the task of promoting the smooth operation of payment systems (see Section 3.3) acknowledges the importance of sound and efficient systems not only for the conduct of monetary policy but also for the economy as a whole.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Prin conferirea misiunii de promovare a bunei funcționări a sistemelor de plăți (a se vedea secțiunea 3.3) Eurosistemului, se admite importanța existenței unor sisteme eficiente și solide nu numai pentru aplicarea politicii monetare, ci și pentru economie în general.</p>

ECONOMY IS A MACHINE; ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>The Eurosystem's task to promote the smooth operation of payment systems is substantiated in Article 22 of the Statute which entitles the ECB and the NCBs to provide facilities to ensure efficient and sound clearing and payment systems within the Community and other countries. To the same end, the ECB may issue regulations. Efficient and sound payment systems and securities clearing and settlement systems are indispensable for the effectiveness of monetary policy. The Eurosystem uses payment systems to settle</p>	<p>Misiunea Eurosistemului de „a promova buna funcționare a sistemelor de plăți” este fundamentată în articolul 22 din Statut, prin care BCE și BCN le este conferit dreptul de a acorda facilități pentru a asigura eficiența și soliditatea sistemelor de plăți și compensare în cadrul Comunității și în alte țări. În același scop, BCE poate emite regulamente. Eficiența și soliditatea sistemelor de plăți și a celor de compensare și decontare a instrumentelor financiare sunt indispensabile pentru a asigura eficacitatea politicii monetare.</p>

<p>its monetary policy and intraday credit operations. Since these operations have to be collateralised, the ability of the Eurosystem's counterparties to provide collateral rests on a sound and efficient infrastructure of securities clearing and settlement systems. The smooth working of both payment systems and securities settlement systems is also crucial for the functioning of the euro money market and, more generally, for other national and international financial markets (such as foreign exchange, securities and derivatives markets).</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Eurosistemul utilizează sistemele de plăți pentru a-și deconta operațiunile de politică monetară și de credit pe parcursul zilei. Deoarece aceste operațiuni trebuie garantate, capacitatea contrapartidelor Eurosistemului de a oferi garanții se bazează pe o infrastructură solidă și eficientă de sisteme de compensare și decontare a instrumentelor financiare. Buna funcționare a sistemelor de plăți, precum și a sistemelor de decontare a instrumentelor financiare este, de asemenea, esențială pentru funcționarea pieței monetare a zonei euro și, în general, pentru alte piețe financiare naționale și internaționale (precum piața valutară, piața titlurilor de valoare și piața instrumentelor financiare derivate)</p>
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ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM; ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>These ESCB-CESR standards aim at increasing the safety, soundness and efficiency of securities clearing and settlement systems in the European Union and also take into account the need to remove the barriers to efficient cross-border clearing and settlement processes within this area.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Aceste standarde SEBC-CAERVM urmăresc sporirea siguranței, solidității și eficienței sistemelor de compensare și decontare a titlurilor în Uniunea Europeană și, de asemenea, au în vedere necesitatea de a înlătura obstacolele din calea proceselor transfrontaliere eficiente de decontare și compensare din cadrul acestei zone.</p>

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Its joint analysis focuses mainly on the structural changes affecting banking business, the soundness of banking and financial structures, and possible threats to stability.</p> <p><i>(ECB - History, Role and Functions)</i></p>	<p>Analiza comună a acestuia se axează în principal pe schimbările structurale care afectează activitatea bancară, pe soliditatea structurilor bancare și financiare și pe amenințările posibile la adresa stabilității</p>

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Stage Two (1994–1998) started with the creation of the European Monetary Institute , and was dedicated to the technical preparations for the single currency, the avoidance of excessive deficits, and enhanced convergence of the economic and monetary policies of the Member States (to ensure stability of prices and sound public finances).</p> <p><i>(The European Central Bank, the Eurosystem, the European System of Central Banks)</i></p>	<p>Cea de-a doua etapă (1994–1998) a debutat cu înființarea Institutului Monetar European și a fost dedicată pregătirilor de ordin tehnic pentru adoptarea monedei unice, evitării deficitelor excesive și intensificării procesului de convergență a politicilor economice și monetare ale statelor membre (în vederea asigurării stabilității prețurilor și a unor finanțe publice solide).</p>

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Convergence criteria: four criteria must be met by each EU Member State before it can adopt the euro: a stable price level, sound public finances (a limited deficit against GDP and a limited level of debt against</p>	<p>Criterii de convergență: pentru a putea adopta euro, fiecare stat membru al UE trebuie să îndeplinească patru criterii: stabilitatea prețurilor, finanțe publice solide (un nivel scăzut al deficitului și al datoriilor</p>

GDP), a stable exchange rate and low and stable long-term interest rates. (<i>The European Central Bank, the Eurosystem, the European System of Central Banks</i>)	ca pondere în PIB), un curs de schimb stabil și rate scăzute și stabile ale dobânzilor pe termen lung.
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MONEY IS A LIQUID

English version	Romanian version
On average, €232 billion was absorbed via these operations, with 171 counterparties participating (see Chart 45). (<i>Annual Report 2010</i>)	Prin intermediul acestor operațiuni, la care au participat 171 contrapartide, a fost sterilizat un volum însumând, în medie, 232 miliarde EUR (Graficul 45).

English version	Romanian version
The other liquidity-absorbing operations (column 7) exclude the issuance of debt certificates initiated by NCBs in Stage Two of EMU. (<i>Monthly Bulletin March 2008, March 2009, December 2009, March 2010, June 2010, September 2010, December 2010</i>)	Celelalte operațiuni de sterilizare a lichidității (coloana 7) nu includ emiterea de titluri de natura datoriei inițiată de BCN în cea de-a doua etapă a Uniunii Economice și Monetare.

Translation strategy: different conceptual metaphors and different metaphorical expressions

HORIZONTAL/VERTICAL MOVEMENT; ECONOMY IS A MACHINE/ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

English Version	Romanian Version
In emerging Asia, in the fourth quarter of	În economiile emergente din Asia, activitatea

<p>2007 economic activity continued to expand at a robust pace, increasingly being driven by domestic demand, whereas export growth moderated, especially in small open economies, owing to weaker external demand.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2008)</i></p>	<p>economică a continuat să crească într-un ritm rapid în trimestrul IV 2007, fiind susținută din ce în ce mai mult de cererea internă, în timp ce creșterea exporturilor a consemnat o temperare, în special în economiile deschise mici, ca urmare a scăderii cererii externe.</p>
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Translation strategy: Demetaphorisation

ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM - *fitness*

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Credit institutions and other professional cash handlers shall re-issue euro banknotes to customers only if these banknotes are duly checked for authenticity and fitness according to the criteria laid down by the ECB in this document and possible complementary arrangements that NCBs may adopt for implementing this framework.</p> <p><i>(Recycling of Euro Banknotes)</i></p>	<p>Instituțiile de credit și alți agenți specializați care operează cu numerar repun în circulație bancnotele euro numai dacă autenticitatea și calitatea acestora sunt verificate corespunzător conform criteriilor stabilite de BCE în acest document și eventualelor dispoziții complementare pe care BCN le-ar putea adopta în vederea aplicării acestui cadru.</p>

English Version	Romanian Version
<p>Banknotes that are not checked for authenticity and fitness shall not be re-issued and shall be returned to the responsible NCB or its appointed agent(s).</p> <p><i>(Recycling of Euro Banknotes)</i></p>	<p>Bancnotele a căror autenticitate și calitate nu au fost verificate nu sunt repuse în circulație, ci sunt returnate BCN responsabile sau agentului (agenților) numit (numiți) de aceasta.</p>

Translation strategy: Addition

English version	Romanian version
<p>Individual debt instruments are subject to specific valuation haircuts. The haircuts are applied by deducting a certain percentage from the market value of the underlying asset. The haircuts applied to debt instruments included in categories I to IV differ according to the residual maturity and coupon structure of the debt instruments as described in Table 7 for eligible marketable fixed coupon and zero coupon debt instruments.</p> <p><i>(The Implementation of Monetary Policy in the Euro Area)</i></p>	<p>Titlurile de credit individuale fac obiectul aplicării marjelor specifice de ajustare a valorii. Acestea se aplică prin deducerea unui anumit procentaj din valoarea de piață a activului-garanție. Marjele de ajustare a valorii care se aplică titlurilor de credit incluse în categoriile I-IV diferă în funcție de scadența reziduală și de structura cuponului titlurilor de credit după cum este descris în Tabelul 7 pentru titlurile de credit tranzacționabile eligibile cu cupon fix și pentru cele cu cupon zero.</p>

MONEY IS A LIQUID

English version	Romanian version
<p>Over the next few days, the ECB absorbed around €150 billion on a daily basis through a series of liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operations.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin March 2008)</i></p>	<p>În următoarele zile, BCE a drenat aproximativ 150 miliarde EUR zilnic prin intermediul unor operațiuni de reglaj fin cu scopul de a absorbi excedentul de lichiditate.</p>

Combination of strategies: Borrowing the English term + addition

English version	Romanian version
<p>Bond markets were initially affected by the sell-off in global equity markets at the end of February and in early March, which gave rise to flight-to-safety flows into government</p>	<p>Inițial, piețele obligațiunilor au fost afectate de vânzările masive de acțiuni pe piețele internaționale de la sfârșitul lunii februarie și începutul lunii martie, care au generat</p>

<p>bonds that dampened bond yields.</p> <p><i>(Monthly Bulletin June 2008)</i></p>	<p>reorientarea către plasamente cu un grad de siguranță superior (flight-to-safety), cum este cazul obligațiunilor guvernamentale, conducând la comprimarea randamentelor acestora.</p>
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Translation strategy: Borrowing the English term

English version	Romanian version
<p>As a consequence of this decision, the ECB announced on 8 April 2010 and published on 28 July 2010 a new schedule which duly graduates haircuts according to differences in maturities, liquidity categories and the credit quality of the assets concerned, based on an updated assessment of the risk characteristics of eligible assets and the actual use of eligible assets by counterparties.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2010)</i></p>	<p>Drept consecință a acestei decizii, BCE a anunțat, în data de 8 aprilie 2010, și a publicat, la 28 iulie 2010, un nou calendar cuprinzând ierarhizarea marjelor (haircuts) în funcție de scadențe, de categoriile de lichidități și de calitatea, în raport cu creditele, a activelor respective, bazate pe evaluarea actualizată a caracteristicilor de risc ale activelor eligibile și pe apelul efectiv la activele eligibile realizat de contrapartide.</p>

English version	Romanian version
<p>On 3 May 2010 the Governing Council decided to suspend, until further notice, the application of the minimum credit rating threshold in the collateral eligibility requirements for the purposes of the Eurosystem's credit operations in the case of marketable debt instruments issued or guaranteed by the Greek government.</p> <p><i>(Annual Report 2010)</i></p>	<p>La data de 3 mai 2010, Consiliul guvernatorilor a hotărât să suspende, până la emiterea unui nou anunț, aplicarea pragului de rating de credit criteriilor de eligibilitate aferente garanțiilor utilizate pentru efectuarea operațiunilor de creditare ale Eurosistemului în cazul instrumentelor de îndatorare tranzacționabile emise sau garantate de guvernul Greciei.</p>

Appendix 3

Concordances and collocation lists of metaphorical expressions

Figure 8. Concordance list of the metaphorical expression *sound* in the English sub-corpus (full list)

1 roeconomic performance, by the sound manufacturing wholesale
2 designed for Fund members with sound policies which nonethel
3 hieving and maintaining fiscal soundness, notably when enshr
4 anknotes, and overall stronger sound and visuals, to produce
5 ment of an efficient, safe and sound post-trade market in th
6 damentals of the euro area are sound. Against this backgroun
7 borrowers on the basis of the soundness of their public fin
8 mmendations for the safety and soundness of the EU post-trad
9 f the euro area economy remain sound, and the euro area does
10 f the euro area economy remain sound, and the euro area does
11 eted as a sign of trust in the soundness of the European ban
12 f the euro area economy remain sound, however. The euro area
13 alance sheets generally remain sound, although the recent tu
14 antees provided by financially sound guarantors. The financi
15 ound guarantors. The financial soundness of the guarantor is
16 uirements to ensure safety and soundness in the post-trading
17 g uncertainties concerning the soundness of the euro area ba
18 f the euro area economy remain sound and the euro area econo
19 rs, partly on the basis of the soundness of the country's pu
20 f the euro area economy remain sound and the euro area econo
21 at the foundations of EMU were sound and that a high degree
22 ng labour and product markets, sound financial systems and s
23 e regulations.¹¹ Efficient and sound payment systems and sec
24 and improve the conditions for sound and sustainable growth.
25 ommodated by the central bank. Sound and sustainable fiscal
26 and improve the conditions for sound and sustainable growth.
27 and improve the conditions for sound and sustainable growth.
28 nd improves the conditions for sound and sustainable growth.
29 th and employment, maintaining sound and sustainable fiscal
30 y policy, iv) financial sector soundness and supervision, an
31 nce. Achieving and maintaining sound to substantial portfoli
32 orities.² However, financially sound institutions subject to
33 erparties must be fi nancially sound. They should be subject
34 ructure of the banking sector. Sound balance sheets, effecti
35 should play an important role. Sound balance sheets, effecti
36 should play an important role. Sound balance sheets, effecti
37 should play an important role. Sound balance sheets, effecti

38 have to be taken where needed. Sound balance sheets, effecti
39 sector means are insufficient. Sound balance sheets, effecti
40 d also play an important role. Sound balance sheets, sound r
41 cturing of the banking sector. Sound balance sheets, effecti
42 should play an important role. Sound balance sheets, effecti
43 king sector remains essential. Sound balance sheets, effecti
44 ructure of the banking sector. Sound balance sheets, effecti
45 cturing of the banking sector. Sound balance sheets, effecti
46 should play an important role. Sound balance sheets, effecti
47 countries attain and maintain sound fi scal positions to av
48 hieve more rapidly or maintain sound fi scal positions and t
49 a countries that have attained sound fi scal positions in li
50 inter alia, to the pursuit of sound fi scal policies, the p
51 e past ten years confirmed the soundness and robustness of t
52 f the importance of developing sound human resources managem
53 imension to confi dence in the soundness of public instituti
54 nd foremost, confidence in the soundness of public finances
55 ministers in June. A return to sound, sustainable public fin
56 1970s and ensure consistently sound and prudent fiscal poli
57 09/94). 13 See "Principles for Sound Compensation Practices"
58 a countries that have attained sound fiscal positions in lin
59 ents ♦ commitments to return to sound fiscal positions as soo
60 ructural measures. A return to sound fiscal positions as soo
61 ions, with countries with less sound fiscal positions enduri
62 MTO rapidly in order to ensure sound fiscal positions, which
63 countries have failed to reach sound fiscal positions in an
64 ageing costs). Countries with sound fiscal positions and su
65 their commitment to return to sound fiscal positions as soo
66 lidation in order to return to sound fiscal positions, respe
67 ve expenditure. Moreover, with sound fiscal positions, house
68 ant that governments return to sound fiscal positions as soo
69 ntries that have yet to attain sound budgetary positions sho
70 nce. Achieving and maintaining sound fiscal positions is a p
71 still to achieve and maintain sound fiscal positions and re
72 eved their MTO should maintain sound structural positions. I
73 d by achieving and maintaining sound fiscal positions, which
74 ly and fully while maintaining sound structural positions. T
75 s both on the achievement of a sound starting position and o
76 our criteria: price stability, sound fiscal position, exchan
77 ver, the envisaged return to a sound fiscal position is jeop
78 2009, Estonia generally ran a sound fiscal policy, thereby
79 th Pact are intended to ensure sound fiscal policies ♦ a pre
80 E LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR ENSURING SOUND FISCAL POLICIES IN EMU
81 pliance with the framework for sound fiscal policies formed
82 ingle Market must be completed Sound fiscal policies and low
83 exchange rate regime for euro Sound fiscal policies needed

84 e legal framework for ensuring sound fiscal policies in EMU
85 ahead, structural reforms and sound fiscal policies are cru
86 euro area members must conduct sound national policies in li
87 ments to ensure the safety and soundness of OTC derivatives
88 mately the credibility and the sound functioning of Monetary
89 nsionary. Despite a relatively sound record of fi scal balan
90 part thanks to the relatively sound behaviour of the labour
91 d further out of line with the sound fundamentals of the eur
92 m financial sustainability and sound fi nancial management o
93 "Ensuring efficient, safe and sound derivatives markets: Fu
94 nt role. Sound balance sheets, sound risk management, and tr
95 NCIAL MANAGEMENT AND INTEGRITY Sound financial management of
96 damentals of the euro area are sound. Incoming macroeconomic
97 damentals of the euro area are sound. Incoming macroeconomic
98 idly in order to ensure fiscal soundness. This is all the mo
99 ntegral part, is fundamentally sound. This is also recognise
100 stics. The timely reporting of sound statistical information
101 damentals of the euro area are sound, and incoming macroecon
102 al guarantees from financially sound entities in order to ac
103 although balanced by the still sound developments in profita
104 lace against the background of sound economic growth and con
105 ongoing concerns regarding the soundness of global credit ma
106 make their contribution to lay sound foundations for a susta
107 i.e. that they are physically sound, and for authenticity,
108 at the same time supports the sound foundations for a recov
109 , at the same time support the sound foundations for a recov
110 mand management since they lay sound foundations for a recov
111 ot reached it; and maintaining sound structural fiscal posit
112 007. Achieving and maintaining sound structural fiscal posit
113 d to ensure that they maintain sound structural fiscal posit
114 To preserve confi dence in the soundness of fiscal policies,
115 e to ensure overall safety and soundness of financial instit
116 promote the overall safety and soundness of financial instit
117 objectives are "stable prices, sound public finances and mon
118 al policies in order to ensure sound public finances in the
119 rve as a means of safeguarding sound government finances in
120 ensure stability of prices and sound public finances).StageT
121 rve as a means of safeguarding sound government finances in
122 rve as a means of safeguarding sound government finances in
123 he euro: a stable price level, sound public finances (a limi
124 gh degree of price stability • sound public finances • a sta
125 ensure stability of prices and sound public finances); and t
126 he crisis showed that ensuring sound public finances is a pr
127 veillance framework. To ensure sound public finances and und
128 ing principles: stable prices, sound public finances and mon
129 tion recalls the importance of sound public finances. It als

130 asing the incentives to pursue sound public finances and pru
131 nment supportive to growth and sound public finances; ◆ limi
132 l provisions aimed at ensuring sound government finances in
133 es to strengthen confidence in sound public finances, thereb
134 its and called for a return to sound state finances as soon
135 , in particular stable prices, sound public finances and mon
136 ong commitment to returning to sound public finances. Given
137 or financial stability and the soundness of fi nancial infra
138 the public◆s confidence in the soundness of fi scal policies
139 f the euro area economy remain sound. The euro area economy
140 s assessment of the safety and soundness of euro area paymen
141 ts and the general public in a sound economic environment. T
142 n activity. Moreover, within a sound regulatory environment,
143 acknowledges the importance of sound and efficient systems n
144 provide collateral rests on a sound and efficient infrastru
145 standards have contributed to sound and efficient payment a
146 at aim to increase the safety, soundness and efficiency of s
147 aim at increasing the safety, soundness and efficiency of s
148 to further enhance the safety, soundness and efficiency of t
149 ent and central bank measures. Sound performance data from U
150 tals of the euro area remained sound, with corporate profi t
151 modes Institutional setting is sound Towards central bank in
152 untries. These risks to fiscal soundness can be compounded b
153 n this way, the ECB provides a sound empirical basis for tar
154 e infrastructures, including a sound legal basis, adequate m
155 to strengthening the financial soundness of banks and their
156 petition affect efficiency and soundness in banking? New emp
157 ffecting banking business, the soundness of banking and fina
158 over the past few months. The soundness of bank balance she
159 ual Report 2010 ahead remained soundly positive at a rate ab
160 stressed the need to maintain sound risk assessment practic
161 l as prudent fi scal policies. Sound policies are also of gr
162 ary 2007. 56 ◆Assessing fiscal soundness: theory and practic
163 ary 2007. 56 ◆Assessing fiscal soundness: theory and practic
164 tions, to ensure efficient and sound clearing and payment sy
165 ary 2007. 56 ◆Assessing fiscal soundness: theory and practic
166 task of ensuring efficient and sound clearing and payment sy
167 ary 2007. 56 ◆Assessing fiscal soundness: theory and practic
168 tions, to ensure efficient and sound clearing and payment sy
169 lities to ensure efficient and sound clearing and payment sy
170 lities to ensure efficient and sound clearing and payment sy
171 udgetary position to be judged sound. Article 104 decrees th

Figure 9. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *inject* in the English sub-corpus (full list)

1 difficulty, including capital injections and loans, and iii
2 il deposit guarantees. Capital injections 1 2 3 Guarantees p
3 , be increased through capital injections and/or reductions
4 bank liabilities, ii) capital injections, and iii) asset su
5 t/surplus, unless such capital injections and asset purchase
6 support in the form of capital injections and asset purchase
7 ntions, in the form of capital injections, took place. In 20
8 the public and private capital injections observed for credi
9 ble to assume that the capital injections and guarantees pro
10 ement and governments capital injections with a view to str
11 5% of euro area GDP to capital injections and other debt-inc
12 h higher than those of capital injections. Asset support mea
13 s and businesses with credit. "Injection of liquidity" means
14 Equity effects deposits equity injections 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
15 Equity effects deposits equity injections 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
16 Equity effects deposits equity injections 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
17 Equity effects deposits equity injections 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
18 Equity effects deposits equity injections 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
19 ia report that the Eurosystem "injects" liquidity, what does
20 stem. Normally, the Eurosystem injects an amount of liquidit
21 ons to re-absorb the liquidity injected through the Securiti
22 rder to reabsorb the liquidity injected through the Securiti
23 cted to reabsorb the liquidity injected through the Securiti
24 s under the SMP, the liquidity injected through the SMP is a
25 rder to reabsorb the liquidity injected through the Securiti
26 ot the aim of the programme to inject additional liquidity i

Figure 10. Concordance of the metaphorical expression *absorb* in the English sub-corpus (full list)

1 idity by conducting "liquidity-absorbing operations", which
2 ng operations can be liquidity-absorbing or liquidity- provi
3 they serve only to provide and absorb liquidity in exception
4 nterest rates by providing and absorbing liquidity: • the ma
5 around the required level can absorb liquidity shocks wi th
6 he conduct of FTOs in order to absorb the resulting excess l
7 oothly to economic changes and absorb economic shocks1 - als
8 the liquidity provided will be absorbed when necessary. Acco
9 the liquidity provided will be absorbed when necessary. Acco
10 the liquidity provided will be absorbed when necessary. Acco
11 ting specific operations to re-absorb the liquidity injected
12 that the liquidity provided is absorbed. Hence, any threat t
13 that the liquidity provided is absorbed in order to counter
14 he limited number of liquidity-absorbing fi ne-tuning operat

15 tenance period, when liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operati
16 uidity-providing and liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operati
17 ntenance periods. 12 liquidity-absorbing operations were car
18 . On average, €154 billion was absorbed via these operations
19 the fi nancial system's shock-absorbing capacity. The main
20 the entire euro area has been absorbed by the three largest
21 with regard to its ability to absorb adverse shocks. A wide
22 eutralised by weekly liquidity-absorbing operations. *** Reg
23 mount of €73.5 billion and had absorbed liquidity in the mon
24 ty injected through the SMP is absorbed through the weekly c
25 r LTROs CBPP and SMP liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operati
26 r LTROs CBPP and SMP liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operati
27 uidity-providing and liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operati
28 e, the ECB conducted liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operati
29 ntenance periods. 12 liquidity-absorbing operations were con
30 . On average, €232 billion was absorbed via these operations
31 e, the ECB conducted liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning operati
32 ts research agenda in order to absorb the lessons of the fin
33 8 January 2011 were liquidity- absorbing, increasing the liq
34 g the financial system's shock-absorbing capacity.² The main
35 elements with the highest loss-absorbing capacity, such as c
36 r requirements to enhance loss absorbency. In September 2010
37 ed that SIFIs should have loss-absorbing capacity beyond the
38 with regard to its ability to absorb adverse shocks. The EC
39 ies are aimed at providing and absorbing overnight liquidity
40 s been allotted in a liquidity-absorbing operation), and of
41 quidity-providing or liquidity-absorbing operations; 1 The m
42 d (see Chapter 5); ◆ liquidity-absorbing fine-tuning reverse
43 outright purchase) or liquidity-absorbing (outright sale) ope
44 ficates are issued in order to absorb liquidity from the mar
45 quidity-providing or liquidity-absorbing operations; ◆ their
46 ne-tuning purposes in order to absorb liquidity in the marke
47 sits are collected in order to absorb liquidity; ◆ the frequ
48 cash in the case of liquidity-absorbing operations. 26 ECB
49 In the allotment of liquidity-absorbing variable rate tende
50 r r m =r s =r1 for a liquidity-absorbing tender r m-1 = inte

Table 13. Collocations of the metaphorical expressions *fall and *fell* in the English sub-corpus (full table)**

FALL				FELL			
N	Word	Total	With	N	Word	Total	With
1	FALL	198	fall	1	FELL	164	fell
2	THE	174	fall	2	THE	110	fell
3	IN	163	fall	3	IN	84	fell

4	FALLING	119	falling	4	BY	52	fell
5	OF	74	fall	5	TO	46	fell
6	A	60	fall	6	OF	37	fell
7	TO	56	fall	7	AND	33	fell
8	THE	54	falling	8	GROWTH	18	fell
9	IN	49	falling	9	SHARPLY	16	fell
10	TO	47	falling	10	EURO	16	fell
11	FALLEN	46	fallen	11	AREA	15	fell
12	PRICES	42	fall	12	0	15	fell
13	OF	40	falling	13	YEAR	15	fell
14	FALLS	39	falls	14	FROM	14	fell
15	AND	34	fall	15	2	14	fell
16	THE	30	falls	16	ANNUAL	13	fell
17	AND	29	falling	17	ON	13	fell
18	IN	27	falls	18	RATE	12	fell
19	HAS	23	fallen	19	INFLATION	12	fell
20	SHARP	23	fall	20	PRICES	12	fell
21	BY	22	falling	21	QUARTER	12	fell
22	FROM	22	falling	22	8	11	fell
23	COMMODITY	22	fall	23	3	11	fell
24	THE	21	fallen	24	WHICH	11	fell
25	BY	20	fall	25	AS	10	fell
26	2008	20	falling	26	2008	10	fell
27	WITH	18	falling	27	INVESTMENT	10	fell
28	THAT	18	fall	28	PERCENTAGE	9	fell
29	IS	18	fall	29	A	9	fell
30	WITHIN	18	fall	30	5	9	fell
31	QUARTER	18	falling	31	AROUND	9	fell
32	INFLATION	17	fall	32	1	9	fell
33	AS	17	fall	33	HICP	8	fell
34	PRICES	16	falling	34	6	8	fell
35	OIL	16	fall	35	SLIGHTLY	8	fell
36	AND	15	fallen	36	9	8	fell
37	IN	15	fallen	37	THAT	8	fell
38	GROWTH	14	fall	38	THAN	8	fell
39	OF	14	falls	39	AVERAGE	8	fell
40	SHORT	13	fall	40	SECOND	8	fell
41	3	13	falling	41	MORE	7	fell
42	TO	13	fallen	42	NON	7	fell
43	HAVE	12	fallen	43	WHILE	7	fell
44	FROM	12	fall	44	FURTHER	7	fell
45	DECLINED	12	falling	45	FINANCIAL	7	fell

46	ANNUAL	12	fall	46	POINTS	7	fell
47	ON	11	falling	47	LEVELS	7	fell
48	AND	11	falls	48	AT	7	fell
49	OF	11	fallen	49	SECTOR	6	fell
50	WHICH	10	fall	50	RATES	6	fell
51	THIS	10	fall	51	POINT	6	fell
52	BEFORE	10	falling	52	FOR	6	fell
53	DEMAND	10	fall	53	GDP	6	fell
54	1	10	falling	54	BELOW	6	fell
55	2	10	falling	55	CONSTRUCTION	6	fell
56	GROWTH	10	falling	56	BETWEEN	6	fell
57	THEIR	9	fall	57	PER	6	fell
58	ON	9	fall	58	INDEX	6	fell
59	FOR	9	fall	59	INDUSTRIAL	6	fell
60	9	9	falling	60	THIRD	5	fell
61	RATES	9	fallen	61	BASIS	5	fell
62	YEAR	9	falling	62	ALL	5	fell
63	DEMAND	9	falling	63	ACTIVITY	5	fell
64	LEVELS	9	fallen	64	VERY	5	fell
65	PRICES	9	falls	65	ALSO	5	fell
66	SHOULD	9	fall	66	SEE	5	fell
67	WITH	9	fall	67	4	5	fell
68	SIGNIFICANTLY	8	fallen	68	NEGATIVE	5	fell
69	2009	8	fall	69	SERVICES	5	fell
70	YEAR	8	fall	70	TERM	5	fell

Table 14. Collocations of the metaphorical expressions *rise** and *rose* in the English sub-corpus (full table)

RISE*				ROSE			
N	Word	Total	With	N	Word	Total	With
1	RISE	248	rise	1	ROSE	160	rose
2	IN	197	rise	2	THE	91	rose
3	THE	187	rise	3	IN	81	rose
4	TO	124	rise	4	TO	51	rose
5	A	62	rise	5	OF	49	rose
6	OF	62	rise	6	BY	49	rose
7	AND	59	rise	7	AND	39	rose
8	RISEN	44	risen	8	PRICES	30	rose
9	RISES	40	rises	9	1	25	rose
10	PRICES	38	rise	10	FROM	24	rose
11	GIVE	32	rise	11	WHICH	22	rose

12	AND	30	rises	12	0	18	rose
13	INFLATION	29	rise	13	2	17	rose
14	HAVE	26	risen	14	RATE	15	rose
15	IN	26	rises	15	EURO	15	rose
16	THE	25	risen	16	3	15	rose
17	BY	24	rise	17	4	15	rose
18	NOT	23	rise	18	AREA	14	rose
19	PRICE	21	rise	19	INFLATION	11	rose
20	PRESSURES	19	rise	20	5	11	rose
21	BASED	18	rise	21	2008	11	rose
22	INFLATIONARY	18	rise	22	AROUND	11	rose
23	IS	18	rise	23	ON	10	rose
24	WAS	18	rise	24	GROWTH	10	rose
25	GROWTH	17	rise	25	FOOD	10	rose
26	PRICES	17	rises	26	YIELDS	9	rose
27	BROAD	16	rise	27	DEBT	9	rose
28	THAT	16	rise	28	6	9	rose
29	HAS	15	risen	29	BASIS	9	rose
30	ON	15	rise	30	GOVERNMENT	9	rose
31	OF	15	risen	31	AT	9	rose
32	SINCE	14	risen	32	NON	8	rose
33	THE	14	rises	33	9	8	rose
34	THIS	13	rise	34	WHILE	8	rose
35	IN	13	risen	35	A	8	rose
36	DEVELOPMENTS	13	rise	36	ANNUAL	8	rose
37	MAINLY	12	rise	37	QUARTER	8	rose
38	MARKET	12	rise	38	OVER	7	rose
39	OF	12	rises	39	SHARPLY	7	rose
40	TO	12	rises	40	YEAR	7	rose
41	RECENT	11	rise	41	POINTS	7	rose
42	2010	11	rise	42	AVERAGE	7	rose
43	AS	11	rise	43	WITH	7	rose
44	0	11	rise	44	FURTHER	7	rose
45	WITH	11	rise	45	ENERGY	7	rose
46	OIL	10	rises	46	BILLION	7	rose
47	DO	10	rise	47	7	7	rose
48	COMMODITY	10	rise	48	EFFECT	6	rose
49	COMMODITY	10	rises	49	FINANCIAL	6	rose
50	SHARP	10	rise	50	LEVELS	6	rose
51	TO	10	risen	51	2010	6	rose
52	PRICE	10	rises	52	SLIGHTLY	5	rose
53	RATE	10	rise	53	25	5	rose

54	DOES	10	rise	54	COMPARED	5	rose
55	UNEMPLOYMENT	9	rise	55	CONSUMER	5	rose
56	3	9	rise	56	CORPORATIONS	5	rose
57	LABOUR	9	rise	57	ABOVE	5	rose
58	HAS	9	rise	58	BETWEEN	5	rose
59	ENERGY	9	rise	59	COMMODITY	5	rose
60	EXPECTED	9	rise	60	PER	5	rose
61	HICP	9	rise	61	PERIOD	5	rose
62	IMPACT	8	rise	62	PRICE	5	rose
63	FOOD	8	rise	63	8	5	rose
64	PRICES	8	risen	64	HICP	5	rose
65	RATES	8	rise	65	LABOUR	5	rose

Table 15. Collocations of the metaphorical expression *sharp* in the English sub-corpus

N	Word	With	Relation	Texts	Total	Total Left	Total Right
1	IN	sharp	0	15	183	17	166
2	SHARP	sharp	0	20	179	0	0
3	THE	sharp	0	13	142	101	41
4	SHARPLY	sharply	0	12	121	0	0
5	THE	sharply	0	9	74	19	55
6	A	sharp	0	14	70	68	2
7	IN	sharply	0	7	55	10	45
8	OF	sharp	0	13	51	35	16
9	OF	sharply	0	7	44	14	30
10	AND	sharp	0	11	34	16	18
11	TO	sharp	0	7	33	25	8
12	AND	sharply	0	10	31	8	23
13	DECLINE	sharp	0	13	25	2	23
14	FALL	sharp	0	4	23	0	23
15	PRICES	sharp	0	8	21	2	19
16	TO	sharply	0	8	21	6	15
17	CONTRACTION	sharp	0	5	18	1	17
18	INCREASED	sharply	0	7	17	16	1
19	BY	sharp	0	7	16	14	2
20	FELL	sharply	0	6	16	16	0
21	INCREASES	sharp	0	8	15	0	15
22	HAS	sharply	0	5	14	12	2
23	ECONOMIC	sharp	0	7	14	2	12
24	EURO	sharp	0	6	14	4	10
25	GROWTH	sharp	0	5	13	3	10
26	FOLLOWING	sharp	0	6	12	11	1

27	PRICES	sharply	0	5	12	10	2
28	BY	sharply	0	6	12	2	10
29	AREA	sharp	0	8	12	4	8
30	DETERIORATION	sharp	0	4	11	0	11
31	DECLINED	sharply	0	6	11	11	0
32	FROM	sharp	0	9	11	7	4
33	INFLATION	sharp	0	5	11	1	10
34	EURO	sharply	0	6	11	10	1
35	INCREASE	sharp	0	6	11	1	10
36	AFTER	sharp	0	9	11	11	0
37	2008	sharp	0	6	11	9	2
38	COMMODITY	sharp	0	4	10	0	10
39	2009	sharp	0	6	10	8	2
40	RISE	sharp	0	4	10	0	10
41	ALSO	sharply	0	4	10	10	0
42	HAVE	sharp	0	4	9	9	0
43	WAS	sharp	0	5	9	8	1
44	TRADE	sharp	0	2	9	2	7
45	FOR	sharp	0	5	9	4	5
46	SHARPER	sharper	0	6	9	0	0
47	FROM	sharply	0	8	9	2	7
48	COSTS	sharp	0	4	9	1	8
49	PARTICULARLY	sharp	0	4	9	8	1
50	LABOUR	sharp	0	3	9	1	8
51	THIS	sharp	0	4	8	8	0
52	QUARTER	sharply	0	4	8	0	8
53	ON	sharply	0	6	8	3	5
54	CONTRACTED	sharply	0	3	8	8	0
55	DECREASED	sharply	0	5	8	8	0
56	2008	sharply	0	3	8	6	2
57	SLOWDOWN	sharp	0	4	8	0	8
58	AS	sharp	0	4	8	7	1
59	WITH	sharp	0	4	7	6	1
60	THE	sharper	0	5	7	4	3
61	WITH	sharply	0	5	7	4	3
62	ROSE	sharply	0	3	7	7	0
63	THAT	sharp	0	4	7	6	1
64	LED	sharp	0	5	7	6	1
65	ON	sharp	0	4	7	5	2
66	SINCE	sharply	0	4	7	0	7
67	PERIOD	sharp	0	7	7	7	0
68	AT	sharply	0	4	7	1	6
69	0	sharply	0	3	7	5	2
70	ACTIVITY	sharp	0	6	7	0	7

71	AREA	sharply	0	5	7	7	0
72	GLOBAL	sharp	0	3	7	0	7
73	HAS	sharp	0	5	7	5	2
74	BROAD	sharp	0	3	6	1	5
75	DROP	sharp	0	5	6	1	5
76	A	sharply	0	4	6	1	5
77	4	sharply	0	2	6	1	5
78	SEE	sharply	0	4	6	0	6
79	COUNTRIES	sharply	0	5	6	4	2
80	REFLECTED	sharp	0	3	6	6	0
81	REFLECTS	sharp	0	3	6	5	1
82	2009	sharply	0	2	6	0	6
83	OF	sharper	0	2	6	4	2
84	INFLATION	sharply	0	5	6	6	0
85	MAINLY	sharp	0	4	6	6	0
86	2	sharply	0	5	6	2	4
87	YEAR	sharp	0	3	6	4	2
88	UNIT	sharp	0	2	6	0	6
89	WHICH	sharp	0	2	5	3	2
90	WORLD	sharp	0	2	5	0	5
91	BASED	sharp	0	3	5	0	5
92	0	sharp	0	1	5	4	1
93	1	sharp	0	3	5	2	3
94	TRADE	sharply	0	2	5	4	1
95	A	sharper	0	3	5	5	0
96	THIS	sharply	0	3	5	3	2
97	TERM	sharp	0	4	5	1	4
98	ANNUAL	sharp	0	1	5	0	5
99	ACTIVITY	sharply	0	3	5	5	0
100	EXPORTS	sharp	0	3	5	0	5
101	FALLS	sharp	0	3	5	0	5
102	EXPERIENCED	sharp	0	5	5	3	2
103	ENERGY	sharp	0	4	5	0	5
104	OIL	sharp	0	3	5	0	5
105	FEBRUARY	sharply	0	3	5	1	4
106	GOVERNMENT	sharply	0	4	5	5	0
107	HAVE	sharply	0	4	5	5	0
108	GOODS	sharply	0	3	5	5	0
109	FOOD	sharp	0	5	5	0	5
110	FOR	sharply	0	3	5	4	1
111	RESULTING	sharp	0	3	5	5	0
112	RECENT	sharp	0	3	5	4	1
113	DEMAND	sharp	0	3	5	2	3
114	CHART	sharp	0	4	5	2	3

115	SECOND	sharply	0	3	5	0	5
116	DETERIORATED	sharply	0	2	5	5	0
117	OVER	sharply	0	3	5	0	5
118	END	sharply	0	2	5	0	5
119	EMPLOYMENT	sharp	0	3	5	0	5
120	DRIVEN	sharp	0	5	5	5	0
121	ECONOMIC	sharply	0	3	5	4	1

Table 16. Collocations of *ECB* in the English sub-corpus (full table)

N	Word	With	Total	R1
1	MONTHLY	ecb	1215	1157
2	S	ecb	1218	677
3	AND	ecb	1816	521
4	ANNUAL	ecb	616	494
5	CALCULATIONS	ecb	337	309
6	THE	ecb	7994	193
7	EUROPA	ecb	243	182
8	INTEREST	ecb	249	171
9	STAFF	ecb	258	153
10	IS	ecb	340	143
11	HAS	ecb	183	140
12	DECIDES	ecb	139	138
13	WEBSITE	ecb	258	113
14	IN	ecb	1124	109
15	ALSO	ecb	170	70
16	MAY	ecb	161	66
17	TO	ecb	1153	62
18	STATISTICAL	ecb	155	60
19	2010	ecb	594	59
20	CONTINUED	ecb	69	56
21	ON	ecb	654	53
22	SHALL	ecb	70	51
23	PRESIDENT	ecb	160	48
24	2001	ecb	82	46
25	WAS	ecb	105	44
26	2003	ecb	95	42
27	AS	ecb	246	41
28	2009	ecb	748	39
29	2004	ecb	181	33
30	ANNOUNCED	ecb	43	33
31	WITH	ecb	338	33
32	ARE	ecb	227	30
33	OR	ecb	85	27

34	EUROPEAN	ecb	199	26
35	2007	ecb	316	25
36	FOR	ecb	425	24
37	STATISTICS	ecb	117	24
38	ECB	ecb	8706	22
39	EUROSYSTEM	ecb	174	21
40	DECIDED	ecb	54	20
41	OF	ecb	2926	20
42	EUROSTAT	ecb	279	19
43	WORKING	ecb	37	19
44	1998	ecb	51	18
45	FINANCIAL	ecb	182	18
46	PUBLISHES	Ecb	31	18
47	BY	Ecb	527	17
48	GUIDELINE	Ecb	54	17
49	OPINIONS	Ecb	45	17
50	WELCOMED	Ecb	24	17
51	WILL	Ecb	34	17
52	2002	Ecb	60	16
53	2006	Ecb	244	16
54	CAN	Ecb	69	16
55	HAD	Ecb	25	16
56	SEE	Ecb	114	16
57	SURVEY	Ecb	28	16
58	WHICH	Ecb	160	16
59	OCCASIONAL	Ecb	19	15
60	PUBLISHED	Ecb	75	15
61	GOVERNING	Ecb	295	14
62	PUBLICATION	Ecb	24	14
63	1999	Ecb	40	13
64	2000	Ecb	70	13
65	PREMISES	Ecb	30	13
66	REGULATIONS	Ecb	24	13
67	DEBT	Ecb	27	12
68	GUIDELINES	Ecb	25	12
69	HAVE	Ecb	71	12
70	JUNE	Ecb	255	12
71	LAUNCHED	Ecb	14	12
72	UNDER	Ecb	80	12
73	ALLOTTED	Ecb	14	11
74	ANNOUNCES	Ecb	11	11
75	AUGUST	Ecb	23	11
76	CENTRAL	Ecb	247	11
77	ECONOMIC	Ecb	123	11

78	MUST	ecb	18	11
79	NCB	ecb	32	11
80	P	ecb	49	11

Table 17. Collocations of the metaphorical expression *euro area* in the English sub-corpus

	Word	With	Texts	Total	Total left	Total right
1	EURO AREA	euro area	46	6746	0	0
2	THE	euro area	46	5993	4773	1220
3	IN	euro area	45	2792	1926	866
4	OF	euro area	45	2326	1805	521
5	AND	euro area	42	1614	668	946
6	TO	euro area	44	1169	594	575
7	FOR	euro area	38	810	657	153
8	NON	euro area	12	756	547	209
9	BY	euro area	27	749	464	285
10	RESIDENTS	euro area	9	724	59	665
11	COUNTRIES	euro area	36	667	94	573
12	A	euro area	35	484	168	316
13	EURO	euro area	15	471	181	290
14	1	euro area	25	441	125	316
15	2008	euro area	11	436	264	172
16	ON	euro area	39	430	259	171
17	AS	euro area	35	370	87	283
18	2	euro area	21	366	158	208
19	STATES	euro area	11	364	81	283
20	FINANCIAL	euro area	17	363	152	211
21	ECB	euro area	19	357	278	79
22	STATISTICS	euro area	12	338	61	277
23	3	euro area	17	330	148	182
24	OTHER	euro area	18	301	229	72
25	MONETARY	euro area	11	290	221	69
26	AREA	euro area	11	288	154	134
27	GOVERNMENT	euro area	20	275	130	145
28	ECONOMIC	euro area	34	270	179	91
29	MONTHLY	euro area	8	258	217	41
30	IS	euro area	30	258	40	218
31	ARE	euro area	28	256	81	175
32	WITH	euro area	39	253	97	156
33	4	euro area	12	251	109	142
34	GROWTH	euro area	24	247	136	111
35	MFIS	euro area	9	246	75	171
36	UNITED	euro area	11	246	41	205
37	BULLETIN	euro area	8	234	210	24
38	POLICY	euro area	13	222	197	25
39	ISSUED	euro area	10	219	207	12
40	DEVELOPMENTS	euro area	37	219	177	42
41	MEMBER	euro area	11	217	42	175

42	EU	euro area	12	216	49	167
43	FROM	euro area	24	214	109	105
44	5	euro area	13	213	103	110
45	NCBS	euro area	14	189	21	168
46	AT	euro area	30	185	65	120
47	OUTSIDE	euro area	21	180	165	15
48	THAT	euro area	24	180	102	78
49	EXTERNAL	euro area	9	174	97	77
50	INVESTMENT	euro area	14	174	54	120
51	MARKET	euro area	15	174	77	97
52	GDP	euro area	34	173	50	123
53	RATES	euro area	9	167	78	89
54	2009	euro area	11	166	98	68
55	0	euro area	12	164	88	76
56	ANNUAL	euro area	37	159	35	124
57	6	euro area	9	152	60	92
58	INFLATION	euro area	33	151	62	89
59	THAN	euro area	26	150	97	53
60	GENERAL	euro area	12	150	69	81
61	DATA	euro area	11	148	93	55
62	REAL	euro area	33	146	37	109
63	SHARES	euro area	9	145	112	33
64	HICP	euro area	39	142	54	88
65	ACCOUNTS	euro area	8	141	18	123
66	WHICH	euro area	23	139	43	96
67	SECTOR	euro area	19	139	36	103
68	9	euro area	10	138	58	80
69	ALL	euro area	27	137	108	29
70	HAVE	euro area	15	136	24	112
71	DENOMINATED	euro area	9	134	33	101
72	COMPOSITION	euro area	10	132	116	16
73	DEBT	euro area	13	130	68	62
74	CORPORATIONS	euro area	10	128	52	76
75	NOVEMBER	euro area	8	128	5	123
76	ECONOMY	euro area	35	128	14	114
77	SECURITIES	euro area	11	127	89	38
78	2007	euro area	11	126	50	76
79	7	euro area	11	125	50	75
80	CREDIT	euro area	12	125	65	60
81	MONEY	euro area	11	125	20	105
82	MACROECONOMIC	euro area	22	122	108	14
83	HAS	euro area	20	122	24	98
84	PRICES	euro area	11	120	65	55
85	CHANGING	euro area	6	120	119	1
86	TRADE	euro area	14	119	38	81
87	MARCH	euro area	10	117	96	21
88	TOTAL	euro area	9	116	50	66
89	MARKETS	euro area	20	114	41	73
90	LOANS	euro area	7	114	93	21
91	BALANCE	euro area	9	111	55	56

92	BOND	euro area	13	109	30	79
93	BANKING	euro area	13	108	24	84
94	CHART	euro area	9	107	63	44
95	VIS	euro area	9	106	77	29
96	ACTIVITY	euro area	26	105	67	38
97	THEIR	euro area	25	103	30	73
98	PRICE	euro area	33	103	80	23
99	2010	euro area	10	103	47	56
100	8	euro area	10	103	29	74

Table 18. Collocations of the metaphorical expressions *liquidity/lichid** in the English and Romanian sub-corpora (full table)

N	English		Romanian	
	Word	Total	Word	Total
1	LIQUIDITY	1139	DE	1008
2	THE	840	LICHIDITATE	738
3	OF	453	ÎN	244
4	AND	314	LICHIDITĂȚII	227
5	TO	310	A	187
6	IN	262	ȘI	171
7	OPERATIONS	170	DE	114
8	PROVIDING	164	FURNIZARE	100
9	A	119	A	96
10	FOR	90	CU	92
11	NEEDS	82	LICHIDITATEA	84
12	ABSORBING	79	PENTRU	83
13	MARKET	72	LA	76
14	BY	68	ÎN	74
15	FACTORS	68	PE	66
16	EURO	66	BANCAR	63
17	ON	64	CARE	62
18	BANKS	63	ȘI	61
19	EUROSYSTEM	62	FURNIZAREA	61
20	ECB	60	AL	60
21	WITH	60	DIN	59
22	MONETARY	58	NECESARUL	57
23	PROVISION	57	SISTEMULUI	51
24	BANKING	52	OPERAȚIUNI	50
25	THAT	51	PRIN	50
26	AS	51	SUA	49
27	1	50	DOLARI	46
28	AREA	50	OPERAȚIUNILOR	44
29	DOLLAR	49	EURO	43
30	US	49	UN	43
31	AT	44	ȘI	41
32	CONDITIONS	41	FURNIZĂRII	37
33	SUPPLY	40	OFERTA	37
34	ARE	40	DE	37

35	SYSTEM	40	SĂ	36
36	IS	39	FACTORI	31
37	PROVIDED	39	LICHIDE	31
38	RESERVE	39	BCE	31
39	4	38	VOLUMUL	31
40	THEIR	37	LICHIDITĂȚI	30
41	MANAGEMENT	36	PE	30
42	PROVIDE	35	BĂNCILOR	28
43	OR	34	ZONA	28
44	WHICH	34	LA	28
45	FROM	34	ABSORBȚIE	26
46	INTEREST	33	OPERAȚIUNI	26
47	FOREIGN	32	PRIVIND	26
48	SWAP	31	ALE	26
49	BE	30	SAU	25
50	RISK	29	OPERAȚIUNILE	25

Table 19. Collocations of the metaphorical expression *majora** in the Romanian sub-corpus (full table)

N	Word	With	Total
1	MAJORAREA	majorarea	420
2	DE	majorarea	269
3	MAJORAT	majorat	238
4	A	majorarea	235
5	S	majorat	204
6	A	majorat	183
7	ÎN	majorarea	118
8	LA	majorarea	115
9	ÎN	majorat	108
10	MAJORARE	majorare	108
11	DE	majorat	101
12	A	majorare	95
13	CU	majorarea	90
14	ȘI	majorarea	86
15	PREȚURILOR	majorarea	86
16	CU	majorat	81
17	AU	majorat	81
18	LA	majorat	77
19	HOTĂRĂȚ	majorarea	74
20	DE	majorare	71
21	O	majorare	70
22	BCE	majorarea	52
23	DOBÂNZII	majorarea	49
24	RATEI	majorarea	46
25	ASEMENEA	majorarea	44
26	AL	majorarea	42
27	PUNCTE	majorarea	40

28	S	majorarea	40
29	GUVERNATORILOR	majorarea	39
30	BAZĂ	majorarea	38
31	PE	majorarea	38
32	MINIME	majorarea	37
33	ÎN	majorare	37
34	25	majorarea	37
35	ACCEPTATE	majorarea	36
36	EURO	majorat	34
37	ȘI	majorat	30
38	PE	majorat	29
39	DIN	majorarea	28
40	DIN	majorat	26
41	COSTURILOR	majorarea	25
42	RATELOR	majorarea	25
43	DOBÂNZILOR	majorarea	22
44	AU	majorarea	22
45	PUNCTE	majorat	21
46	MATERIILOR	majorarea	21
47	MAJORA	majora	21
48	ZONA	majorat	21
49	FOST	majorarea	20
50	ALE	majorarea	20
51	LA	majorare	19
52	PRIME	majorarea	19
53	1	majorat	18
54	2	majorat	18
55	MAI	majorarea	18
56	SE	majorarea	18
57	TRIMESTRUL	majorat	18
58	CARE	majorarea	17
59	CONSIDERABIL	majorat	16
60	2008	majorarea	16
61	ȘI	majorare	15
62	PRIVIND	majorarea	15
63	CONSEMNAT	majorare	15
64	UȘOR	majorat	15
65	ACEASTĂ	majorare	15
66	REFLECTĂ	majorarea	14
67	AU	majorare	14
68	DUPĂ	majorarea	14
69	SE	majora	14
70	AL	majorat	14
71	PETROLULUI	majorarea	14
72	CAPITALULUI	majorarea	13
73	SEMNICATIVĂ	majorarea	13
74	CARE	majorat	13
75	DE	majora	13
76	RATA	majorat	13
77	CU	majorare	13

78	EURO	majorarea	13
79	PRIN	majorarea	13
80	SĂ	majorarea	13
81	PRODUSELOR	majorarea	13
82	0	majorat	13
83	PÂNĂ	majorat	12
84	ÎNREGISTRAT	majorare	12
85	FINANCIARE	majorarea	12
86	CĂ	majorarea	12
87	MILIARDE	majorat	12
88	4	majorat	11
89	FI	majorarea	11
90	10	majorat	11
91	S	majorare	11
92	SAU	majorarea	11
93	CA	majorarea	11
94	CONTRIBUIT	majorarea	11
95	ÎN	majora	11
96	ALIMENTELOR	majorarea	11
97	PENTRU	majorarea	11
98	EUR	majorat	10
99	OBLIGAȚIUNILOR	majorarea	10
100	3	majorat	10

Appendix 4

Questionnaires

1. Questionnaire for the Romanian translators (2009)

I. Do you encounter metaphors in economic/financial/banking texts?

II. Were they previously translated into Romanian by a metaphor or is there a tendency to explicitate the concept?

III. If you had to translate a metaphor, what is the general tendency:

1. To find an equivalent metaphor in the target language, in order to keep the style and the connotations of the text?

2. You would not keep the metaphor, but you would try to compensate somewhere else in the text.

3. You would not keep the English metaphor at all.

(Feel free to give examples)

2. Questionnaire for all ECB translators (2011)

Age:

20-30 years old 30-40 years old 40-50 years old 50-60 years old over 60 years old

Gender: F M

Language team (native language):

Background: qualifications, degree and date obtained – please tick as appropriate:

Bachelor (or equivalent) in Translation

Bachelor (or equivalent) in Languages

Bachelor (or equivalent) in some other subject (please specify)

Master (or equivalent) in Translation

PhD

Any other qualification in translation (e.g. Diploma in Translation, Postgraduate Certificate)

Years of experience working as a translator:

How long have you been working at the ECB?

1. Which of the following can best define a metaphor?

A figure of speech in which an implied comparison is made between two unlike things that actually have something in common.

A figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another.

A figure of speech which consists in giving a word a new meaning through an implicit comparison.

All of the above.

2. Do you encounter metaphors in economic/financial/banking texts?

3. If you come across metaphors in a text you are to translate, how do you normally deal with this?

I would attempt to find an equivalent metaphor in the target language, in order to keep the style and the connotations of the text.

I would not keep the metaphor in the same position if it is not possible, but would try to compensate for the loss somewhere else in the text.

I would not translate the metaphor at all but use a paraphrase.

4. If you encounter metaphors in the translation memory, were they previously translated by a metaphor or is there a tendency to paraphrase, explain the concept?

5. How would you deal with a new metaphor (e.g. "helicopter money", "shoe-leather costs", "haircut"), which has not been previously translated?

6. Can you think of any metaphor which had caused you specific translation problems? How did you solve this problem eventually?