

Centre for English Language Studies

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Student ID number	990716
Module Number (1-6)	1
Title of Degree Programme:	MA in Translation Studies
Title of Module:	Introduction to Translation Studies and Lexis
Assessment Task No.	LX/08/01
Submission	First submission
Date Submitted	27/1/2009
Name of tutor	Laksmi Holland
Word Count	4,485

MA in Translation Studies

Module 1

Assignment question LX/08/01

Take an article from any British or American newspaper or magazine and one on roughly the same topic in another language. Compare and contrast the metaphorical systems used. Then choose half a dozen examples of extended metaphors from each text and discuss the problems of translating them into the other language.

1. Introduction

According to Americans George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (2003: ix), metaphors have ‘traditionally been viewed... as a matter of peripheral interest’ in linguistics. This inspired them to co-operate on writing *Metaphors we live by*, which by many has been considered a groundbreaking work on the issue of metaphor. These authors introduced the concept of underlying metaphorical systems, or ‘conceptual metaphors’ (referred to in this paper as ‘the conceptual metaphor theory’), suggesting that ‘human thought processes are largely metaphorical’ in a systematic way (ibid: 6). This view would then suggest that metaphors are not only a product of linguistic creativity but a very real part of everyday human experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003).

If metaphors ‘partially structure our everyday concepts’ and ‘this structure is reflected in our literal language’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 46), then metaphors should feature prominently in everyday written language, such as newspapers. On the following pages, an attempt will be made to identify metaphorical systems underlying the metaphorical expressions used in an English and Finnish newspaper article taken from the field of economics, and the similarities and differences in such systems will then be examined. Finally, six extended metaphors from each article will be considered with a view to discussing possible problems in translating these metaphors into the other language.

2. Metaphorical systems

When Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 5) conducted their study of metaphor, they found that human lives are structured by concepts that are ‘metaphorical in nature’. This is depicted by their concept ARGUMENT IS WAR underlying expressions such as ‘He *shot down* all of my arguments’ and ‘I *demolished* his argument’ (ibid: 4). In an everyday context, these expressions could easily lead to a strong verbal, and even physical, battle. In cultures where argument is not thought of in terms of war, people would prepare for arguments in a totally different manner and would consequently see their world in a different light (ibid: 5).

The conceptual metaphor theory has its critics, such as Nikanne (1992: 76) who called it ‘naive empiricism’, claiming that ‘true understanding of metaphor calls for an explicit presentation of a conceptual structure.’ However, the metaphor theory has been embraced and further developed by linguists such as Joseph Grady and Christopher Johnson who used the concept of primary metaphor as the basis for complex metaphors, and by Srinivas Narayanan who developed the neural theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, Afterword 2003: 255). In the following paragraphs, an attempt will be made to analyse economic journalistic texts on the basis of the conceptual metaphor theory.

3. Analysis of the two articles

3.1 The Articles

The English article, concerning economic predictions for the year 2009 titled ‘Chaos of 2008 causes havoc for predictions,’ has been randomly selected from the business section of the 28 December 2008 issue of *The Sunday Times* (Appendix 1). A similar article, ‘Näin finanssikriisi tunkeutuu talouteen’, was chosen from the 1 January 2009 issue of the digital version of *Taloussanomat*, a Finnish commerce-oriented newspaper (Appendix 2). Both articles are aimed at well-educated readers possibly having considerable interest in texts such as the two currently under consideration.

3.2 Comparison and contrast of metaphorical systems

The object of the following analysis is to identify similarities and differences in the metaphorical systems found in the two economic articles. The analysis is based on the conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (2003). Since there are numerous metaphors in the two texts, the aim is to identify only some of the metaphorical systems, namely those that are referred to by several lexical metaphors. By comparing the underlying metaphorical concepts in the two languages used, it should be possible – ‘since language and metaphor are closely involved with each other’ (Goatly, 1997: 318) – to provide insight into the desired approach in translating metaphors and solving the possible translation problems encountered.

3.2.1 The English article – metaphorical systems identified

A high number of lexical metaphors can be found in the English text (T1) ‘Chaos of 2008 causes havoc for predictions’, suggesting that it may contain several underlying conceptual metaphors. FINANCIAL CRISIS IS AN ENEMY in expressions such as ‘*claimed the scalp*’ and ‘*put their heads on the block*’, enables the understanding of certain aspects of the crisis by using familiar phraseology. As Aitchison (2003: 163) states, people ‘understand words by referring to a prototypical usage’ and would ‘match a new example against the characteristics’ of such a prototype.

However, when the source domain, or semantic field, ‘enemy’ is transferred to the target domain ‘crisis’, some other aspects of the crisis situation will be hidden (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 10). For example, people might learn from a crisis and be better prepared to face any future crises. This aspect could be derived from another conceptual metaphor, FINANCIAL CRISIS IS A TEACHER; the author of T1, however, prefers not to highlight such an aspect, which is apparent in the following examples. To identify metaphorical systems underlying the lexical metaphors, the terms Topic (new example), Vehicle (prototype) and Grounds (matching characteristics) are used (see Aitchison above and Goatly, 1997: 9).

A. FINANCIAL CRISIS IS AN ENEMY	
1. The credit crunch and swings in commodity prices <i>wrong-footed</i> economists 2. <i>claiming the scalp</i> of Bear Stearns 3. real squeeze on lending <i>started to hit ...</i> the economy 4. A word about the <i>rules of engagement</i> 5. one or two forecasters have been <i>slightly harmed</i> , but nobody has been <i>seriously wronged</i> 6. if economists... did not <i>put their heads on the block</i> and offer views on the outlook.	1. <u>Topic</u> : credit crunch and swings in commodity prices, <u>Vehicle</u> : wrong-footed, <u>Grounds</u> : in a sports game, a player may try to play a shot to cause the opponent to be off-balance; similarly the crisis has caused economists to choose a wrong direction.

In example A.1, a financial crisis is seen as a player in a sports game. In the other examples within this group, the crisis is seen as an opponent either to be defeated in a

game or in (other) war-like situations. From these examples, and the fact that sports games are often described in terms of war, the source domain 'enemy' can be derived.

B. ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON	
1. alongside <i>a nasty</i> commodity-price <i>shock</i> 2. the commodity <i>shock is over</i> 3. the credit crunch is <i>still with us</i> 4. a third phase of <i>dislocation</i> in the money markets 5. price would have <i>collapsed</i> 6. policy <i>has responded</i> quickly 7. tendency to slip back temporarily during a weak <i>recovery</i> phase	4. <u>Topic</u> : money markets, <u>Vehicle</u> : dislocation, <u>Grounds</u> : as a person can suffer a dislocated shoulder and the resultant pain, so the money markets have experienced pain in the form of financial institutions going bankrupt.

In **B.4**, the economy is seen as a person who has suffered an injury. Other expressions in the examples above support the idea of a person experiencing various types of difficulty, yet with the hint of a possible recovery.

C. ECONOMY IS WEATHER	
1. Chaos of 2008 <i>causes havoc</i> for predictions 2. the initial... <i>turbulence</i> in the markets that <i>did for</i> Northern Rock 3. markets would gradually <i>thaw</i> 4. things turned out <i>gloomier</i> 5. banks have had a <i>torrid</i> time 6. Standard Chartered was <i>gloomier</i> than most 7. just about the <i>gloomiest</i> forecast for house prices 8. there had been <i>false dusks</i> for housing before	1. <u>Topic</u> : chaos, <u>Vehicle</u> : causes havoc, <u>Grounds</u> : just as freezing fog or heavy snowfall can wreak havoc in agriculture, traffic and people's activities, an economic crisis can cause damage and confusion to financial predictions.

Meteorological metaphors are particularly apt for economic situations, since weather has much in common with the economy. There are signs which indicate an approaching storm just as the economy has certain indicators that signal a future chaos in financial markets. **B.1** appears to highlight the unpredictable and destructive aspect of such a storm.

D. ECONOMY IS AN OBJECT	
1. Standard Chartered is downbeat on growth for 2009 - it expects the economy <i>to contract</i> by 2.3% before edging up by 0.6% in 2010. 2. before <i>edging up</i> by 3. economy has <i>turned into</i> recession 4. sudden <i>shrinking</i> of banking capacity 5. needed a shock big enough <i>to push</i> the economy into recession	1. <u>Topic</u> : the economy, <u>Vehicle</u> : to contract, <u>Grounds</u> : as a metal object can become smaller in reduced temperatures, the economy is expected to contract due to the current crisis.

In **D.1**, the economy is seen as an object, perhaps made of metal as it can contract in suitable conditions. Most of the object metaphors within group **D** are negative due to the crisis situation depicted in T1.

E. BANKS ARE PEOPLE	
1. banks <i>scrambled for</i> liquidity 2. <i>failure</i> of Lehman Brothers 3. banks have seen <i>their reputation slide</i> 4. Standard Chartered was <i>gloomier</i> than most 5. Standard Chartered is <i>downbeat</i> on growth 6. Next in the table, intriguingly, is Lehman Brothers, <i>whose demise</i> caused so much trouble	6. <u>Topic</u> : Lehman Brothers, <u>Vehicle</u> : demise, <u>Grounds</u> : as a person dies when the body is sufficiently damaged or worn out, so the investment bank suffered 'death' as a result of the damage caused by the financial crisis.

One metaphorical system found in the English article includes the personification of banks. As is apparent from the examples in group **E**, these 'people' face negative consequences due to the crisis situation.

F. RECESSION IS A CONTAINER	
1. the economy would be <i>in</i> recession 2. the <i>length of</i> past 'big' post-war recessions 3. needed a shock big enough <i>to push</i> the economy <i>into</i> recession	1. <u>Topic</u> : recession, <u>Vehicle</u> : in, <u>Grounds</u> : just as a pool could be holding water, recession is seen as a container which in certain conditions could be holding the economy.

The ontological metaphor RECESSION IS A CONTAINER highlights the tendency of human beings to define boundaries, even when referring to abstract concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 29). Hence, it is also possible to 'push' the economy into recession.

G. GOOD ECONOMIC SITUATION IS UP, BAD IS DOWN	
1. FT Acadametrics index is <i>down</i> 2. banks have seen <i>their reputation slide</i> 3. <i>downward</i> risks to <i>growth</i> 4. before <i>edging up</i> by 5. as bad as the <i>deep downturn</i> of the early 1980s 6. Its economists had a credible story to tell about a ' <i>downward spiral</i> ' of activity hitting Britain's economy from early in the year.	6. <u>Topic</u> : Britain's economy, <u>Vehicle</u> : downward spiral of activity, <u>Grounds</u> : when people fall into a downward spiral, their life situation is usually bad, such as drug addiction, crime, loss of income; this is reflected in the economic situation where the downward spiral would be seen as a bad thing.

The orientational metaphorical concept GOOD ECONOMIC SITUATION IS UP, BAD IS DOWN appears to confirm the conceptual metaphor Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 16) called GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN. They also stated that orientational metaphors are often based on 'our physical and cultural experiences' and therefore can vary between cultures (ibid: 18).

3.2.2 The Finnish article – metaphorical systems identified

The Finnish text (T2) 'Näin finanssikriisi tunkeutuu talouteen' (How the financial crisis breaks into the economy), also contains a high number of lexical metaphors. Some conceptual metaphorical systems identified in this article are analysed in the following tables.

a. FINANCIAL CRISIS IS AN ENEMY	
1. <i>tunkeutuu</i> talouteen (<i>breaks in</i>) 2. miten kriisi <i>hiipii</i> talouteen ja... kukkaroosi (<i>creeps</i>) 3. kriisi <i>on vienyt</i> luottamukselta pohjan (<i>has taken</i>)	2. <u>Topic</u> : kriisi (crisis), <u>Vehicle</u> : hiipii (creeps), <u>Grounds</u> : usually, if someone is creeping, their purpose is either to surprise, hide or do something inappropriate; the financial crisis is seen as a thief creeping into the house (the economy) and stealing people's money (spending power).

In **a.2**, the financial crisis is depicted as an unseen enemy (thief) who works secretly and causes heartbreak when the full consequences of such work are discovered. The other metaphors within group **a** are similar in meaning, referring to a break-in or theft (of trust).

b. ECONOMY IS WEATHER	
1. talouden näkymät <i>synkkenivät</i> (<i>became gloomier</i>) 2. talouden <i>musta viikko</i> (<i>black week</i>) 3. Kriisin <i>mainingeilta</i> ei välttyä Suomessakaan. (<i>the swell</i>) 4. viime viikon pahimpia <i>myllerryksiä</i> (<i>rolling</i>) 5. pitäisi elää suurin piirtein normaalisti myös talouden <i>matalasuhdanteessa</i> (<i>depression</i>)	3. <u>Topic</u> : kriisi (crisis), <u>Vehicle</u> : mainingeilta (the swell), <u>Grounds</u> : as there is swelling of the sea as an aftermath of a storm, so Finland cannot avoid some effects of the financial crisis.

In **b.3**, the economy (in a crisis situation) is seen through a nautical metaphor referring to a bad storm, although distant at this stage. The other expressions within group **b** also refer to the sea rolling or other types of bad weather (black clouds), producing the source domain ‘weather’.

c. ECONOMY IS AN OBJECT	
1. finanssikriisi <i>tiukentaa</i> taloutta (<i>tightens</i>) 2. merkkejä talouden <i>hidastumisesta</i> (<i>slowing down</i>) 3. Jos taloudessa on kunnon <i>hidastuminen</i> (<i>slowing down</i>) 4. työttömyysasteen nousu <i>iskee</i> laajalti talouteen (<i>knocks</i>) 5. vaikka talouden <i>liikkeissä</i> on kyse (<i>movements</i>)	4. <u>Topic</u> : talouteen (the economy), <u>Vehicle</u> : iskee (knocks), <u>Grounds</u> : as an object can be knocked down or flattened by hitting it, so the economy is seen as receiving a powerful knock from the increase in unemployment.

In **c.4**, the economy is seen as something that can be knocked. According to another expression within group **c**, it can also be tightened. There are at least three further expressions indicating that the economy can move. These examples conceptualise economy as an object (or a moving object).

d. BANKS ARE PEOPLE	
1. pankkeja <i>alkoi</i> nopeasti <i>kaatua</i> valtioiden ja toistensa <i>syliin</i> (<i>started falling into ... arms</i>) 2. Pankit <i>uskovat</i> , että (<i>believe</i>) 3. (pankit) <i>antavat</i> luottoa (<i>give</i>) 4. Kun pankit <i>kyräälevät ja epäilevät</i> toisiaan (<i>cast sullen glances and suspect</i>) 5. vaikuttaa pankkien <i>toimivuuteen</i> (<i>activity</i>) 6. on mahdollista, että pankit <i>vuotavat</i> kuiviin (<i>bleed to death</i>) 7. joutuvat <i>kirjaamaan ja ... laskemaan</i> (<i>have to record and calculate</i>) 8. pankit <i>eivät halua lainata</i> rahaa ulos (<i>will not want to lend</i>)	4. <u>Topic</u> : pankit (banks), <u>Vehicle</u> : kyräälevät ja epäilevät (cast sullen glances and suspect), <u>Grounds</u> : when people do not trust each other, they can start suspecting a number of things, which may show in their behaviour; because the financial crisis has lessened the confidence of financial institutions, banks are seen as people who are suspicious of each others' plans and actions.

In **d.4**, banks are depicted as people whose actions have become questionable due to the financial crisis. The other expressions refer to people either failing or being unwilling to act, or whose activities have changed from the normal. One expression indicates that it is possible for banks to 'bleed to death'.

e. RECESSION IS A CONTAINER	
1. jos ei olla täydellisessä <i>luottolamassa</i> (<i>in credit depression</i>) 2. ei myöskään olla hirveän <i>kaukana</i> siitä (<i>not far from it</i>) 3. luottolama <i>heikentää</i> reaalitaloutta eli <i>syventää</i> taantumaa (<i>credit depression weakens the economy, deepens recession</i>)	3. <u>Topic</u> : taantuma (recession), <u>Vehicle</u> : syventää (deepens), <u>Grounds</u> : water can be shallow or deep; similarly recession is seen as a 'container substance' (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 30) which can become deeper.

In **e.3**, recession is seen as a container which, when deeper, has a weakening (diluting) effect on whatever is in that container, in this case the real economy. Other expressions indicate that there is something in or outside of a recession.

f. EMPLOYMENT IS A MOVING OBJECT	
1. Uuden työn löytämiseen (<i>find</i>) 2. Jos työpaikkoja alkaa täälläkin lähteä <i>alta</i> (<i>move away from beneath</i>) 3. työllisyys <i>hidastuu</i> (<i>slows down</i>) 4. työttömyysasteen <i>nousu</i> iskee laajalti talouteen (<i>rise</i>)	2. <u>Topic</u> : työpaikkoja (jobs), <u>Vehicle</u> : alkaa lähteä <i>alta</i> (move away from beneath), <u>Grounds</u> : just as a chair or some other support can move away from underneath a person, 'jobs' are seen as objects that can 'move away' and cause a reaction.

In **f.1**, employment is seen as a moving object. The other expressions within this group refer either to a moving object or an object that can be lost (and found).

g. GOOD ECONOMIC SITUATION IS DOWN, BAD IS UP	
1. Helenius huomauttaa, että työttömyysasteen <i>nousu</i> iskee laajalti talouteen (<i>rise</i>) 2. suoraan arjessa näkyvä vaikutus on rahan hinnan <i>nousu</i> (<i>rise</i>) 3. rahan hinta <i>nousee</i> (<i>rises</i>) 4. mikä näkyy euribor-viitekorkojen <i>nousuna</i> (<i>rise</i>) 5. euribor kävi.. <i>huipussaan</i> (<i>hit its peak</i>) 6. rahoituskustannusten <i>nousu</i> heikentää (<i>rise</i>) 7. korko <i>kohosi</i> noin (<i>rose</i>)	1. <u>Topic</u> : työttömyysaste (unemployment rate), <u>Vehicle</u> : nousu (rise), <u>Grounds</u> : it is indicated by this sentence that when certain things in the economy rise, such as the unemployment rate, it is bad for the economy.

All the expressions in group **g** seem to indicate that 'good is down' rather than up, which would tend to be unusual in the Western culture. According to Lakoff and Johnson, the metaphorical systems people use are dependent on their culture, value system and 'the different priorities given to these values and metaphors' (2003: 23). They further explain that the value MORE IS UP would always 'have the highest priority' since it derives more closely from people's physical experiences (ibid: 23). This priority would then explain why the examples in group **g** produce the conceptual metaphor listed: these expressions refer to an increase in unemployment rate, the price of currency and interest rates.

3.2.3 Similarities and differences in T1 and T2

T1 and T2 are similar in the sense that in these texts a financial crisis is seen as an enemy (A/a). However, the nature of this enemy is different between the two texts; for T1 the enemy arrives in a more open form where confrontation is possible, whilst for T2 it moves stealthily, as a thief, giving no opportunity for an open battle. In both articles, the economy is referred to in everyday meteorological terms (C/b). One expression in T1 indicates rather drastic weather conditions (C.1), whilst a similar expression in T2 refers only to the aftermath of such drastic weather (b.3). The differences found could be due to the different status and scale of the economy of the T1 and T2 countries.

The economy is seen as an object in both T1 and T2 (D/c), but there is a difference in the nature of this object. In T1 it can *contract*, *shrink*, *change* into something else or be *pushed*, whilst in T2 it is mostly a moving object which can at best be *knocked* or *tightened*. Banks are personified in both texts (E/d), yet in T1 they are in a much more desperate situation where they are *scrambling*, seeing their *reputations slide* and even suffering *demise*, whereas T2 sees them as suspicious people who are not behaving in a normal manner: having to work harder, give less and be wary. There is one expression suggesting the very serious consequence of 'bleeding to death', but at this stage it is only a possibility.

A recession is seen as a container in both T1 and T2 (F/e), and while the lexical metaphors are fairly similar, there is a reference to a container substance in T2 (e.3) whereas in T1 the nature of the container is not necessarily depicted. T1 refers to the economic situation with the underlying conceptual metaphor GOOD ECONOMIC SITUATION IS UP, BAD IS DOWN (G) which is consistent with the Western concept of GOOD IS UP. In T2, on the other hand, GOOD ECONOMIC SITUATION IS DOWN, BAD IS UP (g), because the concept GOOD IS UP has to take a secondary place after MORE IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 23).

T1 contains the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON (B), referring to the economy in terms such as *shock*, *dislocation*, *recovery*. This concept is absent in T2, and there is only one expression where the economy is seen as a person, as someone to be saved. Employment is referred to as a moving object in T2 (c); in T1, employment is mentioned only once where unemployment is seen as a person hitting the economy.

The above analysis gives some indication about the metaphorical systems used in an English and Finnish newspaper article taken from the field of economics. Both languages use underlying concepts derived from similar domains, yet there are variations in the metaphorical expressions used. In the following paragraphs, some of these lexical metaphors are studied.

3.3 *Translation of English and Finnish metaphors*

Nida (1964: 157) suggests that where languages differ in structure, cultural similarities may provide a useful background for understanding the content of another, non-related language. He further indicates that differences in culture could result in greater difficulties in translation than the structural differences between languages. Since the two articles from two non-related languages (Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian) represent a similar culture (Western European) and are aimed at a similar readership, they should not contain insurmountable difficulties.

Six extended metaphors have been selected from both articles to discuss possible problems in translating these metaphors from one language into the other. In this paper 'extended metaphor' refers to a lexical metaphor derived from an underlying metaphorical system. Because a metaphor can be 'any figurative expression' (Newmark, 1988: 104), the difficulties in translating it could be closely linked to those involved in translating idioms. Baker (1992: 68-70) divides the main difficulties in translating idioms into four categories: 1) there may not be an equivalent expression in the target language, 2) there may be a similar expression in the target language but it may be used in a different context, 3) the expression may have both a literal and idiomatic use in the

source language, and 4) the way in which figurative expressions in general are used in the source and target languages may differ.

3.3.1 English metaphors

1) *And it would be a dull world if economists – and economic journalists – did not **put their heads on the block** and offer views on the outlook.* (A.6)

The idiomatic metaphor *put their heads on the block* is a good representative of a main function of metaphor, that of presenting an abstract idea in more colourful, lively terms (Moon, 1994: 131); Newmark (1988: 104) calls this ‘the pragmatic purpose of metaphor’. A literal translation would produce a difficulty type 2 (Baker), because the equivalent idiom would transfer the image without the meaning. In Finnish, people tend to ‘put their heads on the block’ with the idea that one's life is over, whilst the English idiom refers to a risk-taking situation. Reducing to sense could be a possibility, because there are numerous metaphors in the text, but to preserve the vivid style and to produce ‘the same force and effect’ (Bassnett, 2002: 67), another (possibly idiomatic) metaphor with the intended meaning could be chosen.

2) *A full-blown credit crunch, of the kind I have never witnessed before, alongside a **nasty commodity-price shock**.* (B.1)

The collocation *a nasty shock* can be expressed with similar force by using the equivalent term for ‘shock’ (*sokki*) which has the same medical and psychological meanings. The frequency of use for these two terms could be considered equal. The adjective ‘nasty’ emphasizes the negative aspect of the shock and could be translated as ‘*paha*’ (bad, nasty), which is often used for both medical and emotional shocks and which covers almost all of the meanings of ‘nasty’. Other options could be ‘*kauhea*’ (terrible) or ‘*hirvittävä*’ (frightening), but these two adjectives usually refer only to the emotional aspect of a shock and therefore part of the meaning of the medical metaphor would be lost. None of the difficulties listed by Baker would apply to this metaphor.

3) *Chaos of 2008 causes havoc for predictions* (C.1)

The meteorological metaphor *causes havoc* could be translated literally into Finnish, yet this would not be stylistically appropriate, sounding somewhat ‘translated’. The metaphor is a part of the title, and therefore a similarly appealing translation would be required. The difficulty (type 4, Baker) is to find an expression which would create a vivid image of surprise and destruction and would collocate well with, or be derived from the same lexical set (Carter, 1998: 52) as, the Finnish term for predictions (*ennusteet*). Often predictions in Finnish literally ‘go to the woods’ (*menevät metsään*), i.e. are badly wrong. Yet this phrase would lack the sense of destruction, and therefore another image could be used, perhaps from traffic accidents where cars are ‘wrecked’ (*romuttuvat*).

4) *I had always argued that you needed a shock big enough to push the economy into recession to produce a big fall in house prices, and so it was.* (D.5)

A literal translation would not be ideal, perhaps because according to the comparison between the metaphorical systems (3.2.3), there tended to be the underlying concept in Finnish of the economy being a moving object, not one to be pushed. Nevertheless, a close term meaning ‘to push forcefully’ (*sysätä*) could be used, thus retaining both the style and the meaning without facing the difficulties mentioned by Baker. However, this verb is more marked than ‘*työntää*’ (push).

5) *At the start of this year we had seen two phases of the crisis, the initial August-September 2007 turbulence in the markets that did for Northern Rock and a secondary shock in December, as banks scrambled for liquidity.* (E.3)

There is no clear equivalent (difficulty type 1, Baker) in Finnish for ‘scrambling’ in the sense given in the *Collins English Dictionary* (2007:1449): ‘to compete with others, esp. in a disordered manner.’ A term such as ‘*tapella*’ (to fight over something) would need to be used, possibly accompanied with a suitable adverb to achieve a closer meaning. A certain degree of translation loss cannot be avoided, but an attempt should be made ‘to reduce it... by deciding’ on the important aspects to be saved (Hervey et al, 1995: 17).

6) *The fact that policy has responded quickly and commodity prices have plunged leads it to suggest a recession on the scale of the early 1990s but not as bad as the **deep downturn** of the early 1980s.* (G5)

There is a direct literal equivalent for ‘deep downturn’ (*syvä laskusuunta*), which is used in the same manner and same context. Consequently, there is no difficulty in translating this metaphor into Finnish.

3.3.2 Finnish metaphors

In the following examples, each Finnish sentence is followed by its literal translation. With literal translation I do not refer to an optimal literal translation for the entire sentence but to the actual literal meaning (in the sense of Newmark, 1988: 46) of the source language to illustrate the Finnish metaphor more closely.

1) *Lue, miten **kriisi hiipii** koko talouteen ja sitä kautta sinunkin kukkaroosi.* (a.2)

[Read how the **crisis creeps into** the entire economy and through it even into your own purse.]

A brief investigation of the results of a Google search (with the realisation that such results may not always be reliable) would indicate that the literal translation of ‘*hiipii*’ (creeps) would be appropriate when translating into American English; this expression does not appear to be used in British economic texts (difficulty type 4, Baker). Because creeping is a universal concept, it could still be used. As the comparison of metaphorical systems revealed (3.2.3), a suitable translation might be found in the domain of war. Thus ‘to invade’ or ‘to raid’ could be possible alternatives, although they could lack the aspects of ‘silence’ and ‘slowness’ of the term ‘creep’.

2) *Kriisin mainingeilta ei vältytä Suomessakaan.* (b.3)

[The **swell** of the crisis cannot be avoided even in Finland.]

Since nautical metaphors tend to be used in English economic texts, a literal translation could be chosen. However, the English term does not convey quite the same meaning as ‘*mainingit*’ (a plural noun referring to a succession of waves, yet it can also refer to repercussions) (Baker type 4). Another metaphor could be considered, such as ‘some seismic waves’, indicating that there can be consequences, or ‘the resulting shock waves’, which would have the added benefit of the emotional meaning of this expression.

3) *Vaikka talouden liikkeissä kyse on massojen toiminnasta, Mustonen sanoo, että kenenkään ei pidä yrittää pelastaa kansantaloutta.* (c.5)

[Mr Mustonen states that ‘although the **movements of the economy** have to do with the actions of the masses, no-one should try to save the national economy’.]

The metaphorically used expression ‘*talouden liikkeissä*’ (movements of the economy) can be translated literally, since there is a direct equivalent in the English language conveying the same meaning in the same context. None of the difficulties mentioned by Baker would apply.

4) *Kun pankit kyräilevät ja epäilevät toisiaan, rahan hinta nousee, mikä näkyy euribor-viitekorkojen nousuna.* (d.4)

[When banks **cast sullen glances at, and suspect**, each other, the price of money rises, which can be seen as a rise in the Euribor reference rates.]

This very colourful metaphor can be used literally, because banks are also seen as people in English economic texts. The English terms used are lively and produce the same image, although the expression ‘cast sullen glances at’ is a metaphor of its own and acts as a ‘descriptive equivalent’ (Newmark: 1988: 83). A back-translation for this expression would be likely to produce the original Finnish verb. The Baker-type difficulties are not encountered.

5) *Se heikentää reaalitaloutta eli syventää mahdollista taantumaa, mikä puolestaan iskisi työllisyyteen.* (e.3)

[It weakens the real economy, i.e. **deepens** the possible recession, which would then hit the employment.]

The metaphorical expression ‘*syventää taantumaa*’ (deepens the recession) could be reduced to sense: ‘makes the recession stronger or more forceful’. Yet, since the metaphor also tends to be prevalent in English economic texts, the use of the literal expression would both produce an accurate meaning and preserve the style. None of the Baker-type difficulties apply.

6) *Jos työpaikkoja alkaa täälläkin lähteä alta, mekin törmäämme yhteen talouden ydinkysymykseen: miten kuluttajat reagoivat?* (f.2)

[If jobs at home will start **leaving from underneath** us, we will also run into one of the core economic questions: how will consumers react?]

Whilst the Finnish expression ‘*lähteä alta*’ (leaving from underneath) uses a transitive verb (leaving) to denote the loss of employment, such usage would be rare in English (difficulty type 1, Baker). Therefore a literal translation would not be appropriate for this metaphor. What would normally disappear from underneath an English person would be something that either collapses or is taken away. According to the comparison of metaphorical systems above (3.2.3), in English the economy is seen as an object in general as opposed to the moving object concept in Finnish, and correspondingly this expression could reasonably be translated as ‘If the carpet *is pulled from under us* as regards jobs’, producing the image of an object to be manipulated.

5 Conclusion

This paper has aimed to investigate certain aspects of metaphor by analysing two newspaper articles from the field of economics, one of which was written in English and the other in Finnish. When comparing and contrasting the different metaphorical systems identified in the articles, the systems used by these two languages seemed similar in that they referred to various economic issues by using underlying concepts from the same semantic fields. However, the lexical sets in these fields tended to vary, suggesting that language and culture could to a certain degree define the way that economic texts are written, even though such texts are generally less dependent on culture. When discussing possible problems in translating economic metaphors from one language into the other, the two languages appeared similar in this genre and produced few problems. This became apparent by the number of metaphorical expressions which were not characterised by any of the different types of difficulties mentioned by Baker. Where dissimilarities were encountered, it seemed that appropriate translations could be found by using the results of the comparison of metaphorical systems, suggesting that such comparison could be a useful tool for a translator.

A deeper analysis could possibly be achieved by translating each lexical metaphor into the other language and then investigating the usage of the corresponding metaphors in that language. Such an analysis method could be used to examine whether or not a metaphorical expression and its translation would refer to the same underlying metaphorical system, thereby producing further evidence on the current findings.

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Chaos of 2008 causes havoc for predictions

The credit crunch and swings in commodity prices wrong-footed economists. David Smith finds out whose forecasts were best

So what a horrible year that was. A full-blown credit crunch, of the kind I have never witnessed before, alongside a nasty commodity-price shock. One was the worst since the 1930s, the other the biggest since the 1970s.

The commodity shock is over but the credit crunch is still very much with us. Economists, unsurprisingly, found it a tough year to predict. That was partly because of the nature of the crunch itself.

At the start of this year we had seen two phases of the crisis, the initial August-September 2007 turbulence in the markets that did for Northern Rock and a secondary shock in December, as banks scrambled for liquidity.

But it was reasonable to think that markets would gradually thaw during 2008. That was the view of central banks and finance ministers when they gathered for the IMF's autumn 2007 annual meetings.

Instead, things turned out gloomier than even the pessimists expected. A third phase of dislocation in the money markets came in March, claiming the scalp of Bear Stearns, and worse was to come six months later with the failure of Lehman Brothers. It was in March that the real squeeze on lending started to hit Britain's economy.

It did not necessarily have to be like this. There were a number of ways the crisis could have played out. The route it ended up taking was close to the worst.

Forecasters always find it difficult to predict turning points in economic activity but there were other reasons why 2008 was an unusually hard year to pin down. Imagine, a year ago, somebody had told you the oil price would have collapsed from \$100 to \$40 a barrel, the economy would be in recession, Bank rate would be just 2% and then invited you to guess at Britain's inflation rate in those circumstances. I would have said 1%, not the 4% (though falling) we have at present.

So any economist getting it right during 2008 would have required mystical powers of prediction. Small wonder, as I look at my annual forecasting league table, most got it wrong.

A word about the rules of engagement. Economic data get revised all the time and just before Christmas we had new figures for gross domestic product and the balance of payments; the latter suggesting that the current-account deficit is coming down sharply.

But there has to be a cut-off point and mine, as in previous years, is the December forecasting consensus for growth (0.8% for the calendar year) and the current account (a deficit of just below £40 billion). I have used the actual end-year Bank rate, and November's inflation and unemployment figures. One or two forecasters have been slightly harmed by the use of this cut-off but nobody has been seriously wronged.

Banks have had a torrid time and have justifiably seen their reputations slide. So it is odd, then, that after a year most forecasters would prefer to forget, banks top my annual forecasting league table. Standard Chartered, whose chief economist is Gerard Lyons, was gloomier than most a year ago, predicting just 1.2% growth at a time when forecasters were clustered around 2%.

His forecast was too low on inflation — most people expected an end-year figure of 2% — but right to pick up on the downward risks to growth. Standard Chartered is downbeat on growth for 2009 — it expects the economy to contract by 2.3% before edging up by 0.6% in 2010. The fact that policy has responded quickly and commodity prices have plunged leads it to suggest a recession on the scale of the early 1990s but not as bad as the deep downturn of the early 1980s. Even so, Sarah Hewin, Standard's UK economist, thinks the Labour Force Survey measure of unemployment will eventually hit 3.5m.

Alongside Standard Chartered, but just slightly further away from what looks like the 2008 outcome, was HSBC. Both these banks got a creditable 5 out of 10. My forecasts scored only two points.

Next in the table, intriguingly, is Lehman Brothers, whose demise caused so much trouble. Its economists had a credible story to tell about a "downward spiral" of activity hitting Britain's economy from early in the year. The economic view was a lot more credible than some of the other things Lehman was up to.

After a year like that, how should we judge what economists are saying about 2009? Once the economy has turned into recession, forecasters are on firmer ground. They know what history tells us about the length of past "big" post-war recessions — an average length of about five quarters, though with a tendency to slip back temporarily during a weak recovery phase.

The big unknown remains the continuing impact of the credit crunch and the effect on an economy of a sudden shrinking of banking capacity.

Many economists think forecasting should not be part of their game. Others warn that precise-number forecasts will invariably be wrong and that all economists can do is lay out broad trends.

Even that, as the Bank of England has discovered with its famous fan charts, is easier said than done when things change so dramatically. And it would be a dull world if economists — and economic journalists — did not put their heads on the block and offer views on the outlook. I know some of my readers would lose their purpose in life if I deprived them of the opportunity to point out when I had been wrong.

A year ago, just about the gloomiest forecast for house prices you could find among economists was for a fall of 5% in 2008. Data from the main lenders, Halifax and Nationwide, point to a fall about three times that, though the FT-Acadametrics index is down by a more modest 8%.

In some ways it was easy to predict a house-price fall a year ago, because it had begun the previous autumn. But there had been false dawns for housing before. The savagery of the crunch-induced mortgage famine, however, meant this one was real.

Housing also eventually obeyed the normal rules. I had always argued that you needed a shock big enough to push the economy into recession to produce a big fall in house prices, and so it was. In the late 1980s it was a 15% Bank rate. This time it was the crunch. In some respects at least, the normal rules apply.

Taloussanomat, digital version, 5/10/2008

Näin finanssikriisi tunkeutuu talouteen

Talouden näkymät synkkenivät roimasti viime viikolla finanssikriisin kärjistyessä maailmalla. Lue, miten kriisi hiipii koko talouteen ja sitä kautta sinunkin kukkaroosi.

Mennyt viikko oli talouden musta viikko. Finanssikriisi syveni entisestään, kun Yhdysvaltain roskapankkilain tie takkusi alkuvuikosta. Se heikensi jo ennestään surkeaa luottamusta rahamarkkinoiden toimivuuteen. Euroopassakin pankkeja alkoi nopeasti kaatua valtioiden ja toistensa syliin.

Kriisin mainingeilta ei välttyä Suomessakaan. Johtaja **Jussi Mustonen** Elinkeinoelämän Keskusliitosta sanoo, että hyvin konkreettinen ja suoraan arjessa näkyvä vaikutus on rahan hinnan nousu.

– Se koskee yhtä lailla kotitalouksia kuin yrityksiäkin. Tilanne on sama, oli kyse sitten kulutus-, asunto- tai yritysluotosta.

Kyse on pankkitoiminnan perusasioista. Pankkien tehtävä on välittää rahaa niiltä, joilla sitä on, niille, joilla sitä ei ole, niiltä, joilla sitä on. Kun kaikki on kunnossa, pankit uskovat, että vastapuoli pystyy maksamaan takaisin lainaamansa rahat. Tällöin antavat luottoa aika alhaiseen hintaan.

Yhdysvaltain asuntoluotto-ongelmista vyörymään lähtenyt kriisi on vienyt luottamukselta pohjan. Kun pankit kyräilevät ja epäilevät toisiaan, rahan hinta nousee, mikä näkyy euribor-viitekorkojen nousuna. Viime viikolla euriborit takoivat monta uutta ennätystä ennen rauhoittumistaan perjantaina.

Jos lainasi on sidottu vuoden viitekorkoon ja lainan täsmäyspäivä osui esimerkiksi torstaiksi, korko kohosi noin 0,8 prosenttiyksikköä. Tuolloin vuoden euribor kävi uudessa huipussaan 5,53 prosentissa.

Esimerkiksi vuosi sitten 20 vuodeksi otetussa asuntovelassa tämä tarkoittaa, että maksat nyt alkaneen vuoden aikana yhteensä noin 420 euroa enemmän korkoja kuin menneenä vuonna, vaikka lainapääoma on lyhentynyt noin 2 800 euroa.

Luotonsaanti vaikeutuu

Koska kriisi jähmettää lainamarkkinat, se vaikuttaa pankkien toimivuuteen. Mustosen mukaan on mahdollista, että pankit vuotavat kuiviin.

– Kun niiltä puuttuu omaa pääomaa, ne joutuvat kirjaamaan luottotappioita ja laskemaan varallisuusarvoja.

Vakavaraisuuskriisin vuoksi osa pankeista on jo joutunut rajoittamaan luotonantoa. Handelsbankenin pääekonomisti **Tiina Helenius** sanoo, että voi käydä niin, että pankit eivät halua lainata rahaa ulos, mutta voi myös olla, että lainakysyntä katoaa. Tilannetta kutsutaan luottolamaksi.

– Jos nyt ei olla täydellisessä luottolamassa kansainvälisesti eikä muutenkaan, ei myöskään olla hirveän kaukana siitä, Helenius sanoo.

Hänen mukaansa globaali luottolama koskisi meitä siinä missä muitakin. Se heikentää reaalitaloutta eli syventää mahdollista taantumaa, mikä puolestaan iskisi työllisyyteen.

Kallis raha ei innosta investoimaan

Rahoituskustannusten nousu heikentää yritysten kannattavuutta, mikä huonontaa niiden näkymiä.

– Suunta on selvä. Tämä tilanne taatusti rajoittaa investointeja. Niistä vain tuottavimmat toteutetaan, huomauttaa Mustonen.

Investointien hiipuminen vaikuttaa suoraan esimerkiksi rakentamiseen. Jo nyt rakentaminen on vähentynyt. EK:n maanantaina julkistama luottamusindikaattori paljasti, että alan tilauskanta on melko selvästi alle normaalin.

Rakennuslalla tunnelmat olivat indikaattorin mukaan heikentyneet eniten, mutta teollisuudessa ollaan aiempaa synkempiä ja palveluyritystenkin näkemykset ovat synkentyneet. Tilastokeskuksen mukaan teollisuustuotanto hiipui jo elokuussa vuoden takaisesta.

Helenius kertoo, että myös monet kansainväliset luottamusluvut ovat heikentyneet olennaisesti. Koska suhdannekyselyt on tehty ennen viime viikon pahimpia myllerryksiä, vielä ei tiedetä, miten ne ovat vaikuttaneet mielialoihin.

Vienti on Suomelle hyvin tärkeää. Yritysten näkymiä vaikeuttaa paitsi rahoituksen kallistuminen, myös se, että finanssikriisi tiukentaa taloutta etenkin Yhdysvalloissa ja Euroopassa, jolloin tavarat eivät näillä alueilla mene enää entiseen malliin kaupaksi. Helenius huomauttaa, että idänkin suunnalla on merkkejä talouden hidastumisesta.

Työllisyys voi heiketä

Viimeistään se, että yrityksillä on ongelmia, tarkoittaa ongelmia palkansaajille. Jos firmalla menee huonosti, ihmisiä ei tarvita entisiä määriä. Rakennusyritykset jo ennakoivat, että ne joutuvat vähentämään henkilöstöään loppuvuonna.

Suomen työllisyys on parantunut vuosia. Uusia työpaikkoja on syntynyt 50 000 tahtia monta vuotta. Nyt työpaikkojen määrän kasvu on hidastunut. Mustosen mukaan se voi pysähtyä ja kääntyä laskuunkin.

– Jos taloudessa on kunnon hidastuminen, se näkyy työllisyydessä noin puolen vuoden viipeellä.

Mustosen mukaan on ihan mahdollista, että työllisyys alkaa heiketä ensi vuoden alkupuoliskolla. Massatyöttömyyttä hän ei povaa, mutta toteaa, että siirtyminen vanhasta työpaikasta uuteen pitenee. Uuden työn löytämiseen menee siis vastaisuudessa keskimäärin kauemmin kuin nyt.

Kuluttajien luottamus on olennaista

Yhdysvalloissa, mistä kriisi on alkanut, vaikutukset työllisyyteen näkyvät jo. Jos työpaikkoja alkaa täälläkin lähteä alta, mekin törmäämme yhteen talouden ydinkysymykseen: miten kuluttajat reagoivat?

Niin kauan, kun suomalaiset ostavat tavaroita ja palveluita, tarvitaan niitä tuottavia yrityksiä. Jos me kaikki napsautamme kukkaromme kiinni, olemme vaikeuksissa.

– Jos kuluttajien käsitys omasta taloudestaan heikkenee, työllisyys hidastuu ja ihmiset lisäävät entisestään säästämistä. Tällainen noidankehä vahvistaa itseään, sanoo Mustonen.

Jos ihmiset eivät kuluta, yritykset investoivat entistä vähemmän ja työllisyys heikkenee edelleen. Helenius huomauttaa, että työttömyysasteen nousu iskee laajalti talouteen ja varallisuusarvoihin sitä kautta, että asuntojen hinnat lähtevät laskemaan. Tätä tukee korkea korkotaso ja yleinen epävarmuus.

Heleniuksen mielestä tällainen spiraali pitää torpata talouspolitiikalla. Palkansaajien tutkimuslaitoksen johtaja **Jaakko Kiander** toivoo, että valtio ryhtyisi jo toimiin ja aikaistaa esimerkiksi julkisia liikenne- ja muita hankkeita.

Vaikka talouden liikkeissä kyse on massojen toiminnasta, Mustonen sanoo, että kenenkään ei pidä yrittää pelastaa kansantaloutta.

– Turhia riskejä on turha ottaa, jollei tulokehitys ole varma. Toisaalta jos on tarve tehdä jotakin isompaa tai pienempää hankintaa, kohtuullisella varovaisuudella pitäisi elää myös suurin piirtein normaalisti myös talouden matalasuhdanteessa, hän sanoo.