

THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS VIA THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON METAPHOR – A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

UDC 811.111:811.163.41J'373.612.2

Nadežda Silaški¹, Tatjana Đurović²

¹Faculty of Economics, University of Belgrade
E-mail: silaskin@sbb.rs

²Faculty of Economics, University of Belgrade

Abstract. *Using the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in this paper we focus on the ECONOMY IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor used for the conceptualisation of the global financial crisis in English and Serbian in an attempt to establish whether any universal or culture-specific aspects of this metaphor may be found in the two languages. We particularly deal with the perception of the economy as a sick person, in need of an urgent remedy for various diseases and illnesses caused by the global financial crisis. The data collection for the analysis has been gathered from various sources which may all be termed popular economic and business discourse, whereas all examples originate from the period between 2007 and 2010, which coincides with the outbreak of the global financial crisis, on the one hand, and the first signs of economic "recovery", on the other. Finally, we point out the persuasive power of this metaphor in English and Serbian popular economic and business discourse.*

Key Words: *conceptual metaphor, economic discourse, THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor, English, Serbian*

1. INTRODUCTION

The cognitive approach to metaphor was initiated by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal book *Metaphors we live by*, where they claim that metaphor is not just a rhetorical device serving the purpose of decorating the text with flowery language, but that it plays a pivotal role in structuring not only the way we talk, but much more importantly, the way we think and act. According to such a cognitive approach, metaphor is not, therefore, a matter of language only, but predominantly that of mind. Hence the term *conceptual metaphor*, to mark the radical departure from previous theories of metaphor, which

failed to perceive or deliberately ignored the underlying cognitive nature of metaphor. Conceptual metaphors "consist of a source domain and a target domain, as well as a set of mappings between them" (Kövecses 2002: 15), the formula and a convenient shorthand which captures this view of metaphor being: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B) (Kövecses 2002: 4). The source domain is more concrete and based on human bodily as well as cultural experience, whereas the target domain is abstract, intangible and more difficult to understand. On the other hand, what was previously thought of as a metaphor is now designated as a *metaphorical expression*, to refer to an individual, surface linguistic expression, sanctioned by conceptual mapping. Therefore, metaphor as a phenomenon involves both conceptual mappings and individual linguistic expressions. Subsequently, it is our conceptual system that is metaphorical in nature, not the language itself. Language thus becomes one of the ways of expressing our conceptual system and is given a subsidiary role.

However, contemporary metaphor research from the late 1990s and 2000 onwards has completely shifted focus from viewing metaphor as a primarily cognitive phenomenon, stressing "the importance of language use in understanding metaphor" (Cameron & Deignan 2006: 672). In this new "emergentist perspective" metaphor is viewed as a combination of linguistic, conceptual and socio-cultural aspects (Cameron & Deignan 2006: 674). As Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001: 250) claim, "the problems of defining metaphor arise from the complexity of the relationship between thought and language." Therefore, here we make a clear difference between a *conceptual metaphor*, defined as a cognitive process whereby one conceptual domain (economy) is understood in terms of another conceptual domain (a person), on the one hand, and *linguistic metaphors* (or metaphorical expressions), on the other hand, which are understood as "the linguistic outcome" (Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001: 250) of this cognitive process. To be more precise with regard to the meaning of conceptual metaphor we use in this paper, we accept a slightly adapted Charteris-Black's (2004: 21) definition of metaphor, which incorporates not only cognitive, but also linguistic and pragmatic aspects – metaphor is a cognitive process in which one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain, predominantly used to achieve particular rhetorical goals in discourse for the purpose of influencing opinions and judgements (see also Charteris-Black & Musolff 2003). Therefore, according to this view of metaphor, it is "a way of thinking and a way of persuading as much as it is a linguistic phenomenon." (Charteris-Black 2004: 22).

In this paper we set out to comparatively investigate the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON in English and Serbian, used for the conceptualisation of the global financial crisis, in which the economy is conceptualised as a sick person, in need of an urgent remedy for various diseases and illnesses caused by the latest economic and financial developments in the world. We deal with various conceptual mappings comprised in this metaphor and illustrate them with metaphorical expressions as their linguistic realisations. The data collection for the analysis has been gathered from various sources in both languages. The Serbian corpus of examples comes from different business-oriented media (dailies and weeklies, business and economy sections of a number of dailies of general orientation, as well as from some electronic media).¹ English corpus predominantly originates from the online edition of the *Financial Times*. Such discourse is referred to as "*popular socio-economic discourse*" (Boers 2000: 143) or *popular eco-*

¹ Sources (the name of the media and the date of publication) will be indicated in each individual example.

conomic and business discourse, defined as "journalistic texts that deal with current economic and business matters for an audience of experts and nonexperts, and seek to inform and entertain more generally." (Skorczynska & Deignan 2006: 89). All examples originate from the period between 2007 and 2010, which coincides with the outbreak of the global economic and financial crisis, on the one hand, and the first signs of economic "recovery", on the other – to use a metaphorical expression belonging to the metaphor that is the topic of this paper.

Our main aim is to contrast the use of the ECONOMY IS A (SICK) PERSON metaphor in the two languages in question in order to find out whether they share its systematicity and implications, as well as to establish whether English (and the discourse participants belonging to the culture determined by the English language) exerts any influence on Serbian with regard to the use of THE ECONOMY IS A (SICK) PERSON metaphor. Having in mind the fact that metaphors are grounded in bodily, physical experience (which is often reflected in the universal nature of metaphors) as well as in our cultural experience defined by the culture in which we are raised and live, we set out to establish, by an interlinguistic analysis of metaphorical expressions, any common or culture-specific properties of THE ECONOMY IS A (SICK) PERSON metaphor. Our analysis is not quantitative and we are not interested in the frequency analysis of this metaphor, nor do we tend to establish the metaphorical density of the texts from the corpus. We are mainly interested in the persuasive power of THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor, as exerted in English and Serbian.

2. THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON METAPHOR

Kövecses states (2002: 22) that "[e]conomy is usually comprehended via metaphor." Its most commonly used source domains include BUILDING, MACHINES, PLANTS, JOURNEY (MOVEMENT, DIRECTION), ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BODY, etc. This is shown in the following examples: Germany *built* a strong economy (BUILDING); the *growth* of the economy (HUMAN, PLANTS); They *pruned* the budget (PLANTS); China's economy *is galloping ahead* (ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR) (Kövecses 2002).

The prevailing conceptual metaphor in the language of business and economics, however, is THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor, where the economic system is personified, i.e. conceptualised as a person. Mason (1990: 19) claims that "[i]f language basically enables people to talk to one another about the interactions of human beings in the physical world, it is not surprising that we should conceptualise the interactions of abstract processes and qualities through personification". Personification, according to Kövecses (2002: 35), may be conceived of "as a form of ontological metaphor", where "human qualities are given to nonhuman entities." Personification allows us to "comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 33). Thus, financial organisations may be conceptualised as people at the lexical level, e.g. *stakeholder*, *raider*, *white knight*, *parent* company, *sister* company, etc. (Charteris-Black 2004: 140), producing the FINANCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. Therefore, abstract complex systems, such as economy and economic organisations, by means of "*animate* system of metaphors" (Charteris-Black 2004: 135), are made anthropomorphic hence easier to understand and deal with because "the abstract is made tangible and given meaning through the use of conventional knowledge about the existence and behaviour of living things."

(Charteris-Black 2000: 158-159). In the overarching THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor, economy is conceptualised as a human being who, as such, possesses the body parts inherent to a human body, which is illustrated by several examples from our data collection in English and Serbian:

- (1) The financial sector is the life blood² of any economy. (*FT*, 6 July 2009)
- (2) "Moramo naći mehanizam kako da otklonimo zastoje u tom odnosu i da obnovimo krvotok crnogorske ekonomije", rekao je Đukanović na sastanku s privrednicima i bankarima. (*EMportal*, 1 Dec 2009)
- (3) History has shown that a vibrant, dynamic financial system is at the heart of a vibrant, dynamic economy. (*FT*, 8 Feb 2009)
- (4) Očigledno je da se kriza širi, rekao je on, priznajući prvi put da je ona prethodno opisana kao globalna, a da je sada dodirnula i samo sreće ruske ekonomije. (*EMportal*, 19 Nov 2008)
- (5) They struck at our military and economic nerve centers. (*FT*, 2 Dec 2009)
- (6) Monetarna politika je upravo taj informacioni "bug" ubačen u najosetljivije tkivo, sam nervni centar moderne ekonomije, finansijska tržišta. (*E-novine*, 23 Dec 2008)

The ECONOMY IS A PERSON metaphor, or more precisely the ECONOMY IS THE HUMAN BODY metaphor, "can be subsumed under the general cognitive mode of EMBODIMENT" (Musolff 2004: 60), where various parts of the body, such as *the life blood*, *the heart*, *nerve centers*, etc. in our examples, "are specially utilized in metaphorical comprehension" (Kövecses 2002: 16). Kövecses stresses that "[t]he 'embodiment' of meaning is perhaps the central idea of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor" (2002: 16). The examples above show that both English and Serbian draw heavily on the human body as the source domain, and that the heart and nerve centers serve as familiar, prototypical conceptualisations of the human body being viewed as the seat of emotion and the seat of reason, respectively.

We will proceed now to a more specific, the ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor, in which health and illness as aspects of the human body are frequently used as metaphorical source domains.

3. THE ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON METAPHOR

The ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor is "anthropomorphic and animate" (Charteris-Black 2004: 140) as it describes the functioning of the economy by means of personification. Being personified, the economy, like all human beings, may get sick and require the cure. As Charteris-Black claims (2004: 149-50), "[m]etaphors of health and illness are very common ways through which to communicate positive and negative evaluations in discourse". It is very common to conceptualise "social entities that are experiencing problems as if these problems were types of illness and the stages of these problems in terms of the stages of an illness." (Charteris-Black 2004: 150). The fact that the health and illness metaphors are so ubiquitous in discourse is accounted for by Charteris-Black (2004: 150), who claims that "[s]ince most of us have experienced loss of health at some point in our lives, this is an easily accessible conceptual frame." The ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor allows us to make sense of this particular phenomenon in human terms, "terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motiva-

² Henceforth, all metaphorical expressions in the examples will be underlined.

tions, goals, actions, and characteristics" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 34). The conceptualisation of the economy as a sick person implies that "the economy is a passive entity whose condition can be influenced by the right decisions; this perception permits the economist to present himself as a doctor or surgeon who can take an active role in influencing economic events." (Charteris-Black 2000: 157). This metaphor is, as Henderson (1982: 150) asserts, "a strong normative metaphor", since it implies that if the economy is conceptualised as a patient who is sick and in need of a medical treatment, then "the economist/politician is the physician/surgeon" who is in charge both of the patient and the cure of his illness. Charteris-Black (2004: 141) argues that the choice of metaphorical systems is also very significant in evaluative terms, claiming that "[t]he choice of animate or inanimate metaphor systems reflects an epistemological perspective as to whether or not the events described are conceptualised as being under human control", and predictable. However, in line with Lakoff and Johnson's definition of metaphor as a mapping or set of correspondences between two conceptual domains whose metaphorical structuring is partial in the sense that "[in] allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept [...], a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept" (1980: 10), as well as in line with metaphorical hiding and highlighting in Kövecses' terms (2002), the ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor foregrounds only some aspects of the target. A patient may die, their illness may be misdiagnosed, they may be killed by overdose, wrong prescriptions, etc. (Henderson 1982), and this is what this metaphor hides – its unwanted, undesirable and unfavourable aspects – the fact that economists are not capable of finding a panacea, a remedy for all diseases. As Charteris-Black (2000: 157) claims, "[i]t is an important illusion among economists that they have control over events, and this reflects in the doctor-patient metaphor system".

On the basis of our data collection we have identified several conceptual mappings contained in THE ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor. They will be discussed in the text to follow together with their implications and persuasive power in the discourse. We will also point out any interlinguistic and intercultural differences in the conceptualisation of the ECONOMY AS A SICK PERSON in English and Serbian, as well as the influence that English exerts on Serbian in this regard.

4. ECONOMY AS A SICK PERSON IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

The ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor is a metaphor whose source domain is the functioning of the human body which is mapped on the society's economic life. According to Šeškauskienė & Urbonaitė (2007: 69), "economic issues seem to give preference to conceptualising a variety of topical issues in terms of ailments, sickness and weaknesses of the human body rather than being in good shape and fit." The examples below corroborate this claim:

(7) According to the *FT*, the BIS said it was vital that thought be given to the ongoing structure of the financial system while the patient was still on life support. Efforts so far, it concluded, had been a "messy mixture of urgent treatment designed to stem the decline, combined with an emerging agenda for comprehensive reform to set the foundations for sustainable growth". (*FT*, 29 June 2009)

(8) Ms Merkel has used the language of medicine to justify her government's action. "Everyone has seen that intensive intervention was needed – if it were a hospital you would talk

- about the emergency room." (...) All the literature or evidence on how to deal with a banking crisis shows you that first you need a triage of the patients. (FT, 10 June 2009)
- (9) But policymakers tolerated and encouraged by their actions a massive surge in private and public debt and spending that has now left the economy enfeebled. (FT, 4 Jan 2010)
- (10) Dubai's recent economic malaise has spread to its smaller neighbour. (FT, 17 Nov 2009)
- (11) This was not enough to stimulate demand and revive a moribund economy. (FT, 7 Mar 2009)
- (12) ""Under these circumstances, economic vitality is weakening due to sluggish corporate investment." (30 Mar 2007)
- (13) But she said it "doesn't mean we have exhausted all the remedies" for the ailing economy. (FT, 24 Jan 2008)
- (14) On je istovremeno ocenio, komentarišući tekuće stanje zdravlja globalne ekonomije, da jedan od najvećih aktuelnih problema svetske privrede postojanje prevelikih zaliha. (*Biznis novine*, 18 Sep 2009)
- (15) Radi se o situaciji da je srpska privreda bolesna i trebaju joj lekovi. Mi smo u ovoj strategiji propisali lekove i, što se ti lekovi budu redovnije koristili, utoliko će srpska privreda brže da se podigne iz stanja u kome se nalazi." (*B92*, 18 May 2007)
- (16) Da nije gumarske industrije Tigar i Industrije odeće Prvi maj slobodno bi se moglo reći da je pirotska privreda odavno na kolenima, bez neke velike šanse da ponovo stane na noge. (*Danas*, 22 Jan 2007)

In all the examples above, economic systems are in the light of the current global financial crisis conceptualised as patients who are *ill* ("bolestan") and in need of *remedies* ("lekovi") and *urgent treatment*. However, both in English and Serbian, the severity of illness is assessed differently. It ranges from the minor ones, indicated by the *weakness of economic vitality* and *malaise*, through those moderate, implied by *enfeebled* and *ailing* economy, to major or extreme illnesses, when in English the economy as a patient is *on life support*, is *moribund* and needs to be *revived* but, since many economic sectors demand *intensive intervention*, a *triage of the patients* should be administered first. Extremely bad state of economic system is in Serbian illustrated by the expression which depicts certain economic sectors of the Serbian economy as being in such a critical state ("*na kolenima*") that any signs of their getting better again, i.e. *being back on their feet* ("*stati na noge*") are highly unlikely.

The selected examples show that both languages, English and Serbian, share the same underlying conceptual notion, that of the economy as a sick person or a patient, expressed by the same or similar metaphorical expressions. Furthermore, both languages share the overwhelming normative aspect of the ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor in which economic experts are assigned the role of a doctor or a physician who is expected to prescribe proper health care and treatment depending on the established diagnosis and severity of illness, though to a somewhat varying degree.

The qualitative analysis of our data collection has shown that several mappings may be identified in the general ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor. Thus, the healthy condition of the human body is perceived as health or the appropriate state of the economy; the symptoms of illnesses and illnesses themselves are viewed as bad or inappropriate state of the economy; the evaluation of economic problems is diagnosis, while the treatments of illness/disease are all the measures taken to solve economic problems. Proper medicine as mapped onto proper economic measures would lead to a recovery in both physical and abstract aspect. In the next sections of the paper we discuss in greater detail the underlying mappings of the ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor.

4.1. Good/bad economic conditions are health/a disease

HEALTH metaphors are an effective rhetorical device whose role is to impart positive evaluation. If the economy is the human body and if economic sectors are the organs of the human body, then as long as these organs function well, the economy performs well. Economic health is equivalent to an appropriate state of the economy in terms of successful economic policy, high economic growth, high employment rate, low inflation rate, etc. Therefore, it is extremely important to maintain the general well-being of the economy which, in turn, implies an active stance of economic experts who need to be vigilant so as to discern any signs of health deterioration and act accordingly.

(17) Japan's new Democratic party-led government has launched a review of how the country measures and reports economic output that could make it easier for analysts to monitor the economy's health. (*FT*, 15 Feb 2010)

(18) Evro je u Evropi uglavnom neznatno oscilirao oko juče dostignutog nivoa prema dolaru, posle neujednačenih podataka o stanju zdravlja ekonomije u nekim nemačkim pokrajinama. (*Biznis novine*, 27 Jan 2010)

Both the English and Serbian examples show not only conceptual matching in regard to perceiving good economic conditions as health, but also lexical matching, which is in line with the embodied grounding of this metaphor. In other words, they do not exhibit any relevant culture specific differences and strongly connote that excellent physical health of a person inevitably means, metaphorically speaking, the overall positive condition of all economic sectors.

Another "easily accessible conceptual frame" (Charteris-Black 2004: 150) in the conceptualisation of the economy is that of DISEASE or ILLNESS, when different conditions, phenomena and developments which cause problems, difficulties and impediments are conceptualised as the loss of health and "malfunction of a human body." (Šeškauskienė & Urbonaitė 2007: 71). Disease and sickness are undesirable states of the person which give rise to the impairment of bodily functions. When mapped onto the economy, this impairment causes severe disruptions and dysfunctions of economic systems. In English and Serbian alike, as the examples below show, the DISEASE metaphor may come in several lexical variations. In other words, both languages provide a great diversity of metaphorical expressions relating to the different types of disease:

(19) When global financial market turmoil first erupted in August last year, a common view was that while the US economy would catch flu, continental Europe might escape with just a cold. (*FT*, 10 Oct 2008)

(20) The US and Europe will certainly get more than a sneeze if the emerging economies catch a cold because of these loose policies. (*FT*, 12 Nov 2009)

(21) Kriza prolazi sama, kao kijavica ili grip (*Biznis novine*, 9 Feb 2009)

(22) Beše li poljski premijer ili predsednik taj koji je pre ove finansijske zavrzlane krizu dijagnosticirao kao običnu prehladu i predložio da se prema njoj tako ponašamo? (*FHM*, 29 June 2009)

(23) Preduzetnici koji su u poslovnoj vezi s velikim magnatima više su izloženi rizicima, jer kad se takvi magnati prehlade, mi dobijemo upalu pluća. (*RTV*, 29 Dec 2008)

(24) First, when the US economy catches pneumonia, everybody falls seriously ill. (*FT*, 19 May 2009)

(25) The patient is not responding. Liquidity infusions, co-ordinated rate cuts, state-sponsored bank bail-outs – nothing seems to be working. The London market is in cardiac arrest. (*FT*, 11 Oct 2008)

(26) Čitav blok tranzicionih zemalja doživeo je ekonomski infarkt u kojem su najviše stradali zaposleni. (*Glas javnosti*, 11 Nov 2008)

(27) The resignation of the finance minister would be a serious blow to Mr Hatoyama, who is fighting to contain the fallout from a political funding scandal and pass a record budget to revitalise Japan's anaemic economy. (*FT*, 5 Jan 2010)

(28) Globalna privreda izgleda počinje da se izvlači iz duboke recesije, ali će taj oporavak, po svoj prilici, biti "anemičan", smatraju analitičari. (*B92*, 30 June 2009)

(29) "They say that when America sneezes, Europe catches a cold, Asia develops pneumonia and Africa's tuberculosis gets worse. This is what we are beginning to see," he said. (*FT*, 22 Oct 2008)

The already noted conceptual overlapping lends support to the linguistic overlapping as well, witnessed by the use of the same metaphorical expressions. The analysis of the selected examples shows that the economy as a sick person suffers primarily from diseases which deteriorate the state of its physical health. The PHYSICAL HEALTH imagery is rich in both languages and it ranges from mild and innocuous ailments, such as *cold* or *sneeze* to serious and potentially lethal diseases and conditions such as *pneumonia* or *cardiac arrest*. With regard to the perceived detrimental effects of the economic crisis, the choice of metaphorical expressions varies in both languages. Minor, transitory economic difficulties experienced in the period of the crisis are conceptualised as the *cold* (*prehlada*) or *sneeze* (*kijavica*) in both data collection. However, *anemia* (*anemičan*), *pneumonia* (*upala pluća*), and *tuberculosis* (only in English) are the linguistic ways of communicating extremely negative and serious consequences of the crisis.

As we have already pointed out, there are no considerable differences in the lexical choices of the DISEASE metaphor between English and Serbian. We may suggest that the considerable overlapping of metaphorical expressions in Serbian with those in English may be attributed to their "borrowing" from English. More precisely, many examples in Serbian in our data collection are translations of the original English texts, which accounts for such a marked similarity of metaphorical expressions. The similarities may also stem from a rather unconscious borrowing of not only author's preference for certain metaphors but also her preference for positive or negative evaluations of some concepts carried by the given metaphor.

4.2. Evaluation of economic problems is diagnosis

Medical *diagnosis* (*dijagnoza*) as a metaphorical expression for giving evaluation to some unfavourable economic situation and *symptoms* (*simptomi*) as signs of economic (health) problems are yet additional examples of intercultural similarity, at both conceptual and linguistic level. In both English and Serbian they are used to stress the importance of identifying the real cause of the problems on the basis of the noted symptoms, as well as of undertaking the appropriate treatment and plans for follow-up. It is the job of a doctor to first be familiar with all the aspects of the normal functioning of the human body so that she can properly interpret the possible signs of health deterioration in order to administer the adequate treatment.

(30) Since they did not diagnose the disease, there is little popular *confidence that they know the cure*. (*FT*, 13 Jan 2009)

(31) I suspect they will continue to misdiagnose the crisis. (*FT*, 15 Feb 2009)

(32) Da isti simptomi ne znače i istu dijagnozu važi i za svetsku ekonomiju. (*Glas javnosti*, 19 Jan 2009)

(33) Prošlo je godinu dana od kada je najmoćnija svetska ekonomija osetila prve simptome ozbiljne ekonomske recesije. (*Politika*, 6 Oct 2009)

In this sub-metaphor, the economist assumes the role of a doctor/physician, a fully knowledgeable and competent person who is expected to successfully treat the ailments of economic body, and do everything to maintain its health. The economy being a patient who completely relies on the economist's expertise reflects an image of a passive entity prone to a complete control of economic agents and their potential misdiagnosis.

4.3. Solutions to economic problems are a medical treatment/cure

Upon establishing the proper diagnosis, the therapy or medical treatment as a way of dealing with the health problem via *remedies, cures (lekovi)* so as to *heal (izlečiti)* the patient, is used in both English and Serbian as a conceptual frame for the solutions to economic problems. In both languages the SOLUTIONS TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE A MEDICAL TREATMENT/CURE sub-metaphor stems from the common mapping – when the economy is perceived as ailing, proper measures need to be taken to remedy the situation. We shall illustrate this by the following examples from both data collections:

(34) If left alone and given the support of a zero-rate capital gains tax, small business start-ups could be the cure for what ails the US. (*FT*, 29 Jan 2010)

(35) Since the financial crisis erupted, remedies have focused on capital, equity and structure. (*FT*, 3 Nov 2009)

(36) If 2008 was the year of the financial crisis and 2009 of policy-induced healing, then 2010 will be the year of differentiation. (*FT*, 5 Jan 2010)

(37) Cure for subprime ills will take protracted effort. (*FT*, 18 May 2007)

(38) Mandatar nove slovenačke vlade Borut Pahor izjavio je da će borba sa finansijskom i ekonomskom krizom zahtevati od nove vlade aktivnu razvojnu politiku i podsticaje za lečenje privrede. (*EMportal*, 21 Nov 2008)

The majority of examples do not reveal how this treatment, i.e. a thorough reform of the economic and financial systems will be performed. We are only aware that the general course of therapy should be beneficial and produce much sought-after improvement of the situation, i.e. of economic good health.

4.4. Policies taking effect are a recovery

The *recovery* marks the end of intensive medication or, metaphorically speaking, frequently drastic economic measures, and in turn imparts a very positive evaluation of the economists' role and their expert knowledge in the application of the effective policies (i.e. treatment). The recovery strongly connotes life images since it heralds a step-by-step yet definite return to previous good health condition:

(39) World Economic Outlook showed "the recovery has started, financial markets are healing, and in most countries growth will be positive for the rest of the year as well as in 2010". (*FT*, 1 October 2009)

(40) Even if the recovery is anaemic, as last month's official figures suggested, companies will not avoid the insolvency risk. (*FT*, 5 Feb 2010)

(41) But the procedure will involve pain and a long convalescence. (*FT*, 18 May 2007)

(42) ECB smatra da privreda zone evra ulazi u period "stabilizovanja i postepenog oporavka", dok su dve najveće privrede Nemačka i Francuska iz recesije već izašle. (*Blic*, 15 Sep 2009)

- (43) Bolji izgledi za privredu ostvareni su zahvaljujući "dosad nezabeleženim" podsticajima evropskih vlada, koji su pomogli da se oživi privredna aktivnost... (*Blic*, 15 Sep 2009)
- (44) Američki milijarder Voren Bafet je u napisu za dnevnik "Njujork tajms" naveo da je prava poplava federalnog novca spasla finansijski sistem SAD i da je privreda te zemlje sada na putu sporog oporavka, prenela je agencija Blumberg. (*Biznis novine*, 19 Aug 2009)
- (45) Tranzicija kroz koju prolazi naša zemlja kao i ostale jugoistočne zemlje Evrope, jeste bolna, ali kažu bez toga nema izlečenja obolele privrede. Međutim, ako treba birati između brzog i bolnog ozdravljenja i usporenijeg ali manje bolnog ozdravljenja, onda je ovo drugo prihvatljivije za najveći broj građana. (*Glas javnosti*, 27 May 2007)
- (46) U takvim okolnostima, bežati od stečaja i pričati o tome koliko ko vrednuje svoju imovinu na papiru, zaista nije ništa drugo no izbegavanje suočavanja sa ogromnim problemom bez čijeg rešavanja srpska privreda ne može da stane na zdrave noge – smatraju ekonomisti. (*Biznis novine*, 19 Aug 2009)

No matter whether the recovery is *anaemic*, *gradual*, or *slow*, as some linguistic expressions suggest, it is linked with the improvement in economic terms and the restoration of faith in economists' judgements and implemented policies. The linguistic expressions such as *bolno ozdravljenje* in Serbian and *pain and a long convalescence* in English are reminiscent of the hardship the economy as a patient has endured until it has reached a relatively good state of health. In addition to *ozdravljenje* (*getting well, recovery*), there are some additional linguistic realisations in Serbian such as *oživeti* (*revive*) or *stati na zdrave noge* (*be back on one's feet*). Although there are no English counterparts in our data collection, both *revival* and *being back on one's feet* are common metaphorical expressions in English so their absence, i.e. presence in the Serbian data collection may not be accounted for as culturally specific difference.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper our main aim was to establish whether English and Serbian use the same cognitive and linguistic tools as manifested in the ECONOMY IS A (SICK) PERSON metaphor. Since our data collection is rather limited in terms of the total number of words, but nevertheless representative of the media from which it is excerpted, the findings need to be characterised as tentative. There is much similarity between English and Serbian both in terms of the sub-metaphors of the ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor and the linguistic expressions by which they are realised. It is also found that English exerts some influence on the ways this metaphor is linguistically realised in Serbian. Since a number of texts from which the examples of metaphorical expressions have been excerpted have been translated from English and then published in Serbian print or electronic media, it is clearly manifested in the same linguistic metaphors in the two languages. Moreover, being largely affected by the journalistic style of Anglo-American financial press and news media, Serbian authors tend to adapt their writing style so that it matches the style of the well-known and established business and financial press authors. Cognitively speaking, however, there is not much difference between the conceptualisation of the economy as a patient in the two languages – the sub-metaphors (or conceptual mappings), which reflect the nature of the underlying THE ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor, seem to be the same, as has been already illustrated by the examples from our data collection. It means that THE ECONOMY IS A SICK PERSON metaphor is "deeply entrenched in the cognition and reasoning of both cultures" (Šeškauskienė & Urbonaitė 2007: 72). It has the same, per-

suasive role in authentic discourse, shaping the way members of both speech communities understand and perceive the global financial crisis, thus having an important role in influencing judgement and modelling a particular worldview.

REFERENCES

1. Boers, F., (2000), "Enhancing metaphorical awareness in specialised reading", *English for Specific Purposes* 19, 137-147.
2. Cameron, L. and A. Deignan, (2006), "The Emergence of Metaphor in Discourse", *Applied Linguistics* 27(4), 671-690.
3. Charteris-Black, J. and A. Musolff, (2003), "'Battered hero' or 'innocent victim'? A comparative study of metaphors for euro trading in British and German financial reporting", *English for Specific Purposes* 22, 153-176.
4. Charteris-Black, J. and T. Ennis, (2001), "A Comparative Study of Metaphor in Spanish and English Financial Reporting", *English for Specific Purposes* 20, 249-266.
5. Charteris-Black, J., (2000), "Metaphor and vocabulary teaching in ESP economics", *English for Specific Purposes* 19, 149-165.
6. Charteris-Black, J., (2004), *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
7. Henderson, W., (1982), "Metaphor in economics", *Economics* 18, 147-157.
8. Kövecses, Z., (2002), *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
9. Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson, (1980), *Metaphors we live by*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.
10. Mason, M., (1990), "Dancing on Air: Analysis of a Passage from an Economics Textbook", *ELT Documents* 134, 16-28.
11. Musolff, A., (2004), "The Heart of the European Body Politic: British and German Perspectives on Europe's Central Organ", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 25 (5&6), 437-452.
12. Skorczynska, H. & A. Deignan, (2006), "Readership and Purpose in the Choice of Economics Metaphors", *Metaphor & Symbol* 21 (2), 87-104.
13. Šeškauskienė, I. and J. Urbonaitė, (2007), "HEALTH Metaphor in Political and Economic Discourse: a Cross-Linguistic Analysis", *Studies About Languages* (Kalbų Studijos), 11, 68-73.

KONCEPTUALIZACIJA SVETSKE EKONOMSKE KRIZE PUTEM METAFORE PRIVREDA JE BOLESNA OSOBA – KONTRASTIVNO ISTRAŽIVANJE ENGLESKOG I SRPSKOG

Nadežda Silaški, Tatjana Đurović

Pod teorijskim okriljem teorije pojmovnih metafora u radu se bavimo pojmovnom metaforom PRIVREDA JE OSOBA i njenom upotrebom za konceptualizaciju svetske ekonomske krize u popularnom ekonomskom diskursu u srpskom i engleskom jeziku. Cilj nam je da utvrdimo da li u engleskom i srpskom mogu da se pronađu univerzalni ili kulturno specifični aspekti ove metafore. Posebno istražujemo metaforičko viđenje privrede kao bolesne osobe kojoj je potrebno hitno lečenje raznih bolesti izazvanih ekonomskom krizom. Korpus našeg istraživanja prikupljen je iz različitih štampanih i elektronskih izvora namenjenih širokoj publici, te diskurs koji proučavamo u radu nazivamo popularnim ekonomskim diskursom. Takođe ističemo ubeđivačku moć metafore PRIVREDA JE BOLESNA OSOBA, te njeno funkcionisanje u diskursu kao snažnog instrumenta za oblikovanje željenih stavova kod govornika oba jezika.

Ključne reči: *pojmovna metafore, ekonomski diskurs, metafora PRIVREDA JE OSOBA, engleski, srpski*