

Health as the source domain for metaphorical mappings in English and Croatian

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Studij: Dvopredmetni sveučilišni diplomski studij mađarskog jezika i
književnosti i engleskog jezika i književnosti - nastavnički smjer

Mia Stajić

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Mentor: prof. dr. sc., Mario Brdar

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Abstract

This thesis describes the notion of conceptual metaphor in general, including its mapping concept, hence representing a basis for a further discussion at the very beginning. In the chapters following after, the term of a 'health metaphor' is introduced along with the areas in which health terms are used in a metaphoric sense. Economy, business, finance, and politics are covered through this thesis where metaphors used have been extracted from different research papers written and collected by different experts of the linguistic field. What is more, along with the English expressions and example sentences, there are Croatian equivalent terms and corresponding sentences listed and analysed too.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, mapping, health metaphor, business, finance, politics, economy

Sažetak

Ovaj diplomski rad opisuje pojam konceptualne metafore općenito, uključujući i konceptualno mapiranje, tako tvoreći bazu za daljnju raspravu odmah na samom početku rada. U poglavljima što slijede, predstavljen je pojam 'zdravstvene metafore', zajedno s područjima u kojima se zdravstveni pojmovi koriste kao metafora. Ekonomija, trgovina/promet, financije i politika obuhvaćeni su kroz ovaj rad gdje su navedene metafore izvučene iz razno raznih istraživačkih članaka, navedenih i skupljenih od različitih lingvističkih eksperata. Nadalje, zajedno s engleskim izrazima i primjerima rečenica, navedeni su i analizirani i hrvatski ekvivalentni izrazi i pripadajuće rečenice.

Ključne riječi: konceptualna metafora, mapiranje, zdravstvena metafora, trgovina, financije, politika, ekonomija

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1. Introduction

For centuries, metaphor was held to be just an ornament or adornment of cultured discourse. Metaphors are widely used and without their existence, the language would be so deprived of such an opulence.

However, as it pointed out by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their book *Metaphors We Live By*, while in traditional approaches “metaphor is a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish” (Lakoff, Johnson, 2003: 8), it is actually much more. For them, it is not mere ornament, but is an important part of ordinary language. They also claim that our conceptual system could not exist without metaphors, i.e. metaphors represent the system’s foundation from, i.e. language is “fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff, Johnson, 2003: 8). When it comes to the historical background of the metaphor itself, it goes back all the way to the time of Aristotle. He sees metaphor “as a matter of language in a traditional way” (Lakoff, 1993: 202).

Metaphors lie at the heart of language itself.

Kövecses (2005: 108) suggests that, according to the academics, languages in general “reveal a great deal of variation”. Taking that information into consideration, when it comes to metaphors, particularly conceptual metaphors, they also vary as the rest of the language depending on the “social divisions” and as the result they “constitute human experience”. He also suggests that variety of metaphors can be noticed clearly in the “social, cultural, stylistic, individual“ and other language varieties. In this research, the attention is on the diversity of conceptual metaphors in different areas of life, such as politics, business, nature, philosophy, etc.

The main concern of this thesis is to find and present ways in which the conceptual metaphors are expressed in these areas, and to determine their equivalents in Croatian, whether lexicalized or not.

In this thesis, I will discuss two main topics:

1. In which ways are the health terms used as a metaphor in different areas of interest, and where is the correlation between these fields (business, economy, nature, philosophy, politics, and finance).
2. What is the connection between English and Croatian terms used in the above listed fields and to present the quality of translation (including the level of lexicalization).

All in all, metaphors represent an inevitable part of today's language and communication. Through their use, we can express ourselves better and more thorough. Without them, one could not reach so many different levels which they enable.

Their variety enriches our language and hence broadens human communication in general.

The main aim of this paper is to analyse and display metaphors in general, and then to define and give exact corresponding examples of health metaphors in particular used in different areas of our everyday life (both in English and in Croatian).

2. The notion of a conceptual metaphor

The recognition of the importance of conceptual metaphor belongs to two of the most influential cognitive linguists and philosophers of the 20th century: George Lakoff and Michael Reddy. It was exposed in the late 1970's as the two linguists came to the unanimous conclusion, in their individual works, that metaphor is primarily conceptual, and then, only in the second place, comes linguistic, gestural, and visual part. (Lakoff, 2014)

They claim that we are surrounded by metaphors and cannot escape them in our everyday existence.

Reddy, according to Lakoff (2014), in the article *Mapping the brain's metaphor circuitry: metaphorical thought in everyday reason*, states that only through the conceptual metaphor can the abstract concepts of communication and ideas be understood. Furthermore, he suggests three crucial beliefs:

- Ideas Are Objects.
- Language Is a Container for Idea-Objects.
- Communication Is Sending Idea-Objects in Language-Containers.

According to Reddy, when it comes to communicating, both the speaker and the hearer have the same amount of responsibility. It is crucial that both parties are equally focused on the conversation because numbers of metaphors are hidden in every sentence and hence misunderstanding is inevitable due to the lack of concentration. Lakoff (2014) claims that

“what the hearer hears is very often not what the speaker intends”. That is why the statement above is important for the communication to be successful, and for the both parties to understand the meaning completely. What is more, Lakoff (2014) says that “a crucial thing we learn from this is that important abstract concepts are not merely understood via one conceptual metaphor, but via multiple conceptual metaphors that provide different understandings of the concepts”.

2.1. Conceptual metaphor and - mappings

I start this chapter with the two basic terms extremely important not only for this part, but for the rest of this thesis too, and these are:

- Source domain
- Target domain

To understand these terms, in the following lines, I offer an explanation coming from the two experts mentioned above, Lakoff and Johnson, who claim that, considering the term of conceptual mapping, two main sub terms “source domain” and “target domain” represent beginning point and final point in this metaphorical process. Meaning that “source domain” is a starting point “for sending objects in containers” all the way to the other, final point, i.e. “target domain”. This represents the “frame for communicating ideas via language” (2014)

As explained by Urbonaite and Šeškauskienė (2007: 1), source domain being something that one can see as physical and concrete, and target domain being something more abstract and mental.

As emphasized by Kövecses (2010), Sweetser (1990) contends that the conceptualization has its base in metaphor. She suggests that the principal metaphor is “mind-as-body”. What is more, the concept of knowing and/or understanding is closely linked to and conceptualized as seeing where ‘see’ means ‘to understand’ as in “I see the point”. According to Sweetser, this is one of our “most down-to-earth” metaphors.

2.2. *Metaphors We Live By*

In *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) George Lakoff and Mark Johnson analyse and then exemplify the importance of metaphors in everyday life.

The role of the main base for metaphors in our system carries our conceptual part of the system. The authors claim that we are simply unaware of the nature of our thoughts, a few think about the whole process which goes on inside that area. It is simply an automatic action. As already mentioned above, our conceptual system is based on metaphors, without our being aware of it.

In order for the reader to understand the concept metaphors even more clearly, I will, according to Lakoff and Johnson, illustrate the point by using one significant type of metaphor, viz. conduit metaphor. For better understanding, in the following lines, there are a few example sentences listed:

It's hard to get that idea across to him.

I gave you that idea.

Your reasons came through to us.

It's difficult to put my ideas into words.

The particularity of this type of metaphor lies in the fact that it is difficult to even notice for it blends in the sentence completely. It is very hard for the reader to realize there is even a metaphor there in the sentence.

Linguistic expressions are containers for meanings

This statement suggests that, no matter the context or the speaker, words and sentences have their own meanings. They are independent entities and do not rely upon the other circumstances surrounding them.

Meanings are objects

This statement entails that meanings exist for themselves; they are perfectly autonomous, no matter the people or the surrounding context.

However, the conduit metaphor does not always fit in every context that well. Here is an example sentence to corroborate this observation: “We need new alternative sources of energy.”

This sentence means completely different thing for the president of some oil company and for the teacher for instance, i.e. it has different meanings in different situations and with different participants. That is why the term of conduit metaphor does not always fit in every situation.

2.2.1. Conceptual metaphor - classification

In their book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson make a division of the conceptual metaphor into three separate parts: structural, ontological, and orientational metaphor.

I will now separately present each one of these briefly to make them clearer in order to facilitate easier understanding of the chapters that follow.

a) Structural metaphor

These are concepts that are understood and expressed in terms of another well-structured concept. The authors of the book give us an example of this type of metaphor through the ‘argument is war’ concept which can be seen in the following sentences:

Her statements are indefensible.

He shot down all my points.

I attacked every weak point in his statement.

b) Ontological metaphor

When talking about ontological metaphor, one can conclude that this term is strongly connected to events, activities or something abstract which is then seen in the form of an entity or something concrete. In this way, these kind of events, activities or some abstract things are easier for one to understand and perceive them as entities. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) present these metaphors through the example of inflation as an entity: *We need to combat inflation.*

Inflation makes me sick.

If there is much more inflation, we will never survive.

c) **Oriental metaphor**

This type of a metaphor is described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as closely related to spatial orientation and they give the examples of up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow.

In the following lines, there are types of orientational metaphor along with their example sentences listed:

happy is up;

I'm feeling up.

Thinking about her always gives me a lift.

conscious is up;

Get up.

He rises early in the morning.

sad is down

I'm feeling down.

He's really low these days.

unconscious is down

He fell asleep.

He sank into a coma.

health and life are up;

He' s at the peak of health.

He' s in top shape.

sickness and death are down

He fell ill.

He dropped dead.

having control/force is up;

I have control over her.

He's in a superior position.

being subject to control/force is down

He fell from power.

His power is on the decline.

more is up;

The number of books printed each year keeps going up.

less is down

His income fell last year.

foreseeable future events are up (and ahead)

All up coming events are listed in the paper.

What's coming up this week?

high status is up;

She'll rise to the top.

He's at the peak of his career.

low status is down

He's at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

She fell in status.

good is up;

Things are looking up.

bad is down

Things are at an all-time low.

virtue is up;

He is high-minded.

She has high standards.

depravity is down

That was a low trick.

That would be beneath me.

rational is up; emotional is down

The discussion fell to the emotional level, but I raised it back up to the rational plane.

3. Target domains structured by the health domain as the source in comparison

3.1. Economy, business and finance metaphors in English and Croatian

3.1.1. Economy

Health of the body and the mental system can be metaphorically connected to the country and its economy. Hence, when talking about the economic system of a country, one often describes it in terms of mental or physical body health. Both of these types are used in English and in Croatian. The following are certain instances that are the proof of this theory:

a) Body health

When talking about economy and market of a certain country, one can use the adjectives or nouns connected to the body health when describing it. Lifen Gao (2016: 8) lists the most common adjectives/nouns used when depicting the body health, and these are: strong/strength, weak/weakness, vital, ill, etc. He also lists examples of the usage when talking about the economy and economic market being weak and ill, or on the other side strong and vital.

b) Mental health

In this case, economic market is considered as a person who is under some kind of stress or pressure. The author of the article suggests these adjectives when describing the economy or the economic market being under the pressure or under the stress connecting instantly the mood of a human being when being in that kind of situation.

(Lifen Gao, 2016: 8)

Gao explains that “people attribute human features such as their feelings, their health condition to the non-human things to understand the unfamiliar and abstract concepts” (Lifen Gao 2016: 9).

Frank Boers (1999: 5) suggests in his research that health metaphor usage is somehow connected to the season of the year. How, one may ask, and he gives the thorough explanation where in winter, when one is more aware of their body condition (because of the illnesses which are more present in that time of the year; cold taking its toll), people tend to use health metaphors more often. Boers lists magazine “The Economist” which has served as his research base for ten years where he kept track of the authors of the mentioned magazine and their usage of the health metaphors. The final/definite conclusion suggests that health metaphors are applied more often in winter times as oppose to the warmer weather conditions.

The health and economy domains occur in a wide range of specific conceptual metaphors. In what follows I concentrate on the most important ones.

1. Economy is a sick person

When depicting the state of the economy/economic market, there are certain medical treatment terms which are used there. When the patient is sick, he or she needs some kind of a medication, which can be pills or, if the matter is more complicated, he or she must undergo surgery. Either way, the recovery part is crucial both in human and in economy case.

the patient (the American economy) was never as sick as he thought he was
a festering Palestinian-like sore in the Balkan that will poison the chances of peace
North Korea is not entirely immune from the world outside
to ease the pain of closing many steel mills
to seek a negotiated economic remedy
the market cure
A worker-owned firm is likely to be bad at short-term surgery that costs jobs
Has Japan lost its powers of recovery?

(Frank Boers 2013: 18)

Furthermore, Silaški and Đurović list more examples of the *Economy is a sick person* metaphor. These are (in English and Croatian):

1. 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)

2. 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)

3. Dubai's recent economic malaise has spread to its smaller neighbour. (FT, 17 Nov 2009)

3a Ključna slabost Hrvatske je visoka vanjska zaduženost gospodarstva [headline]. (www.nhs.hr., Oct 6, 2012).

3b 'Hrvatske ekonomske slabosti duboko su ukorijenjene' [headline]. (www.tportal.hr., Sep 23, 2014).

The Croatian translation is quite straightforward since there is a Croatian equivalent *slabost* in 3a and 3b for English 'malaise' (3). As for the compound 'economic malaise', I have found Croatian counterpart *ekonomske slabosti* (3b).

4. But she said it "doesn't mean we have exhausted all the remedies" for the ailing economy. (FT, 24 Jan 2008)

4a Je li planetarno oporezivanje 1 posto najbogatijih lijek za globalnu ekonomiju? [headline] (Večernji List, March 31, 2014).

In these examples, one can see a direct translation of 'remedies' (4) into Croatian *lijek* (4a). The only difference is a number where 'remedies' is plural and *lijek* is *singular*.

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

1. 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)

1a RATKO BOŠKOVIĆ Tajkuni kao dokaz zdravlja ekonomije [headline]. (Jutarnji List, Apr

2. 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)

2a Neliječena prehlada Agrokora dovela je do teškog oboljenja ekonomije u RH [headline]. (Večernji List, Dec 29, 2017).

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

3a ...ipak se u zadnje vrijeme događaju promjene i uprave tragaju za eksternim „infuzijama“ preko raznih stručnjaka: rent-a-manager nabave, rent-a-manager controlling-a, rent-a-manager prodaje. (www.instore.hr. InNabava, Dec 2013).

4. "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)

4a Početkom ove godine pokazalo se kako Agrokora boluje od mnogo ozbiljnije "bolesti" od prehlade, a objava "dijagnoze" na koljena je bacila veliki dio gospodarstva u Hrvatskoj te u zemljama regije, poput BiH, Slovenije i Srbije, gdje taj koncern također posluje. (Večernji List, Dec 29, 2017).

5. Post-election paralysis has dashed the hope that Germany could build quickly on its economic recovery and embrace reform. (E, Sep 24, 2005).

5a Ako se njihovi mandati ne bi produljili, tim bi sustavima prijetila možda čak i potpuna paraliza rada. (Direktno, Jan 9, 2016).

6. Japan's ailing economy [headline]. (E, May 31, 2001).

6a Nema, dakle, alternative bolnim reformskim potezima. (MojPosao,)

In the example sentences above, there are different kinds of translations. Straightforward ones are 'a cold' (2) as *prehlada* (2a); 'infusions' (3) as *infuzijama* (3a) where the case is different in Croatian than in English counterpart but the meaning stays the same; 'paralysis' (5) as *paraliza (rada)* (5a); and 'ailing' (6) as *bolnim* (6a) where there is a change in case but the meaning and the word class stay the same. In the sentence number 1

and 1a, there are counterparts ‘economy’s health’ (1) and *zdravlja ekonomije* (1a) where there is a slight change in the translation when it comes to the word order because of the nature of the Croatian language which is different from the English one. In the sentence number 4, one can see a variety of metaphors, some of them having their Croatian counterparts in 4a sentence, such as ‘catches a cold’ (4) as *boluje od prehlade* (4a) where the translation is not straightforward because of the nature Croatian where there is no term: *hvata prehladu*.

3. Evaluation of economic problems is diagnosis

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

1a *Upravo se iz navedenog razloga investitori moraju služiti određenim indikatorima kako bi dijagnosticirali zdravlje ekonomije općenito i utjecaj na određeni sektor odnosno kompaniju.* (Burza, April 18, 2002).

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

2a *Naprosto kriva dijagnoza i, temeljem iste, kriva terapija.* (Rifin, April 13, 2011).

In the first two sentences (1 and 1a) there is a direct and correct translation of ‘diagnose’ (1) into *dijagnosticirali* (1a). The only difference is that in the first sentence (1) they ‘diagnose the disease’ and in the second (1a) the ‘health’ (*zdravlje*) is being diagnosed. In the following example sentences there is a lexicalization where ‘misdiagnose’ (2) as a verb crosses into *kriva dijagnoza* (2a) as a noun but the meaning stays the same, there is just a change in the case.

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

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

1a *Američka ekonomija još nije posve zdrava. Liječenje se nastavlja [headline].* (Večernji List, June 27, 2013).

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

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

3a *Petrović: Srpska ekonomija daleko je od ozdravljenja [headline]. (Seebiz, March 2, 2016).*

4. *Harvard economist Jeffrey Sacks, (...) has applied in Russia the same macro-economic surgery as in Bolivia where he was economic advisor to the MNR government in 1985.*

(FT, Aug 20, 2001).

4a *Operacija 'Vajda' uspjela, kupljeno 80 posto dionica [headline]. (Lider, Dec 20, 2015).*

In the sentences above, there are three straightforward translation examples of key metaphors with minor changes in case, and these are: 'the cure' (1) as *liječenje* (1a), 'cure' (3) as *ozdravljenja* (3a) where there is a change in case but the meaning stays the same, and 'surgery' (4) as *operacija* (4a), which collocate mutually.

5. Policies taking effect are a recovery

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

1a *Roubini: Kvantitativno popuštanje ne djeluje zbog anemičnog oporavka ekonomije [headline]. (Seebiz, April 4, 2015).*

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

2a *Tranzicija je bila bolna, ali napredak je vidljiv [headline]. (Glas Slavonije, Jan 21, 2017).*

In the first two sentences (1) and (1a) there is a direct translation with a slight change in meaning since there is a change in case between English version: 'the recovery is anaemic' (1) and Croatian version: *anemičnog oporavka* (1a). In the sentences following, we have 'the procedure which involves pain' (1) and transition which was *bolna* ('painful'). There is a change in the word class between these two where 'pain' is a noun and 'painful' is an adjective.

When discussing one's physical appearance, *slim* and *fit* are adjectives which are often used in a positive context, however the negative connotation belongs to adjectives such as *fat*, *overweight* etc. The same adjectives can be applied when discussing economics which, with the health domain as a base, helps in illustrating the situation even more accurately than just using plane adjectives.

the American disease: an overweight monster

slimmed-down American companies are invading weaker European and Japanese markets

mass-firings (...) left a meaner and leaner corporate America in their wake

(Frank Boers 2013: 19)

Another division of health terms used in the area of economics is suggested by Urbonaite and Šeškauskienė (2007: 3), who have interlinked both political and economic metaphors in one group. Looking through this division, I have here extracted the ones that are connected to economy in some way:

1. Problem is illness/ malfunction.

economic recovery

=ekonomski oporavak

2. (Means of) improvement is medical treatment.

the largest of a few big donors (countries, banks)

=najveći od nekoliko velikih donatora (države, banke)

3. (Good) condition is (good) health.

health of its trading partners

=zdravlje/stanje njihovih trgovačkih partnera

4. Recurrent/ lasting too long is chronic.

chronic under-funding of higher education

=kronično nedovoljno financiranje visokog obrazovanja

5. Evaluation is diagnosis.

diagnosing the ills of the sugar industry

=dijagnosticiranje bolesti u industriji šećera

In all of the examples above that the authors have listed, the process of lexicalization

is not used as the right equivalents in Croatian are found and there is no need for lexicalization or finding an alternative translation.

3.1.2 Business

As I have already mentioned in the introductory chapter, conceptual metaphors are always made up of two significant parts, and these are “source domain” and “target domain”. Taking this formula into consideration, one can conclude that the term of *business*, and all its sub terms belong to this group of “target domains”, i.e. these are the terms or conceptual domains that we try to understand through the terms of “source domain”, which are in this case the terms connected to *health* (Kovacs, 2).

The author of the article *Conceptual Metaphors in Popular Business Discourse* uses pieces of information and examples from two magazines which are the most representative ones when it comes to business scene, presenting it both for those who are professional and non-professional ones considering the above-mentioned area. It is about *The Economist* and *The Guardian Weekly*. Based on these magazines, the author brings us these business-linked-health-metaphor examples (Croatian examples are also included):

Business is a human body

a) An appropriate condition of a company equals a healthy condition

1. *America is doing well, with relatively healthy growth in jobs.*

1a *Poslodavci u proizvodnom sektoru iznijeli su dosta robusna predviđanja o zapošljavanju, s prognozom od +33%, a zdrav rast zaposlenosti očekuje se još i u financijama, osiguranjima, u poslovima s nekretninama i sektoru poslovnih usluga (Manpower, March 13, 2018).*

2. *The overall economy still seems healthier than it has been for a long time.*

2a *Ako je posljedica, a čini se da jest, jer problem starosti populacije (koji je također demografski) jednako muči superbogatu i useljenicima privlačnu Njemačku (ili Nizozemsku, Dansku, Francusku... zapravo Europu uopće) kao i Hrvatsku, onda nikakve mjere “demografske revitalizacije” neće pomoći. Zdravija ekonomija hoće.*

(*Jutarnji List, Now 13, 2017*).

3. *The mainland's banks have never looked in better shape.*

3a *Američko gospodarstvo u boljoj formi od europskog [headline]. (Poslovni dnevnik, June 30, 2013).*

The direct translation examples from the above sentences without a change in meaning nor in word class or number are: ‘healthy’ (1) into *zdrav* (1a), ‘healthier’ (2) into *zdravija* (2a), and ‘in better shape’ (3) into *u boljoj formi* (3a).

4. *Mastercard is doing nicely.*

In all of the above sentences there are translation collocations without the change in meaning or lexicalization: ‘healthy’ (1) into *zdrav* (1a), ‘healthier’ (2) into *zdravija* (2a), and ‘in better shape’ (3) into *u boljoj formi* (3a).

b) Inappropriate conditions (difficulties, problems) equal diseases

1. *The economy remains strong despite the symptoms of „Dutch disease“.*

1a *Simptomi nizozemske bolesti u turizmu bit će sve izraženiji, ne trebamo dolijevati ulje na vatru [headline]. (Direktno, Oct 22, 2017).*

2. *The German company bought the ailing British volume car producer in 1994.*

2a *Ovo će biti godina bolne i polagane transformacije telekom industrije [headline]. (Poslovni dnevnik, March 3, 2014).*

3. *Most economies have been weak.*

3a *Slaba ekonomija potiče kriminal [headline]. (Poslovni dnevnik, Oct 13, 2008).*

4. *In general, Japanese companies are looking pale. But plenty are no at all fit.*

4a *Američka ekonomija u dobroj formi, no previše je siromašnih [headline]. (Seebiz, June 23, 2016).*

5. *The danger is that Wall Street's sneeze will bring a case of flu with it.*

5a *Kad Agrokor kihne, prehladi se cijela hrvatska ekonomija. (IndexHr,2017).*

In the example sentences above there are a few examples of direct translation without it involving lexicalization, and these are: ‘ailing’ (2) as *bolne* (2a), ‘fit’ (4) as *u dobroj formi* (4a). In the first sentences (1) and (1a) ‘symptoms of “Dutch disease”’ (1) has its equivalent in Croatian as *simptomi nizozemske bolesti* (1a) with a change in case between these two but meaning stays the same. ‘Weak’ (3) is translated as *slaba* (3a) where there is a change in number in the context of the sentences but not in the

meaning. In the fifth pair of sentence examples the ‘sneeze’ (5) part has its equivalent as *kihne* (5a) where there is a lexicalization in a way that the first one is a noun and the second one is a verb.

c) Economic measures equal medical treatments

1. *Equally unclear is how much money the donors actually want to give.*

1a *Da bi se donacija smatrala porezno priznatim troškom potrebno je ispuniti određene uvjete.. (ProfitirajHr, May 2, 2014).*

2. *Countries, including Austria, Britain, France and Germany were now trying their own ways to stop the bleeding.*

2a *Povijest propadanja: Država mora zaustaviti krvarenje sela [headline]. (Večernji List, Sep 20, 2013).*

3. *The bank say there is not much point in a bypass mechanism.*

3a *Odluka o načinu i uvjetima odobravanja kredita za premošćivanje nelikvidnosti bankama [headline]. (NN, March 18, 1998)*

4. *Dell has tried to develop a service division to remedy this.*

4a *Javna nabava – teško je izliječiti se od najniže cijene [headline]. (Lider, Dec 12, 2013).*

5. *They are not ready to swallow the nasty medicine of change. Reform is always painful.*

5a *Nakon što su pogođeni akteri u tom području postali žrtve dužničke krize i Washingtonskog konsenzusa, postoji razumljiv bijes među njima zbog činjenice da je ekonomski lijek koji su bili prisiljeni progutati doveo do tako dramatičnog fjaska. (UnicroHr, Nov 12, 2018).*

The direct translations of metaphor examples in the sentences above are: ‘to stop the bleeding’ (2) as *zaustaviti krvarenje sela* (2a), ‘bypass’ (3) as *premošćivanje* (3a), ‘to remedy’ (4) as *izliječiti* (4a), and ‘to swallow (the medicine)’ (5) as *progutati lijek* (5a). The only example where the word class is changed, i.e. lexicalization is present is in the first sentence where ‘donors’ (1) translates into *donacija* (1a) where both of the examples are nouns but with a change in meaning.

d) Recovery of an economy equals recovery of a patient

1. *The capital markets need time and money to get on their feet.*

1a *Donedavno otpisani Industrijski kombinat “Gaj”, čiji su radnici posljednjih godina štrajkom morali utjerivati plaće, ponovno staje na noge. (Večernji List, Aug 16, 2010).*

2. *Zambia's industry is coming back to life.*

2a HGspot se vraća u život, promet u četiri mjeseca skočio 30% [headline]. (Seebiz, June 18, 2015).

3. Only Fiat, coming round after a near death experience, is enjoying an exhilarating recovery.

4. Latin America's growth figures are boosted by recoveries from earlier collapses in Argentina.

4a Iznenađujuće dobar oporavak ekonomija Azije [headline]. (Poslovni dnevnik, Aug 17, 2009).

5. Low volatility is a reflection not of complacency, but a long period of healing in corporate America.

5a Burza će se oporaviti kad ekonomija doista ozdravi [headline]. (Lider, July 5, 2008).

In the example sentences above there are a few translation collocations without change word class and these are: 'is coming back to life' (2) into *se vraća u život* (2a) and 'get on their feet' (1) into *ponovno staje na noge* (1a) where there is a change in number because in the English version it is a third person plural and in the Croatian version it is a third person singular. Another collocation is 'healing' (5) into *oporaviti* and *ozdravi* (5a) where there is a change in a word class because 'healing' is a noun and these two are verbs.

e) Collapse of an economy/business equals death of a patient

1. It is too soon to write an obituary for traditional software.

2. It doesn't mean that the big guys are going to die overnight.

2a S druge strane, kada je riječ o izlascima s tržišta, kod nas, upozorava Josip Tica sa zagrebačkog Ekonomskog fakulteta, vjerojatno dominiraju stečajevi, dok su u drugim zemljama za "smrt" tvrtki najzaslužnije akvizicije. (Jutarnji List, Nov 14, 2017).

3. Hedge funds pass away all the time.

There is a direct translation of the metaphor 'to die' (2) into "*smrt*" (2a) where there is a change in a word class, i.e. lexicalization because 'to die' is a verb and *smrt* is a noun but the meaning stays the same.

Kovacs suggests that one could simply not discuss the area of business without using metaphors, at least a small amount of them. She claims that "the majority of abstract

expressions used in popular business discourse can be understood only through metaphors” (Kovacs 2006, 12). One cannot understand some world’s basic concepts like “life, argument, love, thought, society, etc.” without using metaphors as a link in explaining them more thoroughly and clearly.

3.1.3 Finance

Knowles (1996: 3) suggests the following:

Human beings are conceptually structured creatures whose conceptual system is responsible for their thought process and deeds. Given that this conceptual system which governs these processes is metaphorical in its essence, one can come to the conclusion that our thoughts and actions are essentially of a metaphoric nature.

During his research of financial documents, Knowles comes to the conclusion that a huge amount of health metaphors occur there and are inevitably used in order to depict a situation more thoroughly and accurately.

In his article, the author provides us with a list of words related to health used when talking about finance which he previously extracted from the Financial Times (FT) corpus of financial texts (6,000,000 words):

abort, addiction, ailing, alive, anaemic, anaesthetic, anatomy, appetite, atrophy, backbone, bill of health, bleed/blood, breath, bruise, casualty, choke, chronic, clone, collapse, complexion, contagion, convalesce, cripple, cure, debilitating, decline, depressed/depression, diet, disease, endemic, epidemic, exhaust, exposure, famine, fat, fatal, fatigue, fever, fit, geriatric, haemorrhage, hamstring, handicap, hangover, headache, health, healthy, hunger/hungry, hurt, immune, incubation, indigestion, infection, inject, injured, life, life-blood, limp, medicine, mid-life, miscarry, muscle, myopic, nerve, nourish, nurse, overweight, pain, palatable, palliative, panic, paralysis, patient, pulse, rally, recipe, recovery, recuperate, rehabilitation, relapse, resuscitate, revitalise, revive, robust, rupture, sanity, scar, shock, sick, sleepy, slim, stagger, starve, sterilisation, stomach, strength, stricken, suffer, support system, surgery, symptom, syndrome, teething, temperature, thin, tired, transplant, trauma, tumble,

umbilical, vibrant, viral, weak/weaken, wound

(Knowles 1996, p. 3, 4).

On the following pages, the author also provides us with example sentences including some of these words given above. I will list a few in order to show the context of their usage in a sentence:

ANAEMIC

Total assets were an anaemic 3.4%

ANAESTHETIC

(...) described the Bundesbank's actions as no more than an anaesthetic for the financial markets

APPETITE

I (...) jittery about the Canadian government's appetite for debt

BLEED

(...) borrowings of £800M as Pilkington continues to bleed cash

BREATH

The market paused for breath yesterday

CONTAGION

However, the collapse of Drexel Burnham Lambert, the US securities firm, [...] focused regulators' minds on the risk of contagion – that problems within one part of a company, perhaps unregulated, can quickly spill over into other areas

CONVALESCE

(...) although the Group is no longer on its death-bed, it is still in convalescence

DIET

The dollar needs a steady diet of good economic

FAMINE

Even the credit-worthy will practise what Kaufmans call 'capital frugality' – for the rest, it looks more like capital famine

GERIATRIC

The result was that Chrysler entered the recession with a geriatric range of cars

HAEMORRHAGE

(...) funds were haemorrhaging out of the Lira

HEALTH

(...) concern over the wider health of the banking sector

HUNGRY

(...) the banks are now hungry for assets

IMMUNE

Although the division was never expected to be immune from recession, news (...) knocked the shares down 16p to 224p (...)

INCUBATION

Chicago's long-awaited global trading weapon, Globex, opened in June after a five-year incubation

INJECT

(...) the Government plans to inject more than £1 billion

LIFE-BLOOD

(...) small businesses are the life-blood of the nation

MEDICINE

(...) the harsh medicine through which the ERM medicine achieves its end

MISCARRY

(...) the INO's plan to increase productivity miscarried

NURSE

(...) that Germany should have nursed the lira through

OVERWEIGHT

The company has been, for some time, overweight in Latin America

PATIENT

(...) the patient is alive but not yet available to run a marathon

PULSE

(...) to a pulse-raising £8.350

RECOVERY

Dollar makes tentative recovery

RELAPSE

(...) rather than relapse into another semi-recession

RESUSCITATE

(...) a desperate attempt to resuscitate the ailing tourist industry

REVITALISE

(...) to boost investment and revitalise the economy

SICK

We had a very sick balance-sheet

STARVE

(...) they are already starved of capital

STERILISE

This move helped to sterilise the massive intervention by the Bundesbank on the foreign exchanges

SUPPORT SYSTEM

He wanted to see duties of environmental care written into as many of the EC market support systems as possible

SURGERY

Now, under a new chairman, Mr John Curran, and extensive surgery to bring overheads in line with sales expectations (...)

SYNDROME

The familiar Nigerian syndrome of the central bank trying to contain inflation while the government spends [...]

TEMPERATURE

However, spurious stories raised the temperature in Unigate, ahead 6 at 360p

TRANSPLANT

Japanese car makers setting up transplant manufacturing operations in Europe

TRAUMA

He insisted yesterday that GM's financial traumas in North America not undermined any capital (...)

UMBILICAL

Stock Exchange severs its umbilical cord

WOUND

The Bank re-opened the wound at a critical stage

(Knowles 1996, p. 6, 7, 8)

The following are Croatian example sentences which include health terms used as metaphors in the financial context:

- 1. Grčka, kao i Hrvatska, ima velik apetit i uvozi puno, ali nema dovoljno daha da izvozom to pokrije pa ni kad se u bilancu uvrsti turizam. (Večernji List, May 15, 2015).*
- 2. Uostalom, pisao je Bild, 'dosta je dosta', misleći na 'krvarenje novca njemačkih poreznih obveznika' za transfuzije Grčkoj. (TportalHr, Sep 10, 2012).*
- 3. S obzirom na to da su brodske vozarine vrlo niske (posebice za tankere), a teško je reći kada će se oporaviti, nije vrijeme za gradnju novih skupih brodova. (Monitor, Aug 21, 2002).*
- 4. "3. maj" i "Brodosplit" imaju oko milijardu kuna obveza zbog kojih ne mogu doći do*

financijskog daha. (Monitor, Aug 21, 2002).

5. Širenje bankovne zaraze u Hrvatskoj u najgorem bi mogućem scenariju moglo “pojesti” samo jedan posto ukupne imovine banaka, a taj se gubitak u razvijenim zemljama procjenjuje na 20 posto. (Jutarnji List, Feb 3, 2009).

6. Zahvaljujući našim odlučnim i koordiniranim mjerama kod kuće i u cijelom G-20, svjetska ekonomija raste, a financijski sustav je u procesu ozdravljenja. (Jutarnji List, April 24, 2010).

7. Razvijene zemlje agresivno ubrizgavaju jeftin novac na financijska tržišta [headline]. (Poslovni dnevnik, May 19, 2013).

8. Može li Ina oživjeti Zagrebačku burzu? [headline] (Poslovni savjetnik, Sep 24, 2015).

9. Financijska industrija zaliječila rane [headline]. (Lider, May 30, 2010).

10. Valentić o uvođenju kune: Htjeli smo šok-terapijom eliminirati inflaciju [headline]. (Novi list, April 28, 2013).

In the sentence examples above (1-10), one can see health metaphors used in a financial content sentences in Croatian where for ‘appetite’ I have found *ima veliki apetit* (‘has a big appetite’) (1); for ‘bleed’ there is an example with *krvarenje* (‘bleeding’) (2) where lexicalization is present in that ‘bleed’ is a verb and *krvarenje* is a noun; for ‘recovery’ we have *će se oporaviti* (‘is going to recover’) (3) where again lexicalization takes place in that ‘recovery’ is a noun and *oporaviti* is a verb; ‘paused for breath’ has Croatian equivalent *doći do daha* (4) where there is no direct translation but rather changed; ‘contagion’ is *zaraze* (5) where there is a change in case but not in meaning or word class; ‘recovery’ is *u procesu ozdravljenja* (6), again not a straightforward translation; ‘inject’ has a Croatian equivalent of *ubrizgavaju* (7); ‘revitalise’ has *oživjeti* in Croatian (8); ‘wound’ is in collocation *zaliječila rane* (‘heal wounds’) (9); ‘shock therapy’ has a Croatian equivalent *šok terapija* (10).

3.2 Politics

According to Plato’s theory, when it comes to the function or, in this case, malfunction of the body, it greatly depends on the harmony between its parts. It is crucial for the parts (organs) to carry out their primary function/s. Otherwise, the whole system will not work properly and it will start to gradually fall apart. This is the common rule which can be applied in any other

area, including the politics and the “political body”. In order for a certain “political body” to succeed, its parts have to perform their roles properly since the system efficacy depends on it, or in this case, its “health” depends on it.

When it comes to politics, metaphor has an important role in helping politicians to express their beliefs, but also hide the parts they don’t want for the audience to know. It helps them in enriching their language which is their most powerful toll when discussing their parties, convincing people, and manipulating people’s minds into regaining their trust.

(Štrkalj Despot, 2016: 1, 2)

1. Problem is illness/ malfunction.

post-election paralysis, =postizborna paraliza

2. Problem is pain.

the political fallout is giving the party its biggest headache

=politički sukob zadaje stranci najveću glavobolju

When talking about political situation in a certain country, its condition can be described through different illnesses; depending on the seriousness of the situation, illnesses on different levels are picked out to depict it more precisely as oppose to using just plain adjectives, starting from those very serious ones like *plague, cancer, paralysis (kuga, rak, paraliza)*, to those lighter ones like *cold (prehlada)*. To corroborate this statement, I shall enlist some of the examples which are used in this context. (Urbonaite, Šeškanskiene 2007: 4). Here are the example sentences which include these illnesses, chosen by the authors of this Cross-Linguistic Analysis:

In this treatise, entitled *A dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, by Thomas Starkey (1989), an English political theorist and humanist lists three essential features, whose existence is of a crucial matter when it comes to a successful society. These are: health, strength, and beauty. Taking their order into concern, the first one is the most important one and without it, the following two features are worthless. The same rule can be applied to the political body and its system where health of the system is the first and most significant feature. Without it, the whole system would collapse instantly. Of course, there are different kinds of remedies which can help the body (the system) in order for them to function properly again.

Starkey suggests two main entities, these are: the body and the soul.

Firstly, he equates the body with the citizens in the country, and secondly, he equates the soul with „the civil order and political law administered by officers and rulers” (Starkey, 1989: 7).

Through its treatise, the author tries to come up with the formula for the perfect commonwealth. His research is, for this prevailing theme, often compared to Thomas More’s Utopia, with a slight difference between these two when it comes to fictional and practical world. Utopia is more concentrated on the fictional part than the practical use, while Starkey is more focused on the real problems in his country.

Secondly, the author puts an emphasis on the element of “strength” which is here portrayed as “the capacity of each body part to fulfil its tasks” (Starkey, 1989: 9).

Lastly, the element which is also mentioned and analysed by Thomas Starkey in *A Dialogue* is the element of “beauty”, but with the emphasis on the medieval-Christian one, which means that this kind of “beauty” is the one connected to the “normality of the body” and is not of aesthetic nature. This “normality” is also tightly linked to the natural order in a way that it is successful if it “mirrors the natural order”. On the other hand, any type of “deformity” represents a hazardous entity which can easily affect and destroy the “political organism”. In order for the “political organism” to be safe from these kinds of dangers, “the harmony of the proportions” is required and essential link in the whole process (1989: 10).

The part which differs Starkey from all his other predecessors is the fact that he applied the precept of “the interdependency of the body parts and of the necessity that they work together for the good of the whole” to an existing political structure (1989: 11).

However, according to the author, the most hazardous ones of all the elements are the “sicknesses of the mind” because they are much more difficult to discover and identify than it is for the “bodily diseases” (Starkey 1989: 67)

Overall conclusion as far as the health metaphor function in the politics area is concerned is that, without the health of the soul, it is impossible to acquire the health of the body.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, the areas of economy, business, finance, and politics are thoroughly covered as far as the usage of health terms as metaphors is concerned, in both English and Croatian examples. The variety of terms from health used in other areas is surprisingly wide. What is more, people are often not aware of the amount of conceptual metaphors in everyday communication. They use it unconsciously without realizing their background. As for the translation part, finding the right equivalent term in other language can be a challenging task. It is not easy bonding two different cultures and mind sets into one when translating such distinctive terms or set of words. In translation it often comes to lexicalization, i.e. creating new words in order to express a certain concept more accurately. Nevertheless, the range of equivalents found in different articles both online and in paper form is surprising. Finally, these kind of translated terms enrich our language and facilitate communication on a daily basis giving us a chance to express ourselves more accurately and hence to be understood even more precisely by the other side that is listening or reading.

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