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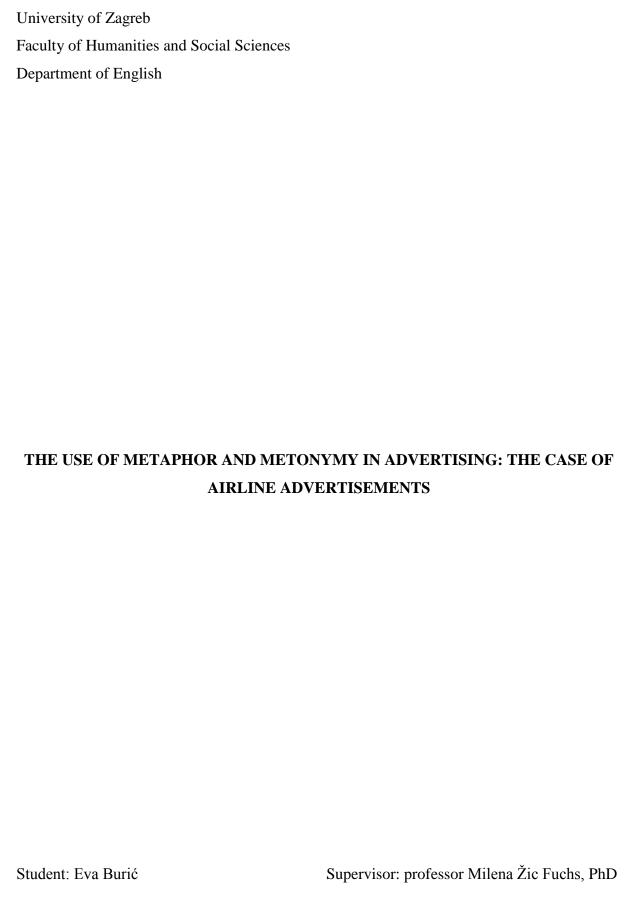Filozofski fakultet

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UPOTREBA METAFORE I METONIMIJE U REKLAMAMA: REKLAME ZA AVIOKOMPANIJE

Studentica: Eva Burić

Mentor: dr.sc. Milena Žic Fuchs, red. prof.

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University of Zagreb

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Department of English

THE USE OF METAPHOR AND METONYMY IN ADVERTISING: THE CASE OF AIRLINE ADVERTISEMENTS

Student: Eva Burić   Supervisor: professor Milena Žic Fuchs, PhD

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	Povjerenstvo	Committee
1.	dr. sc. Irena Zovko Dinković, izv. prof.	professor Irena Zovko Dinković, PhD
2.	dr. sc. Marina Grubišić, poslijedokt.	Marina Grubišić, PhD
3.	dr. sc. Milena Žic Fuchs, red. prof.	professor Milena Žic Fuchs, PhD

Abstract

We often associate metaphor and metonymy with poems and literary works. This paper builds on the idea that metaphor and metonymy are not just a matter of language alone; in fact, the two concepts can be found everywhere around us. We conceptualise the world through metaphors, and, according to some linguists, they are embedded in our minds; however, this claim cannot be taken as completely true due to lack of evidence. Human beings categorise the world around them through their bodies, so to a certain extent we conceptualise the world in the same way. What differs is the cultural approach: human experiences are heavily influenced by our bodies, but the difference lies in the fact that our surroundings (i.e. our culture) also affect the way we perceive the world. Similar to that claim, metaphor and metonymy cannot be separated from the human mind: many theories suggest that they influence the way we think, and they are grounded in our experience. Again, the difference can be observed through cultures: some metaphors are culturally-specific, while others can be found in different cultures. It is often the case that metaphor and metonymy go hand in hand, which leaves us with the difficult task of separating and distinguishing them. Based on the claims that metaphors are embedded the human mind, this paper analyses the use of metaphor and metonymy in printed airline advertisements that appear in magazines. By applying the theoretical framework onto these examples, analyses are made to establish why such methods are used and to what extent. This paper will show that advertisements such as these are usually multimodal, i.e. both pictorial and textual elements must be taken into consideration when analysing the airline advertisements. In addition, it seems that these advertisements rely more on metonymy than on metaphor.

Keywords: *metaphor*, *metonymy*, *metaphorical meaning*, *airline advertisements*

Sažetak

Metaforu i metonimiju često povezujemo s pjesmama i književnim djelima. Ovaj rad oslanja se na ideju da metafora i metonimija nisu samo pitanje jezika. Zapravo, ta dva pojma nalazimo svugdje oko nas. Mi konceptualiziramo svijet uz pomoć metafora i, prema nekim lingvistima, one su ukorijenjene u našim umovima; ipak, ova tvrdnja ne smije se u potpunosti prihvatiti zbog nedostatka dokaza. Ljudska bića kategoriziraju svijet oko sebe pomoću vlastitih tijela pa možemo reći da do određene mjere konceptualiziramo svijet na isti način. Ono gdje se očituje razlika je u kulturološkom pristupu: ljudska iskustva u velikoj su mjeri pod utjecajem naših tijela, ali razlika je u tome da i naša okolina (tj. kultura) utječe na našu percepciju svijeta. U skladu s time, metafora i metonimija ne mogu se odvojiti od ljudskog uma: mnoge teorije smatraju da utječu na način na koji razmišljamo i da su temelj naših iskustava. Međutim, razlika je u kulturama: neke metafore usko su vezane uz pojedine kulture, dok se druge mogu naći u različitim kulturama. Često se metafora i metonimija koriste zajedno, što nam otežava razdvajanje i razlikovanje te dvije pojavnosti. Ovaj rad temelji se na tvrdnjama kako je metafora dio ljudskog uma te se, shodno tome, u njemu analizira korištenje metafore i metonimije u tiskanim reklamama za aviokompanije koje se pojavljuju u časopisima. Primijenjujući teoriju na te primjere, radi se analiza kako bi se ustvrdilo zašto se one koriste i do koje mjere. Ovaj rad pokazat će da su takve reklame često multimodalne, tj. moraju se uzeti u obzir slikovni i tekstualni elementi kada se analiziraju reklame za aviokompanije. Osim toga, čini se kako se te reklame više oslanjaju na upotrebu metonimije nego metafore.

Ključne riječi: *metafora*, *metonimija*, *metaforičko značenje*, *reklame za aviokompanije*

Contents

1. Introduction

Metaphor and metonymy are often seen as stylistic devices which poets and writers use for various purposes, namely to enrich their poetic images. However, linguists have shown that there is more to metaphor than this. Based on the notion of embodiment[1], i.e. learning about the world around us through our bodies, linguists and philosophers have come to the conclusion that metaphor heavily permeates the human mind, but not just that. Some claim that metaphors are embedded in the human mind, while others disagree. This study will show that both positions are pertinent, since we cannot claim that one is correct and the other one is not. We must explain what impact these phenomena have on the human mind, i.e. what makes it possible for humans to understand and recognise metaphor and metonymy. As we have already mentioned, the question of whether metaphors are embedded in the human mind is a delicate one. One must take into consideration not only the mind and the language, but also the environment. This, in turn, leads to the problem of universality. Some metaphors seem to be universal, while others are specific to certain cultures. We will deal with this issue in the final part of the theoretical framework. Before we explore the issue of universality of metaphor and metonymy, we must first define the two phenomena. The main idea is to establish the difference between the old, classical view of metaphor and metonymy and the new, modern view which is mainly based on Cognitive Linguistics. However, the Cognitive Linguistic model also has certain issues when it comes to establishing clear borders between the two phenomena; some linguists claim there is no clear division between the two, while others rely on the question of the number of domains (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:238-239)[2]. In addition, relevant to our research in the analysis, we also differentiate between *monomodal* and *multimodal* metaphors. After having established the main characteristics of metaphor and metonymy, as well as the problems which may arise when we try to clearly define a boundary between the two, we move on to our analysis. The main focus of the study's analysis is the use of metaphor and metonymy in advertisements, focusing specifically on printed airline advertisements. The main aim is to explain why these two phenomena are being used and to

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[1] The embodiment theory is based on the idea that reason cannot be separated from the human body; it is shaped by our sensorimotor system. This, in turn, also affects the relationship between the mind and the language, since reason is not just literal, but rather metaphorical in nature. For more on the embodiment principle see chapter 2.1., and Lakoff (1999).

[2] The relationship between metaphor and metonymy will be explored in the chapter 2.4.

what extent. The goal is to see how and why metaphor and metonymy can be used in these advertisements, as well as to analyse the aforementioned issue of cultural variation and universality. The advertisements which appear in this paper have been retrieved on-line and are available to everyone. The sources are provided in the references.

This paper is divided into two major chapters: the theoretical framework and the analysis. The theoretical part deals with the definitions and principal characteristics of both metaphor and metonymy. It is divided into several subchapters, and each subchapter summarises the main aspects of the two phenomena. In addition, the final subchapter deals with the issue of universality. In the analysis the main focus is placed on the implementation of theory onto the examples, the five printed airline advertisements.

2. Theoretical framework

In the following chapters, an overview of the main characteristics of metaphor and metonymy will be given, as well as a short discussion on the problems which may arise when we try to establish a clear boundary between the two phenomena. In addition, one of the subchapters will deal with cultural variation, i.e. how cultural differences affect the way we see and understand certain metaphors. In order to analyse why certain metaphors seem to be universal, while others are culturally specific, we must first look at how the human mind functions when it comes to our view of the world.

2.1. Conceptualisation, Categorisation, Embodiment

Many people associate metaphor and metonymy with literature and poetry. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) went even further and claimed that metaphor was usually viewed as a matter of language alone. However, in their research they have found that one cannot simply negate the influence of metaphor on our conceptual systems (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:3). In other words, metaphor cannot only be associated with language; we must not separate metaphor from our minds. They influence the way we think and conceptualise the world. The human mind also functions through categories. In Lakoff and Johnson's work *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999:17), it is stated that "[E]very living being categorizes". Categories help us distinguish the world in a clearer way; without categorisation, humans (maybe even living beings) would probably be unable to survive due to the chaos in their minds (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:18). Categorisation is based on how we perceive the world. We sort out concepts into various categories depending on certain characteristics. In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1999:18) believe that categorisation is a direct "consequence of how we are embodied". The embodiment hypothesis is based on our bodies' interaction with the real world, i.e. we interact with the world and learn about it through our bodies. Kövecses (2005:285) claims that the human body is essentially universal, which means that certain experiences are shared, which can lead to the creation of universal metaphors (i.e. metaphors which are shared and understood universally among humans). However, he adds that metaphors can also be influenced by our personal experiences, which, in turn, may vary. These experiences can be the cause of metaphor variation, i.e. the creation of metaphors which are not shared universally, a phenomenon which will be explored later on in the study. The embodiment hypothesis supports the idea that "human concepts are not just reflections of

an external reality, but that they are crucially shaped by our bodies and brains, especially by our sensorimotor system" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:22). In other words, we learn through bodily experience, e. g. touch, smell, sight, etc. Therefore, our conceptual system plays an important role in how we view and experience the world, and if we were to say that our conceptual system is mostly metaphorical, this would mean that metaphor is crucial when it comes to our conceptualisation and perception of the world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:3). However, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) suggest, it is very difficult to be aware of our conceptual systems, since we all act automatically. Nonetheless, one of the ways of observing human behaviour is through language. Based on linguistic evidence, they have concluded that our conceptual systems are metaphorical in nature (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:3). In other words, by examining the linguistic behaviour of speakers, they came to the conclusion that metaphor is reflected in language due to the fact that concepts can be metaphorical, and they can structure an everyday activity (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:3). The example Lakoff and Johnson (1980:4) offer is the following: the basic conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.

ARGUMENT IS WAR

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

As seen in the two examples, the fact that we can understand the concept of arguing through the concept of war is reflected in our language. Therefore, it is not a matter of language alone; we conceptualise arguments in terms of war, e.g. we *fight* with someone, we *win* or *lose* arguments, we *destroy* someone's argument, etc. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) agree that we can talk about arguments using the war metaphor because we conceptualise them that way; the metaphor is embedded in our thoughts and we are not conscious of it, but we do express it through language. Nevertheless, some linguists have challenged the idea that metaphors are embedded in the human mind. For instance, Steen (2011:68-69) claims that Lakoff and Johnson's idea that metaphors are "even neurally encoded in every individual's brain" has been challenged by researchers who do not work in the field of Cognitive Linguistics. Steen (2011:69-70) goes on to enumerate various hypotheses about the relationship between metaphor and thought in order to show that if one wants to collect evidence to prove one's theory, one must be careful regarding the type of evidence in question. In other words, "what counts as evidence for one position does not necessarily count as such for another." (Steen, 2011:71) The existence of numerous hypotheses about the relationship between metaphor

and thought, as well as metaphor and language, shows us that we cannot firmly claim that one theory is correct, while the others are wrong; however, it is safe to say that metaphor does have a strong connection to the human mind.

When it comes to the relationship between embodiment and perception, we *see* spatial relations via our perceptual and conceptual systems (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:31). Even though we cannot see nearness or farness, we can observe it based on the position of certain objects, e. g. whether some objects are near or far from other landmarks (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:30). These spatial relationships can be the source of a type of metaphor called the *orientational* metaphor. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14) explain, "these spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment". In other words, we orientate ourselves in the real, physical world by using our bodies, and, as a result, we can apply this strategy to the physical objects in the real world. However, *orientational* metaphors can also give a concept a spatial orientation, such is the case with HAPPY IS UP, which results in examples such as *You're in* high *spirits*. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:14-15). One must not forget about the importance of experience, as well as culture. What must be emphasised once again is cultural variation[3]. For instance, in some cultures *orientational* metaphors may vary. Therefore, in most Western cultures, the future is seen as being in front of us; however, some cultures perceive it as it being behind (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:14). For example, speakers of the Aymara language believe that the past is in front of them because they have already experienced it and can, therefore, see it, while the future is behind them because they cannot see it, and it represents something unknown (Žic Fuchs, 2009:30).[4] Nevertheless, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:41) cite Fillmore's observation that English sometimes mixes the two perceptions, resulting in examples such as *We're looking* ahead *to the* following *weeks.*, *ahead* being in front of us, while *following* being behind, even though both come to mean the same thing, a future event. It seems that our

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[3] The issue of cultural variation and its effect on metaphor and metonymy will be explored in chapter 2.5. Also see: Kövecses (2005).

[4] In addition, another problem in the analysis of the conceptualisation of time in different cultures might be the fact that many researchers take as a starting point the way most Western cultures perceive time, namely dividing time into three parts (past, present, future). That is why we cannot talk about a universal model of perceiving time (Žic Fuchs, 2009:16, 32). For more information on how time is perceived in different cultures, see Žic Fuchs (2009:13-36).

bodies, and our minds, play an important role when it comes to conceptualisation of the world.

2.2.Metaphor

Metaphor is often seen as a linguistic tool which poets use in order to enrich their style; however, as it has already been mentioned above, metaphor is not a matter of language alone. Gibbs Jr. (2008:3) describes it as "a fundamental scheme by which people conceptualize the world and their own activities". In his introduction to *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*, he emphasises the modern view of metaphor as "a natural outcome of human minds" (Gibbs Jr., 2008:4). In the past, linguists have focused less on the interdisciplinary quality of metaphors and have studied metaphor based on isolated linguistic examples, whereas nowadays it is clear that metaphor permeates the human mind and its ability to perceive the world (Gibbs Jr., 2008:3-4). As Lakoff explains (1993:203), "the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another". Cognitive Linguistics supports this view, since it claims that metaphors can be expressed in nonverbal ways, e.g. through pictures and gestures (Grady, 2007:189), a theory which we explore later on in the study. Croft and Cruse (2004:193), for instance, discuss the usage of figurative language, as well as what motivation speakers have when they use it. Among the possible reasons one might use figurative language, they say that "the figurative use may simply be more attention-grabbing or it may conjure up a complex image not attainable any other way" (2004:193), something which can be applied to advertisements.

The old theory that "everyday language had no metaphor" and that "metaphor used mechanisms outside the realm of everyday conventional language" (Lakoff, 1993:202) was replaced by the contemporary theory, first explained by Michael Reddy. His paper showed that ordinary language is quite metaphorical, unlike the previous idea that metaphor is reserved for poetic language only. In fact, Lakoff (1993:204) enumerates some traditional assumptions, such as the assumption that "all everyday conventional language is literal, and none is metaphorical" or that "all subject matter can be comprehended literally, without metaphor". The classical theory also supported the idea that, to reach a metaphorical interpretation of a sentence or an expression, one must start with the literal meaning and, after some careful thinking, arrive at the metaphorical one (Lakoff, 1993:205). Croft and Cruse

(2004:194) claim that metaphorical meaning is not a special kind of meaning, but rather a special way of construing meaning. Glucksberg (2008:68-69) enumerates three very important generalisations which characterise metaphor comprehension:

1. Metaphor comprehension is automatic. In addition, literal meaning does not have priority, meaning that people do not find it easier and quicker to understand literal meaning as opposed to the metaphorical one.
2. Metaphors are rarely understood through comparison.
3. Metaphors and similes are not interchangeable; they express different meanings.

Regarding the priority of the literal, based on various research, Glucksberg (2008:69-70) comes to the conclusion that the human mind processes literal and metaphorical meaning equally quickly. In addition, they are processed in parallel, which means neither has priority. Finally, "neither literal nor metaphorical meanings can be ignored" (Glucksberg, 2008:70). When either is present, it is processed by the human mind.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5, their emphasis), "*the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*", and this claim can be explained on the example of the basic conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) is based on the notion of mapping (Grady, 2007:190). This means that we understand one concept (love) in terms of another concept (journey). Therefore, conceptual metaphors consist of a source domain and a target domain. As Grady (2007:190) explains, "the source domain of a metaphor supplies the language and imagery which are used to refer to the domain which is actually at issue in the discourse". We take the main characteristics of the source domain (here: journey), and we apply it to the target domain (love). Forceville (2009:20) argues that "in order to master abstract concepts, humans systematically comprehend them in terms of concrete concepts." According to CMT, the metaphor's target is abstract and the source is concrete (Forceville, 2009:20). Lakoff (1993:206-207) explains how the mapping system works by analysing the source and the target domain of the basic conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY: lovers correspond to travellers; love relationship corresponds to the vehicle; the common goal corresponds to the destination; finally, difficulties in the relationship correspond to various possible impediments during the journey. Forceville (2009:21-22), however, warns that CMT's claims about conceptual metaphors largely depend on the patterns detectable in verbal metaphors; he

believes that researchers should also focus on demonstrating that non-verbal and multimodal metaphors exist, as well as explain how they come to exist. Unlike *monomodal* metaphors, *multimodal* metaphors are those "whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes", and by using the terms "exclusively or predominantly", what is stressed is the fact that non-verbal metaphors often have targets and/or sources in different modes simultaneously (Forceville, 2009:24).

Forceville (2008:463) himself analyses multimodal metaphors, paying special attention to pictorial metaphors. He agrees on the following characteristics of such metaphors:

a. unlike their verbal counterparts, pictorial metaphors do seem to have a degree of perceptual immediacy;

b. multimodal representations have different, medium-determined ways of cueing the similarity between target and source domains;

c. pictorial and multimodal metaphors seem to have greater cross-cultural access than verbal ones;

d. it is probable that multimodal and pictorial metaphors have a stronger emotional appeal than their verbal counterparts (Forceville, 2008:463).

While pictorial metaphors are *monomodal*, meaning their source and target domains both belong to the visual scope, *multimodal* metaphors must meet the three criteria, according to Forceville (2008:469): the two phenomena belong to different categories, depending on the context; the two phenomena can be divided into source and target domains and shown in an 'A is B' format; lastly, the two phenomena belong to more than one sign system, sensory mode, or both. In his analysis of a Dutch advertisement for a TV channel, Forceville (2008:471) concludes that, if a metaphorical (and metonymical) meaning wants to be reached, context is vital. For instance, the advertisement shows a remote control in the shape of what appears to be a Swiss army knife, thus creating the metaphor REMOTE CONTROL PAD IS SWISS ARMY KNIFE (Forceville, 2008:471). The metaphor is understood through visual context: the image is also accompanied by the textual part which clearly indicates that it is an advertisement for a TV channel. Therefore, all the elements of the advertisement are crucial when it comes to the analysis and understanding of metaphorical meaning.

Another important thing to notice is the distinction between *metaphors* and *metaphorical expressions*. Metaphor refers to the conceptual mapping, like the aforementioned case LOVE IS

A JOURNEY, while metaphorical expressions are linguistic expressions sanctioned by mappings (Lakoff, 1993:209). Thus, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be expressed using various linguistic (metaphorical) expressions, such as *We reached a dead-end street.*; *This relationship isn't going anywhere.*; *Our relationship is off the track.*, etc. All of these different linguistic expressions have one thing in common: conceptual mapping. In other words, they express the idea that a relationship is in trouble by using the basic conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. There are two important characteristics which we link to metaphors: systematicity and directionality. As far as systematicity goes, when the elements of one domain are projected onto the elements of the other domain, this includes not only objects and properties characteristic of the domain, but also events, scenarios, and relations that characterise the domain (Grady, 2007:191). The other important characteristic of conceptual metaphors is asymmetrical directionality. As Grady (2007:191) explains, Lakoff and Johnson, as well as many other cognitive linguists, have stressed that directionality is one of the most emphasised features of conceptual metaphors. Indeed, when it comes to the mapping, we notice that reverse metaphors are usually not possible. For instance, the concept of weather can be used to describe a set of economic or political circumstances, but "the reverse metaphor is not possible, linguistically or conceptually" (Grady, 2007:191). That is why we can call the direction of a metaphor asymmetrical. Nevertheless, Grady (2007:193) warns that some metaphors are not as asymmetrical as stated above. For example, he cites Lakoff and Turner's discussion of "image metaphors" which are based on perceptual features, as well as those which are based on shared qualities that are not perceptual. One of the examples provided is the metaphor of a lion, which can be reversed: we believe that a lion is the "king of beasts", but we can even "equate a particular lion with a particular human exemplar of stout-heartedness" (Grady, 2007:193). Metaphors can also be sorted based on hierarchies of specificity; for instance, LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be a special case of the basic conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, since the latter is a broader category. (Grady, 2007:191) In addition, the mapping between the source and the target domain is determined by the so-called invariance principle: the mapping must not violate the basic topological structure of the target domain (Grady, 2007:191).

The aforementioned "image metaphors" can also be called *novel* metaphors, and we can distinguish them from *conventionalised* metaphors (Croft & Cruse, 2004:195). The examples given in Croft and Cruse's work are the following:

   a.   novel metaphor: Juliet is the sun. (Shakespeare)

b. conventionalised metaphor: Her anger boiled over. (2004:194-195)

The first example is form a literary work, while the second one is a typical example of the basic conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses, 2005:26). There is no definitive proof as to why certain metaphors become conventionalised, while others do not, but Lakoff and his colleagues believe that some metaphors are conventionalised over and over again across languages because of their cognitive significance, "which in turn is grounded in human significance" (Croft & Cruse, 2004:195). In order for a metaphor to become conventionalised, it has to be accepted by a sufficient number of speakers of a community. According to Croft and Cruse (2004:204-205), there are several stages in the life of a metaphor: when a novel metaphor appears, we use our innate metaphorical interpretative strategy; however, when a speech community starts to use the metaphor often, the character of the metaphor changes. The most noticeable change is in the sense of metaphoricity: at first, speakers are aware of its metaphorical meaning, but in time this gradually disappears (Croft & Cruse, 2004:205). In addition, the metaphor becomes part of our mental lexicon and, as a result, after a while we are able to retrieve it the same way as a literal expression. Finally, the metaphorical expression can act as a literal basis for further metaphorical extensions (Croft & Cruse, 2004:205), similar to what has been mentioned above when we were discussing the basic conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY and its 'hyponym' LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

2.3. Metonymy

When discussing metonymy, and its relation with metaphor, we must stress that it is a "cognitive phenomenon [...] whose role in the organization of meaning (semantics), utterance production and interpretation [...] is considerable" (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:236). In other words, much like metaphor, metonymy is not just a matter of language. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980:39) suggest, "[...] like metaphors, metonymic concepts structure not just our language but our thoughts, attitudes, and actions. [...] metonymic concepts are grounded in our experience." One of the first definitions[5], which appeared in ancient times, does not differ much from the one provided by Geeraerts: "[Metonymy is] a semantic link between two

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[5] "a trope that takes its expression from near and close things [...] by which we can comprehend a word that is not denominated by its proper word", in Panther and Thornburg (2007:237).

senses of a lexical item that is based on a relationship of contiguity between the referents of the expression in each of those senses" (in Panther & Thornburg 2007:237). Croft and Cruse (2004:216) enumerate various possible interpretations of metonymy, which can sometimes be very broad; however, in the narrow sense, metonymy "involves the use of an expression E with a default construal A to evoke a distinct construal B, where the connection between B and A is inferable by general principles". Indeed, Croft and Cruse warn that such a definition can also be applied to metaphor as well, so Cognitive Linguistics distinguishes metaphor from metonymy by stating that metaphor involves mapping from one conceptual domain onto another, different conceptual domain, whereas metonymy occurs within one conceptual domain (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:238). Radden and Kövecses' definition of metonymy supports this theory: "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same cognitive model." (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:239) Panther and Thornburg (2007:240), however, warn that the question of what actually constitutes one conceptual domain is still unanswered, and further research must be made on the topic. They cite Barcelona's proposition that speakers themselves rely on conscious folk models to determine the difference between one single domain versus two separate domains (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:240). This, in turn, depends on the speech communities, i.e. how they conceptualise the world around them (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:240). In addition, the primary function of metonymy is referential, where one entity stands for another, while the main function of metaphor is understanding (one thing in terms of another) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:36). However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:36) also warn that "metonymy is not merely a referential device" and that it also has the function of providing understanding. For instance, THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy does not function very well if we choose an unsuitable part to represent the whole. To exemplify, when we say *good heads* are needed on the project, we are not only using heads to stand for people, but precisely that one particular characteristic of the person which we associate with the head, and that is intelligence (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:36). If we were to say *We need* good hands *on the project.*, we would refer to good (physical) workers, i.e. people who perhaps work in construction or are skilled with their hands. Therefore, much like metaphor, metonymy serves some of the same purposes, but it also allows us to focus on specific characteristics of the parts we are referring to (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:37). The sometimes complex relationship between metaphor and metonymy will be explored in the following chapter.

In addition to the referential function, Panther and Thornburg (2007:246-247) enumerate three other possible types of metonymies, and these are *predicational* metonymy, *propositional* metonymy, and *illocutionary* metonymy. As far as the referential function goes, the example they use is the following: *The saxophone isn't performing tonight.* (the saxophone = the saxophone player) Predicational metonymy is explained through the example *The saxophone player had to leave early.*, meaning that he indeed left, and this belongs to the category where a potential event stands for an actual event. Propositional metonymy is a combination of referential and predicational metonymy: *The saxophone had to leave early.* 'The saxophone player left early.' involves metonymies such as MUSICAL INSTRUMENT FOR A MUSICIAN (referential) and OBLIGATORY ACTION FOR ACTUAL ACTION (predicational) (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:246). Finally, illocutionary metonymy has to do with pragmatics and speech acts. The idea is that "an attribute of a speech act can stand for the speech act itself", which can be applied to the following example: *Can you lend me your sweater?* (combining the hearer's ability to perform the action with the attempt to impose a more or less strong obligation on the hearer) (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:247). The last example has to do with politeness and using hedges.

Regarding metonymic mappings, Ruiz de Mendoza reduces them to two kinds: the source of the metonymic operation is in the target ("source-in-target" metonymy) or the other way around ("target-in-source" metonymy) (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:239). The examples are the following:

a. *The ham sandwich is waiting for his check.* (THE HAM SANDWICH is conceptualised as being within the target domain THE CUSTOMER);

b. *I broke the window.* (only one of the windowpanes is typically broken, not the whole window) (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:239).

Croft and Cruse (2004:217) argue that there are many types of associations that support metonymy; however, they stress the two most important ones — "intrinsic associations", inherent or relatively permanent, and "extrinsic associations", which are non-inherent. Among the intrinsic associations they recognise *part for whole/whole for part* metonymy, as in *I noticed several new faces tonight.* (faces = people) and *Do you need to use the bathroom?* (bathroom = toilet), respectively (Croft & Cruse, 2004:217). This type of intrinsic association will appear later on, when we analyse printed airline advertisements. Some examples for extrinsic associations in metonymy are the following: *Room 23 is not answering.* (the person

staying in room 23), and *The French fries in the corner is getting impatient.* (the customer who ordered French fires) (Croft & Cruse, 2004:217). As we can see from the given examples, extrinsic associations depend on the situation, since they apply to a specific person/customer. For instance, in the second example, we could easily say *The ham sandwich is waiting for his check.*, and this particular example appears in Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980:35).

From the usage point of view, metonymy has a number of important characteristics, such as *indexicality*, *foregrounding* target content and *backgrounding* source content, and *the strength of the metonymic link* (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:242). Indexicality has to do with the situation in which metonymy occurs. For example, if an observer sees that Mary's parking space has been taken by another car and that she is red in the face, they might interpret her reaction as a sign (index) of anger, which falls into the BODILY REACTION FOR EMOTION metonymy (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:242). Regarding the foregrounding of target content, if we analyse the sentence *The ulcer in room 506 needs a special diet.*, we will notice that the ulcer metonymically stands for the patient suffering from an ulcer; that way we are foregrounding the fact that the patient is suffering from an ulcer, which, in hospital terms, is important information (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:242). Finally, the strength of the metonymical link depends on the so-called *conceptual distance* between source and target and the *salience* of the source: as Panther and Thornburg explain, the compound *redhead* is more likely to designate a person than the term *toenail*, since *redhead* is conceptually closer to the concept PERSON (2007:242).

2.4.Metaphor and Metonymy

The purpose of the previous two chapters was to define and exemplify metaphor and metonymy; however, as we have seen so far, the relationship between the two phenomena is complex. Some of the cited definitions, like Croft and Cruse's (2004:216) and Lakoff and Johnsons' (1980:36), show us just how similar metaphor and metonymy can get. Although Cognitive Linguistics differentiates between the two by stating that metaphor involves two conceptual domains, while metonymy occurs within one domain (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:238), there are still a number of similarities, as well as cases in which metaphor and metonymy cross paths and function together. Radden claims that "prototypical cases of

metaphor and metonymy are situated at opposite ends of a continuous scale, with no clear dividing line between them" (in Croft & Cruse, 2004:217). Panther and Thornburg (2007:243) cite Goossens' coined term *metaphtonymy*, which influenced the work of Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco. The latter two analysed the expression *Don't bite the hand that feeds you.*, where the metonymic relation appears in the idea that the hand = person = feeder. In addition, this expression is then metaphorically mapped onto the target domain with the figurative meaning 'Don't turn against a person that supports you.' (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:243) Gibbs Jr. (1999:62) mentions one general rule-of-thumb for distinguishing metaphor from metonymy, and that is paraphrasing the metaphorical expression by using the 'is like' or 'X is like Y' constructions, as in *The creampuff was knocked out in the boxing match.* 'The boxer is like a creampuff' vs. *We need a new glove to play third base.* '*The third baseman is like a glove'.

Croft and Cruse (2004:219) agree that on certain occasions metaphor and metonymy are easily recognisable, and their distinctness is not compromised. However, other times their distinctness is not clear. Consider the following examples they have provided (2004:219-220):

a. The car stopped in front of the bakery.
b. A yellow Porsche drew up in front of the bakery.

As they explain, the first example can have a literal interpretation, namely the car rolled down the hill or street, and no driver was present. A more figurative interpretation would be to metonymically use *the car* to refer to 'the driver of the car'. But there is a third option, as Croft and Cruse explain, and that is to metaphorically attribute animacy to the car. In the second example *a yellow Porsche* might denote a single entity which combines the car and the driver (due to the verb *to draw up*), so neither metaphor nor metonymy has priority.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:37-39), metonymic concepts are systematic, and metonymies are neither random nor arbitrary. Some of the metonymic concepts listed in Lakoff and Johnson's work are the following: THE PART FOR THE WHOLE (*Get* your butt *over here!*), PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT (*He bought a* Ford.), CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED (Nixon *bombed Hanoi.*), etc. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:37-39) The same can be said of metaphorical concepts: "because the metaphorical concept is systematic, the language we use to talk about that aspect of the concept is systematic." (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:7) On the example of time,

and the common metaphorical concepts TIME IS MONEY/A RESOURCE/A VALUABLE COMMODITY, Lakoff and Johnson tried to prove that we (in our Western culture) perceive of time as something valuable; in other words, "we *act* as if time is a valuable commodity" and, subsequently "*conceive of* time that way" (their emphases, 1980:8-9). That is why the basic conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY seems quite lucrative, resulting in examples such as *Stop wasting my time!* or *We are running out of time.* The examples for other basic conceptual metaphors are the following: IDEAS ARE FOOD (*That argument* smells fishy.), IDEAS ARE PEOPLE (*He is the* father *of modern biology.*), LOVE IS MAGIC (*She* cast her spell *over me.*), and many others (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:46-49). Therefore, both metaphoric and metonymic concepts are systematic and not random; they are a product of the way we think about and conceptualise the world around us (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:39).

2.5. Cultural Variation

One of the possible definitions of culture is that it is "a set of shared understandings that characterise smaller or larger groups of people" (Kövecses, 2005:1), and this particular definition is not as exhaustive as it could be, but it stresses the idea of shared understandings which, in turn, connect people. Apart from the simplicity of the cited definition, we might even ask ourselves to what extent do people share these understandings and beliefs, i.e. we get to the problem of universality. Several times in this study we have stressed the fact that metaphor and metonymy are sometimes wrongly considered to be only figures of speech by a large number of people, and that many researchers and linguists have proven that there is more to metaphor and metonymy. We could, as Kövecses (2005:1,2) explains, analyse the relationship between culture and the two phenomena by studying literary works, but since metaphor (and metonymy) is not a matter of language alone, we have to look at the bigger picture. In fact, Kövecses (2005:2) poses two seemingly trivial, albeit quite important, questions: *to what extent do people share their metaphors?* and *to what extent do people around the world share their understandings of aspects of the world in which they live?* In other words, are all metaphors universal or are some culturally conditioned, and why.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3) claim that "our concepts structure what we perceive" and that "our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities". In fact, they support the idea that we learn about the world around us through our bodies, and we

21

categorise things as "a consequence of how we are embodied". (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:18) But do we all categorise our experience in the same way? Kövecses (2005:2,3), for instance, believes we perceive affection as warmth due to our childhood experiences, when our parents held and carried us, which lead to the creation of the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH, resulting in examples such as *We have a* warm *relationship.* It is an example of primary metaphor, one that is unconsciously and automatically acquired (Kövecses, 2005:3). Grady (2007:194) makes a similar claim when discussing primary metaphors: he says that "given that humans everywhere share the basic patterns of perception and experience that are reflected in primary metaphors, these patterns ought to show up in languages around the world." In the previous chapter, dealing with the relationship between metaphor and metonymy, the basic conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY was mentioned. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:8-9) agree that in our culture time is indeed perceived as something valuable; however, according to them, "this isn't a necessary way for human beings to conceptualize time; it is tied to our culture. There are cultures where time is none of these things." Does this mean that the abovementioned metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH is universal? Kövecses (2005:3) suggests that, because this is a universal bodily experience, this metaphor may be universal. He also claims that such primary metaphors are most likely to be universal, but the more complex ones, which have formed from the primary metaphors, are more likely to be culturally specific (Kövecses, 2005:4). Indeed, as we have seen already, there are other, nonuniversal metaphors, as well as examples of universal metaphors which have their nonuniversal varieties. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:22-24) discuss *spatialisation* metaphors which are deeply embedded in our culture. Some of the most typical examples they mention are the UP-DOWN metaphors, such as MORE IS UP/ GOOD IS UP. They conclude that sometimes the MORE IS UP metaphor holds priority over the GOOD IS UP metaphor, since there are examples such as *Inflation is rising.*, which is not a good thing. Essentially, "which values are given priority is partly a matter of the *subculture* one lives in and partly a matter of *personal values*." (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:23, emphasis mine). Therefore, in analysing cultural variation we must not forget that there are differences not only between various cultures, but also on a subcultural level. Regarding the universality of metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:24) agree that major orientational metaphors (UP-DOWN, IN-OUT, ACTIVE-PASSIVE, etc.) cut across all cultures, but which orientations matter more, or which concepts are oriented which way, may vary depending on the culture in question. In order to properly investigate cross-cultural differences and similarities, comparative metaphor studies must be carried out. For instance, Grady (2007:205) mentions Hiraga's comparative analysis of

Japanese and English metaphors; it seems that both Japanese and English link the domains of time and money, but they also conceptualise life through sport, even though Japanese does it through Sumo, while English does it through baseball.

Kövecses (2005:68) examines a whole range of possible reasons for metaphor variation. He believes that: a culture might use a set of different source domains for a particular target domain, or the other way around (one source domain for a set of target domains); sometimes two cultures/languages use roughly the same set of conceptual metaphors, but one culture/language has preferences for some of the metaphors employed; and that there are culturally-specific conceptual metaphors, which require culturally-specific source and target domains (Kövecses, 2005:68). Bearing that in mind, Kövecses (2005:68,70,86) analyses three types of metaphors: *congruent*, *alternative*, and *unique* metaphors. Congruent metaphors "are filled out in congruence with the generic schema" (2005:68); in other words, the metaphor is part of a generic schema which is then *filled out* differently in various cultures. The example provided is the following: the conceptual metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS THE PRESSURISED CONTAINER is present both in English and Japanese, but the Japanese language can expresses this metaphor through the concept of the belly (*hara*), something that English does not do (Kövecses, 2005:68) What this means is that the generic schema can be *interpreted* in a specific way depending on the culture: "the specific-level metaphors are instantiations of the generic-level one in the sense that they exhibit the same general structure" (Kövecses, 2005:69). Alternative metaphors occur when one language has one source domain for a particular target domain, while another language uses a different source for the same target domain (Kövecses, 2005:70). In addition, Kövecses (2005:82) brings up the concept of *preferential conceptualization*, and this occurs when two languages/cultures have many of the same conceptual metaphors for a given target domain, but their speakers decide to use a different set of metaphors for the given target. For instance, one of Kövecses' students, Niki Köves, conducted a study comparing the American and Hungarian view on life in order to see which metaphors are typically used in both languages; the shared metaphors came from the source domains GAME, JOURNEY, COMPROMISE, and WAR, but the most common American target domains were PRECIOUS POSSESSION, GAME, and JOURNEY, while the Hungarian side favoured STRUGGLE/WAR, COMPROMISE, and JOURNEY (Kövecses, 2005:83-85). Finally, unique metaphors are those which have both a culturally-specific source and target domain (Kövecses, 2005:86). However, examples of unique metaphors are difficult to find, since humans "do not easily invent either new sources in terms of which targets are conceptualized

or new targets that are the focus of conceptualization by more basic source domains." (Kövecses, 2005:86)

Panther and Thornburg (2007:254) reiterate the same questions and possible answers, but their focus is on metonymy. They agree that little work has been done so far on how metonymies function across languages; the basic question they pose is: "Are there conceptual metonymies that have the status of universals?" (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:254) In a number of comparative studies, namely between Hungarian and English, certain discrepancies occurred: for instance, the POTENTIALITY FOR ACTUALITY metonymy is exploited more extensively in English than in Hungarian, resulting in examples such as the English *Can you see him?* 'Do you see him?' and the Hungarian *Látod?* 'Do you see him?', where the usage of the modal verb *can* is not possible (Panther & Thornburg, 2007:254).

Earlier in the chapter we have mentioned that, apart from cross-cultural variations, metaphors can also vary within a culture. Since culture is a broad concept, we are unable to define it in its entirety, but not only that. Sometimes it seems that certain cultures are so rich and diverse that there are considerable differences within their scope, differences which can occur on a subcultural level. Kövecses (2005:88) suggests that variation happens due to social divisions and that we should look for variation in social, stylistic, individual, etc. dialects and variations. When it comes to the social level, the general conclusion Kövecses (2005:91) provides is that language communities "may employ differential metaphorical conceptualization along a social division that is relevant in that society." In addition, he agrees that metaphors can vary on an ethnic and regional level, as well as on a stylistic level. The individual dimension is very much related to the creative use of metaphor. It seems that individuals often have specific experiences which do not comply with the conventional patterns found in conventionalised conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2005:107). This leads to the creation of novel metaphors, in many cases specific to a certain person (e.g. news anchors) (Kövecses, 2005:107). The abovementioned examples show us that metaphor variation is a large field that needs further research, since we can safely say that it does not only occur between languages/cultures, but also within one culture, or even at an individual level. In the following chapter an analysis of five airline advertisements will be made to show that metaphor and metonymy work together in building meaning. In addition, the question of cultural variation will be brought up.
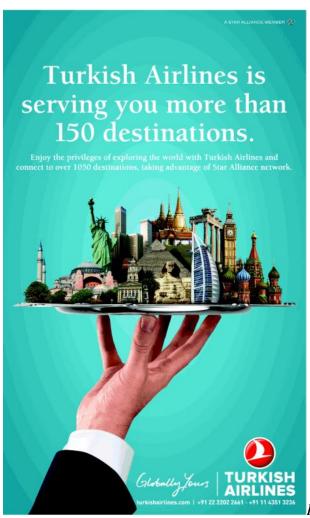
3. Analysis

EXAMPLE 1

Figure 1

In the first example we will look at the use of metaphor and metonymy in airline advertisements by analysing the advertisement for Turkish Airlines (see: *Figure 1*). In the picture we see a human hand holding a tray, and on that tray, instead of food, we see some of the world's most famous monuments. It is visible that the person is dressed in a suit, which emphasises the idea of a waiter providing high-quality service. The concept of metonymy prevails in this image: the hand (a body part) holding the tray represents the waiter (a person). This is an example of the part-whole metonymy, such was the case with *I noticed several new faces tonight* (faces = people) (Croft & Cruse, 2004:217). The same can be applied to the monuments in question. Each world-famous monument represents a destination, i.e. the city or country where it is located. For instance, Big Ben metonymically represents London; the

Statue of Liberty represents New York; the Moscow Kremlin symbolises Moscow; Hagia Sophia represents Istanbul; the pyramid in Giza is the symbol of Egypt; Burj Al Arab is a famous hotel which defines the skyline of Dubai. By showing pictures of famous monuments, it is implied that Turkish Airlines operates flights to numerous destinations all over the world; however, there is no need to write this explicitly, since we seem to automatically understand the meaning of the advertisement. In addition, the background is light blue, resembling the colour of the sky. Turkish Airlines is an airline company, and the mind connects the image of a waiter offering destinations with the image of an airline company doing the same. In addition, in the last few years, Turkish Airlines has won numerous awards for its on-board service, especially when it comes to food (they have an on-board chef).[6] Our brain processes this image by evoking our knowledge of the world, in this case the conventionalised images of famous monuments and the cities they are located in, and the mechanism we use is metonymy. Moreover, the authors of the advertisement rely on the fact that people will recognise these destinations. It must be taken into account that not all people will immediately identify each and every monument/destination, but the idea is that some of those will encourage potential customers to fly with Turkish Airlines. In addition to the image, the text says: *Turkish Airlines is serving you more than 150 destinations*. The use of the verb *to serve* further emphasises the image of a waiter bringing food on a tray. In other words, destinations are seen as food, so we might conclude that the conceptual metaphor is DESTINATIONS ARE FOOD, where the source domain is FOOD, while the target domain is DESTINATIONS. The makers of the advertisement have combined the visual and the textual formats so that the image and the text work together in order to clearly send a message to potential customers.

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[6] Website (retrieved: 2 October 2018,
https://www.forbes.com/sites/larryolmsted/2018/02/05/why-turkish-airlines-is-great-choice-for-your-travels-business-or-leisure/#7bec7ceb2363)

EXAMPLE 2

Paris, served fresh daily.

Emirates
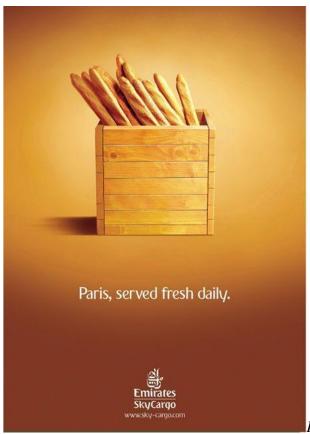SkyCargo
www.sky-cargo.com

Figure 2

The advertisement for the airline company Emirates SkyCargo can also be analysed through the basic conceptual metaphor DESTINATIONS ARE FOOD, as was the case with Turkish Airlines in the first example. The image of the box of bread combined with the textual part of the advertisement implies that Paris can be metaphorically delivered to your destination in the form of bread. In addition, the metaphor is once again accompanied by the use of metonymy. As seen in the picture, Paris, the capital of France, is represented by an image of bread in a box. The box is the same colour as the bread, while the background is a mixture of a shade of brown at the bottom and a brighter, yellowish colour around the box of bread, which gives the impression that some kind of bright light has been cast over the box of bread. This adds to a sense of warmth, possibly to be connected to fresh, still warm bread. Moreover, the type of bread in question has not been chosen randomly; we see a wooden box of baguettes, bread which is usually associated with France. But why is that so? Forceville (2017:29) discusses metaphor interpretation and comes to the conclusion that knowledge about the source domain can be broadly shared, i.e. not specific to a certain culture, or it can be "specific for a certain

(sub)cultural community". In this case, the central element, i.e. the source domain, is a box of baguettes. In the Oxford English Dictionary (1989:884) it is stated that one of the possible definitions of *baguette* is the following: "a long thin loaf of *French* bread, of various sizes in different regions" (emphasis mine). Therefore, a type of bread that symbolises France has been extended onto the capital of France. The metonymy principle used in this case is "part for whole": on the one hand, bread (baguette) represents France; on the other hand, the textual part of the advertisement points to Paris, so, in a way, we can conclude that Paris represents France. However, this leads us to the problem of universality: does everyone recognise the type of bread in question, and can everyone connect this bread to France? Forceville (2017:27) argues that one of the key questions we must take into consideration when analysing metaphors is what knowledge the target audience needs to have in order to interpret the metaphor correctly and "to interpret the metaphor by and large in the manner its sender *intends* it to be interpreted". In addition, we must carefully analyse this advertisement, since the Emirates SkyCargo company does not transport passengers, but various types of cargo. The advertisement implies that their service is so fast that they can 'serve' fresh bread, possibly made in Paris, to numerous destinations over the world, without any fear of the bread becoming stale. The text says: *Paris, served fresh daily.* In the previous example we noticed the use of the verb *to serve*. It appears again here; however, while in the previous example we saw a waiter serving food (i.e. destinations), here the image is different, although the idea stays the same. The passengers have been replaced by cargo, in this case bread. The company's logo also plays an important part, since it points to the fact that this daughter-company transports goods and cargo, not passengers: the main element which explains what exactly this company is transporting is the textual element below the logo (SkyCargo). If it were only for the logo, it would not be clear that only goods are transported.

EXAMPLE 3

Figure 3

The next advertisement we will be analysing is that of British Airways. The image shows what appears to be a safety pin. However, after a closer look, we notice that the safety pin is positioned to look like the nose of an aeroplane. What further emphasises this image is the logo which appears in the left-hand corner of the safety pin, just as it does on an actual British Airways aeroplane. The colours in the advertisement are red and blue, just like the company's logo. We might say that the conceptual metaphor is AEROPLANES ARE SAFETY PINS because a safety pin is usually used to fasten or tighten something. We might argue that aeroplanes 'hold' passengers together, not to mention the fact that seatbelts have almost the exact same function as safety pins. Therefore, the stress is on the safety of passengers. In addition, the image is accompanied by the text *Safe & Secure Flights*. The general idea behind this advertisement is that the aeroplanes which British Airways use in transporting their passengers are well-maintained and safe. Often by looking at the image and the slogan, one can easily recognise the message. Nevertheless, we must take into consideration other elements which appear in the advertisement. In this case, in the bottom-right corner, below the

29

slogan, the text reads: *New York now from London city*. Therefore, when analysing the advertisement, it is important to include extralinguistic elements which might determine why a certain metaphor was applied. In the case of aeroplane advertisements, one must take into consideration the targeted audience, since sometimes the metaphor chosen for a certain advertisement will depend on the country, or culture, in question. In this case it seems that the advertisement was meant for British passengers, or those passengers which are currently located in Britain and wish to travel to the United States. However, this particular advertisement might be a bit problematic, since some people might not immediately notice that the safety pin is shaped to look like an aeroplane nose. In fact, we cannot claim for a fact that this has to do with culture; some British citizens, or others for that matter, might not recognise what is in the picture, and this could lead to the misinterpretation of advertisements. Another important element is the logo. According to Koller (2009:53), brands often use logos which can be described through the metaphor BRANDS ARE PEOPLE or even BRANDS ARE LIVING ORGANISMS. In addition, logos are mostly multimodal[7], and they can combine pictorial and textual elements, as well as music and jingles, depending on the type of advertisement (Koller, 2009:53). In the case of British Airways, the logo consists of a red and blue stripe, which is accompanied by the company's name. It is suggested that many companies use curved logo elements (or "swooshes"), and these represent openness, dynamism, and global experience (Koller, 2009:59). By combining curved elements and the company's name, the whole logo becomes a multimodal metaphor where the target domain is in the verbal mode, while the source domain is in the visual mode (Koller, 2009:59). Therefore, the *visual* curved British Airways logo represents the company and the company's name. However, Koller (2009:58) also warns that it is questionable whether customers can recognise the symbolic meaning behind such logos, especially if we consider the fact that they probably only look at the logos superficially. But there is no doubt that brand logos play an important part in advertising. Customers can often recognise a company or brand just by looking at their logo.[8] However, it must be stressed that this is not the rule.

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[7]"Multimodal metaphor [...] is constituted by a mapping, or blending, of domains from different modes, e.g., visual and verbal, or visual and acoustic." (Koller, 2009:46).

[8] For more information on logos and how we interpret them see: Lora Starling, *The Logo Decoded: What Logos Can Do To You*, 2011.

EXAMPLE 4

Figure 4

British Airways has yet another interesting advertisement which features a 'wheel' of cheese that resembles an actual aeroplane engine. In order to understand the full meaning of this advertisement, we must include the text which reads: *We test our cheese as meticulously as we test our engines*. The main message is that workers of British Airways pay attention to everything, including the selection of cheese which they serve on board. The metonymy in this advertisement is the following: the engine (part) stands for the aeroplane (whole), and it is easily recognisable, even though the engine is made of cheese. The advertisement implies that BA workers test their engines as meticulously as they pick out their cheese. We might say that the conceptual metaphor presented here is AEROPLANE (ENGINE) IS FOOD (CHEESE), since the same amount of attention is paid to the selection and quality of said items. Therefore, the advertisement implies that British Airways find the choice of cheese (or generally food) equally important as their engines. The only element of this advertisement which some may find contradictory is the fact that the country which is best known for producing high-quality cheese is France, not The United Kingdom. Forceville's (2017) article analyses a few examples of advertisements where metaphor has not been employed clearly enough. The main problem lies in the fact that *people do not always interpret the features of the metaphor in the*

same way. In his words, "the challenge is to ensure that audiences map the "right" (kind of) features and associations from source to target in their interpretation of the metaphor" (Forceville, 2017:34). In the case of the 'cheese' engine, one can interpret the advertisement correctly, but it still makes one wonder why cheese has been chosen to represent a British aeroplane company. In addition, the 'cheese' engine element might cause misinterpretation due to two reasons: although the yellowish colour points to the fact that this might be cheese, this is not that clear at first; also, the first association one might have when seeing this image is that of an aeroplane wheel, not an engine. In this case the engine/wheel conundrum does not lead to any serious misinterpretation, but in some cases unclear advertisements may backfire.
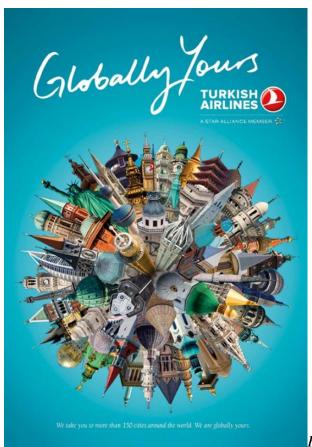
EXAMPLE 5

Figure 5

The Turkish Airlines advertisement in *Figure 5* is yet again a combination of pictorial and textual elements. We notice what seems to be a countless number of famous world monuments, which represent some of the world's most famous destinations/countries. The metonymy is clear: monument (part) for destination (whole). The same pattern was seen in the first example; again, it was an advertisement for Turkish Airlines, and we can also notice that certain monuments are repeated: Big Ben represents London; New York is symbolised by the Statue of Liberty; Burj Al Arab returns as the symbol of Dubai, as well as the Kremlin for Moscow. Again, we are able to recognise these monuments and process the image by evoking our knowledge of the world. The globe represents the Earth, and the background colour (light blue, as the sky) only confirms it, while the monuments represent the countries/destinations they are located in, which is clearly an example of metonymy (part for whole). That way our minds understand the meaning of the advertisement: the airline company has flights to many destinations across the globe. Indeed, unlike the first example, where a waiter symbolically 'served' destinations as food, here all these monuments shape what appears to be a globe,

which, in turn, represents the Earth. This image of a globe is further emphasised in the company's old slogan *Globally Yours*. In her analysis of the shape and meaning of companies' logos, Koller (2009:58-59) discussed the brand logo for Total (energy (oil and gas) company), explaining that the logo consists of several interlaced tapes in the shape of a ball or globe. The same can be applied to this example, although not necessarily to the logo. In this example, the globe is the central part of the advertisement and, as it has been mentioned above, it is combined with the old slogan, *Globally Yours*. The textual part of the advertisement reads: *We take you to more than 150 destinations around the world. We are globally yours.* In addition, we might even interpret the company's logo as some kind of a globe, with what appears to be a white stylised bird on a red surface (possibly because these two are the colours of the Turkish flag). On the website of Turkish Airlines, there is an explanation as to why they changed the company's slogan from *Globally Yours* to *Widen Your World*. It seems that they find the second option more suitable, since it invites people all over the world to discover new cultures and customs. In the same section, they explain how the market, i.e. different countries, regions, and cultures, influences their campaigns and advertisements. For an advertisement to be successful, the targeted market must be carefully examined due to different demographic, cultural, and geographical factors.[9] This, in turn, is reflected in the choice of pictorial and textual elements, as well as in the choice of metaphor and metonymy.

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[9] Website (retrieved: 20 March 2018, https://www.turkishairlines.com/en-int/press-room/about-us/#tcm508-36323)

4. Results

The analysis of the five printed airline advertisements has shown that metaphor and metonymy go hand in hand. In all five examples we have noticed the presence of both phenomena, but not only that. It seems that metonymy is prevalent, i.e. it is the central part of the advertisements, especially in the first (figure 1) and last (figure 5) example. This might be due to the fact that the pictorial elements, i.e. images, are the focus of these advertisements. The monuments which appear in the two Turkish Airlines advertisements represent destinations where you can travel. This has brought us to the question of universality, since we cannot firmly claim that every person in the world will be able to recognise the monuments in question and, therefore, the destinations as well. However, we might conclude that by using so many pictures of different monuments, which, in turn, symbolise destinations, the airline company relies on the fact that certain people will identify certain destinations (not everyone will know each and every one) and will, therefore, wish to travel there. Again, we might say that the two advertisements can be used world-wide, since they are not specific to one particular area of the world. However, the same cannot be said of the advertisement in the second example (figure 2). The central part of that advertisement is the association we make between the type of bread called *baguette*, and France, mainly Paris. The issue of recognition and universality resurfaces, since we cannot firmly claim that it is a common occurrence to link *baguettes* with France. The fourth example (figure 4) is also curious: the metonymy (cheese-wheel that looks like an engine) is relatively clear, but what is confusing is the fact that a British company uses cheese as the central element of their advertisement, since it is the type of food which we usually associate with the French or the Swiss. The British Airways advertisements in three (figure 3) and four (figure 4) have also been useful to analyse the function of logos. As we have seen, sometimes the logo itself carries a metaphorical meaning. The common trait that all the above-mentioned advertisements have shown is *the combination of pictorial and written elements*: the images on the advertisements (and the logos) would be incomplete if it were not for the textual parts. They often serve *to further emphasise* the metaphorical and metonymical meanings the advertisements are trying to convey.

5. Conclusion

As we have seen in the results, the analysis has shown that the five printed airline advertisements have some common traits. First of all, all five of them use multimodal metaphors. In the above cases, the multimodal metaphors rely on the combination of pictorial and textual elements. In fact, the pictorial elements (the images) are the central parts of the advertisements, while the textual parts only emphasise and/or clarify the metaphors and metonymies that have been employed. The colours which appear in the advertisements also play an important role, they convey meaning as well: for instance, blue represents the sky, while yellow can be connected to the colour of bread. Second of all, the main issue, as we have also seen in the theoretical part, is the question of universality. One must, when creating the advertisement, take into consideration the targeted audience. The marketing strategy will fail if the message is not conveyed properly. Cases such as the advertisement with the box of *baguettes* and with the 'cheese' engine have shown that certain metaphors and metonymies require previous knowledge of the cultures in question. On the other hand, the Turkish Airlines advertisements in the first and the last example rely on the fact that people will recognise at least some of the monuments/destinations pictured and will, therefore, associate them to the fact that the company offers numerous flights to these destinations. Sometimes an advertisement may backfire if the potential customers do not recognise the metaphor/metonymy employed, or they do it in a different way than it had been imagined by the creators of the advertisement. In some of the examples above, the images are not as clear as they should be, and this can lead to misinterpretation or misrecognition. The main goal of every advertisement is to sell the product, so extensive research of the market must be done to sell it successfully. According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the human mind is metaphorical in nature. For instance, we can conclude that pictorial elements draw more attention than the text itself. The first thing one notices when seeing the advertisement is the image. The brain then starts to analyse the image and, in doing so, draws on textual elements as well. In addition, it seems that metaphor and metonymy work together in creating meaning; they are used in a multimodal way to deepen the way we understand these advertisements. Our bodily experience plays an important role when it comes to understanding metaphor and metonymy; it seems that we rely on what we have learned through our sensorimotor experience while growing up. The main difference lies in the fact that culture also influences our understanding of the two phenomena: some images seem to be more universal, i.e. many cultures will recognise them and connect them to the message they are supposed to send;

however, a number of images will be 'out of reach' for some people because they do not rely on primary metaphors (based on bodily experience), but on metaphors which draw their meaning from cultural specificities. But is this a matter of culture alone? As it has been stated, some of the advertisements in the analysis have proven to be problematic, but not due to cultural differences; the main issue was misinterpretation due to unclear images.

In the future, it could be an interesting topic to see how airline advertisements have changed over the years, especially after the claims that metaphors influence how we think and see the world around us. Further research could be conducted to see whether older airline (or any other) advertisements used metaphor and metonymy and, if they did, to what extent. Have things changed drastically over the previous decades, or have advertisements remained virtually the same?

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Figure 1:

http://epaper.timesofindia.com/Repository/getFiles.asp?Style=OliveXLib:LowLevelEntityToPrintGif_TOINEW&Type=text/html&Locale=english-skin-custom&Path=CAP/2010/07/02&ChunkNum=0&ID=Ad03004 (Accessed 19th October 2017);

Figure 2:

https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/509821620288447879/ (Accessed 19th October 2017);

Figure 3:

https://www.behance.net/gallery/10175631/British-Airways-Advert (Accessed 21st October 2017);

Figure 4:

http://cheesenotes.com/post/24125039737/british-airways-cheese (Accessed 21st October 2017);

Figure 5:

http://www.pixel-push.com/2014/04/25/20-outstanding-airplane-ads-you-need-to-see/

(Accessed: 24th March 2018).